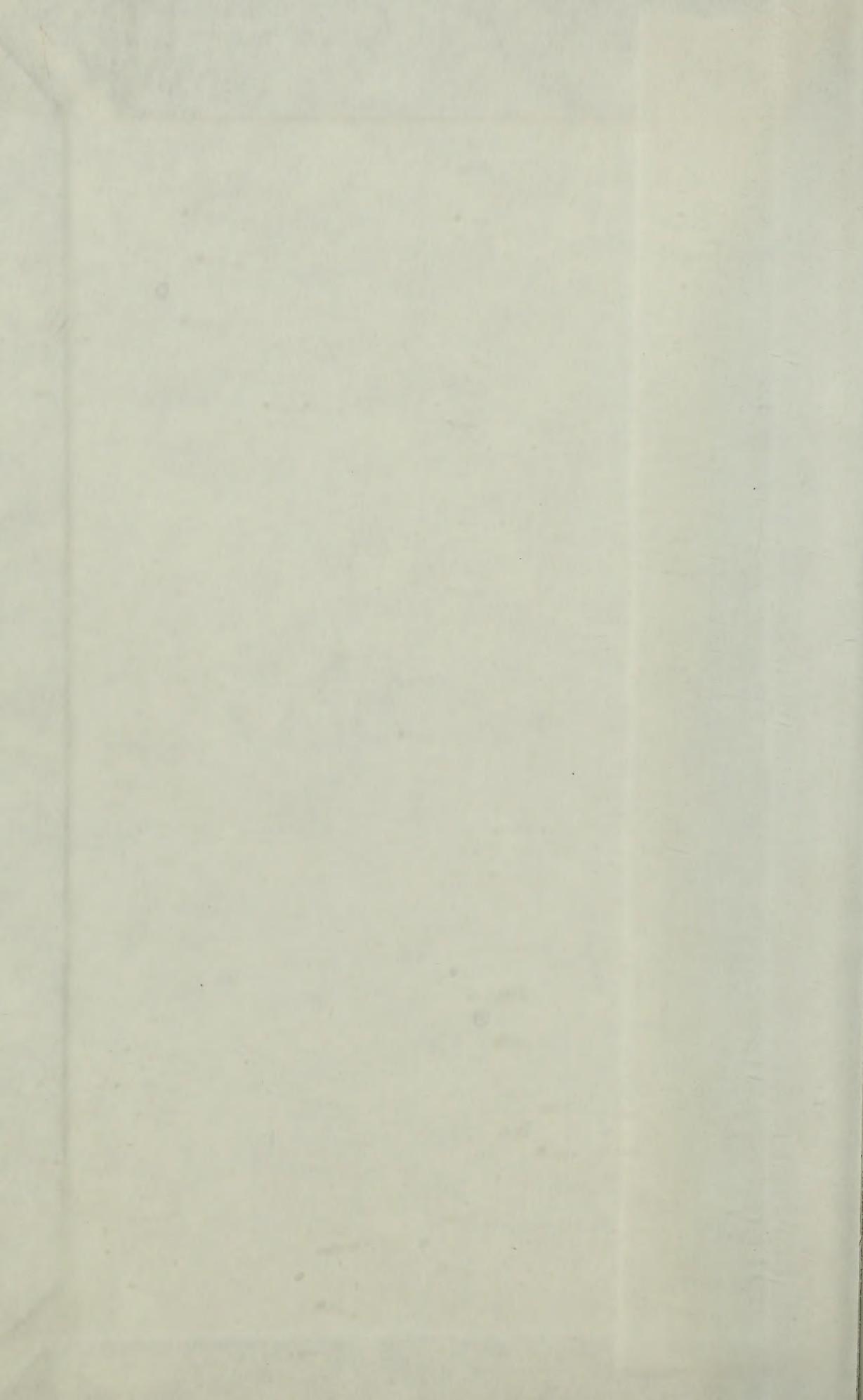
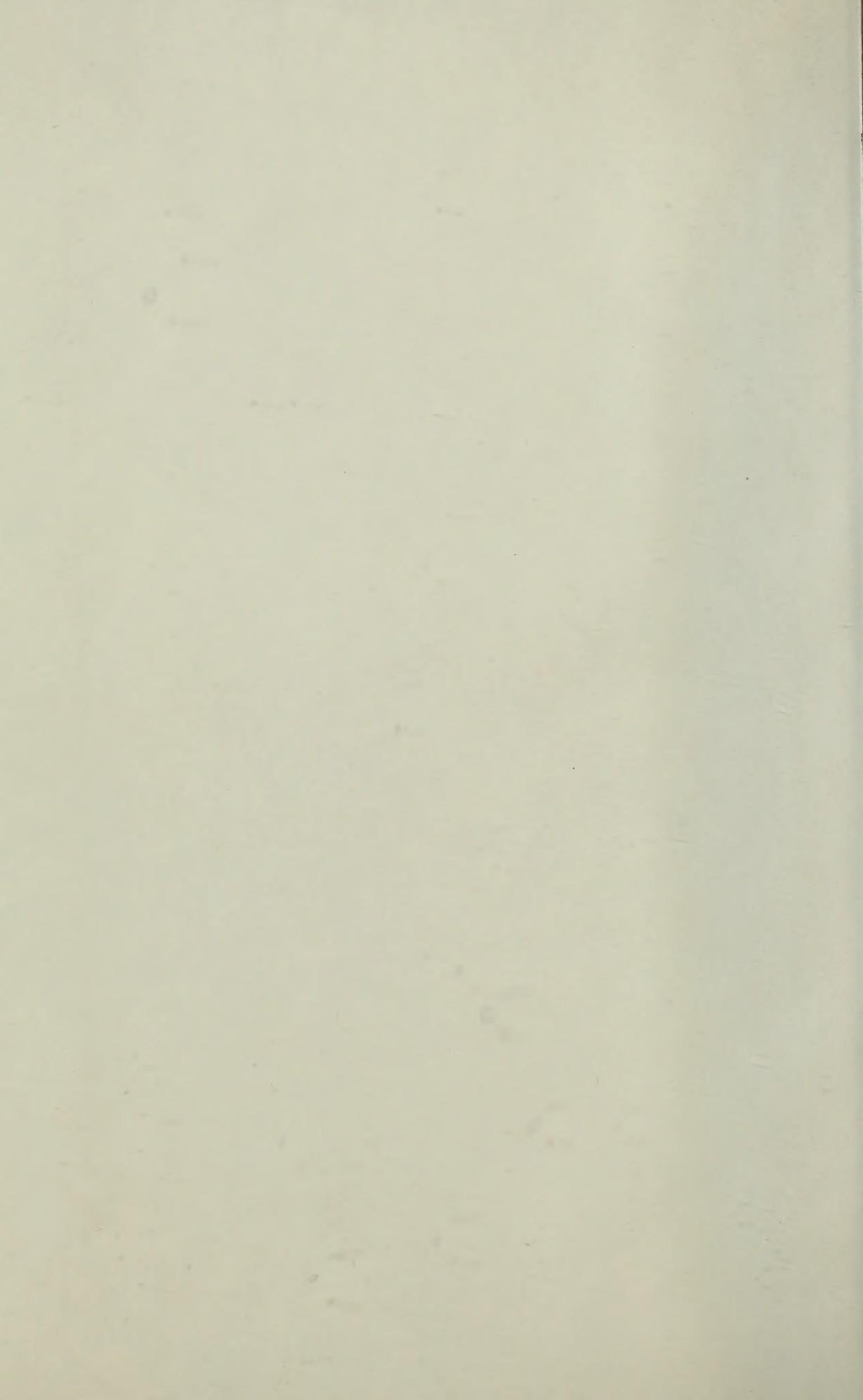


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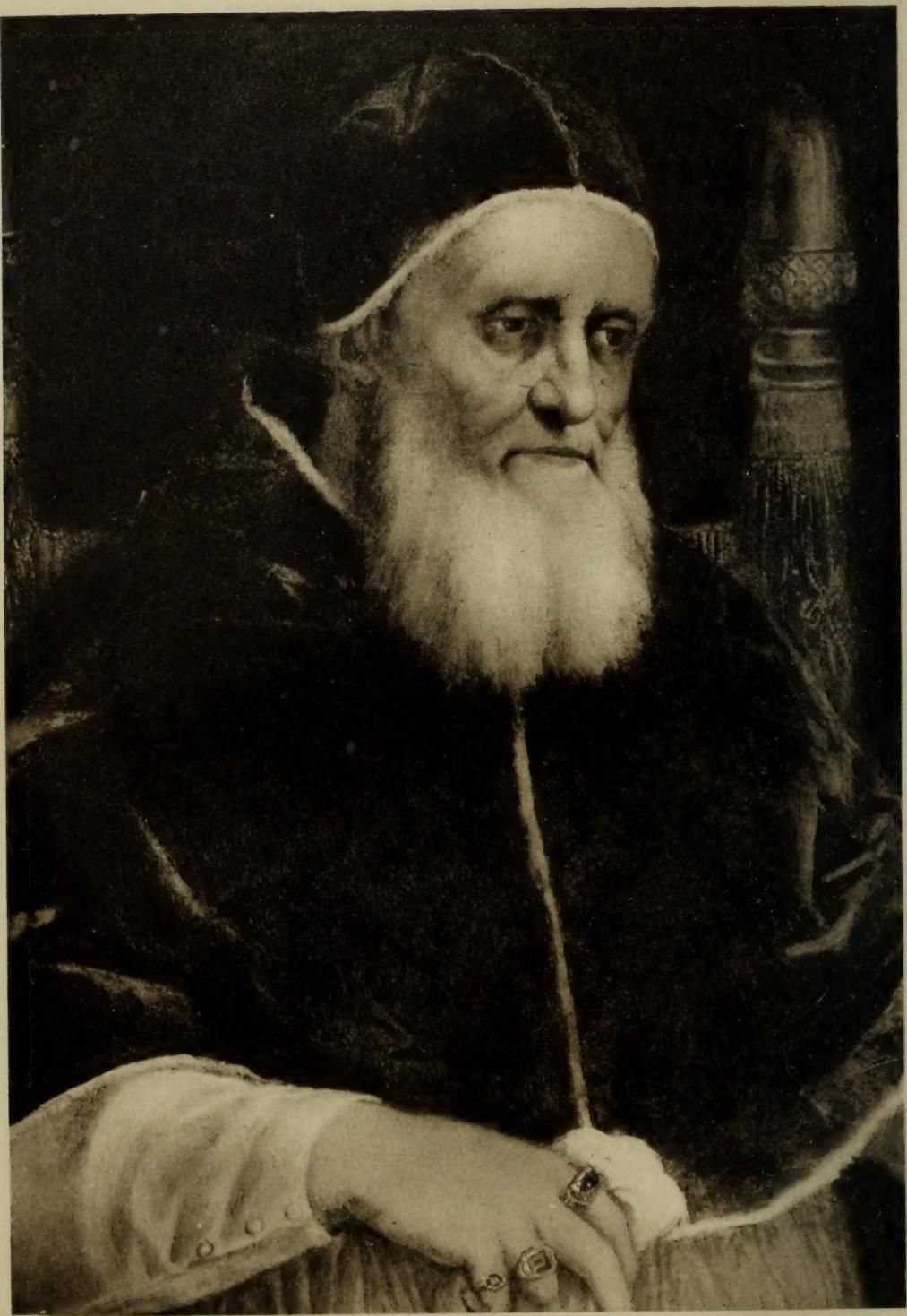


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A HISTORY OF ART



Pope Julius II

Photo: Jacquier, Florence.

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A HISTORY OF ART

H. B. Cotterill
BY
H. B. COTTERILL

Author of 'Ancient Greece' 'Medieval Italy'
'Italy from Dante to Tasso'
Translator of Homer's 'Odyssey'

VOLUME TWO
LATER EUROPEAN ART
WITH CHAPTERS ON ORIENTAL SCULPTURE
AND PAINTING



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PREFACE

THE scheme of this volume differs from that of its predecessor in so far as each Part deals with a single nation, whereas in the former volume the subject was divided not so much according to nations as to eras, such as the pre-Hellenic, Hellenic, Hellenistic, Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic.

The reason will be apparent if one remembers that in the first volume the time covered was more than four thousand years, and that during those forty centuries one people succeeded another as a great world-power, whereas the period here treated is only about four centuries, and by the beginning of this period the chief nations of Europe, although all more or less directly inheritors of the same Hellenic art, had begun to develop distinct characteristics, artistic as well as political.

It is true that during these four centuries several waves of influence, of which that of the Italian Renaissance was perhaps the most important, spread over the greater part of Europe; but they reached the various nations by no means simultaneously, and they gave rise in each to varieties of art more diverse than any that arose in the Hellenic, the Roman, the Byzantine, or even the Gothic era. It also seemed advisable to adopt in this volume a national classification in order to differentiate as distinctly as possible the multitudinous artists whom one is bound to mention—far more multitudinous than are the ancient and medieval artists whose names have been handed down to us.

In this connexion I should perhaps ask my readers to remember that when I undertook to trace the course of art from its early beginnings down to modern days I felt obliged to select only a certain number of great and characteristic specimens of architecture, painting, and sculpture, and to relate the lives of their makers only so far as these help us to appreciate more fully their works. There are, of course, not

HISTORY OF ART

a few works of art that under such conditions a writer might select without any danger of contradiction, but he must be prepared to find that some of his inclusions and omissions do not win universal approval.

Having found it impossible, in consequence of ill health, to complete this volume for publication within the time anticipated, I availed myself of the friendly and efficient aid of Mr Stewart Dick, one of the official lecturers at the National Gallery, London, who has supplied the text for Part VII and is responsible for the chapters on Oriental art with which the volume concludes. As we have worked quite independently it is possible that slight differences of opinion on points of minor importance may exist.

H. B. C.

VEVEY,
December 1923

CONTENTS

The numbers in brackets indicate the pages on which the subject is dealt with.

PART I

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

CHAPTER		PAGE
I. CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE		I
Character and Period of the Classic High Renaissance Style (1).		
(a) <i>Rome (1500 - c. 1564)</i> (4-9): Bramante, Peruzzi, Raphael, and Michelangelo as Architects at Rome (6); St Peter's (8).		
(b) <i>Central and Northern Italy, especially Venice (9-13): Sansovino (11); Palladio (11); Scamozzi (13).</i>		
(c) <i>The Decline (13-16): Vignola (14); Vasari (15).</i>		
II. CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE		17
Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino (18). Michelangelo (19). Cellini (25). Ammanati (28).		
III. CINQUECENTO PAINTING		29
<i>Preliminary (29-34): Its Main Characteristics.</i>		
<i>The Seven Schools (34-60): Lombardy, especially Milan (34); Siena (37); Florence (39); Rome (42); Bologna (44); Parma (46); Venice (48).</i>		
<i>Monographs (61-88): Leonardo da Vinci (61); Fra Bartolomeo (65); Michelangelo as Painter (68); Raphael (79).</i>		

PART II

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

I. SEICENTO AND LATER ARCHITECTURE	89
Triumph of Barocco and Jesuitic Style at Rome (89). Vignola (91), Carlo Maderna (92), and Bernini (92). Borromini (93), Fontana (94), and Pozzo (95). Barocco in Naples (96), Genoa (96), Florence (97), and Venice (97).	

HISTORY OF ART

CHAPTER

PAGE

- Longhena (97). Later Architecture: Turin (98); Milan (99); Theatres (99).
The Neo-Classical Reaction (100-104): Naples (102); Vanvitelli at Caserta (102); Fuga (103).
 Some Modern Italian Buildings (103).

II. SCULPTURE: SEICENTO AND LATER

105

- Bernini (106). Stefano Maderna (110). Algardi (110).
 Bernini's Pupils (110). Barocco Sculpture at Florence and Naples: Queirolo and Corradini (111).
The Neo-Classical Revival (112-122): Canova and his School (113); Giovanni Dupré (119); Vela (119).

III. PAINTING: SEICENTO AND LATER

123

- The Eclectics and the Naturalists (123-132)*: The Carracci (124); Caravaggio (126); Guido Reni (127); Domenichino (128); Tiarini (129); Albani (130); Guercino (130); Cristofano Allori (131); Carlo Dolci (131); Sassoferato (132).

- The Spanish-Neapolitan School (c. 1610-73) (132-134)*: Ribera (132); Salvator Rosa (133).

- The Barocco Decorators (c. 1600-1770) (134-143)*: Tempesti (135); Pozzo (136); Giordano (137); Tiepolo (139).

- Canaletto (140). Neo-Classicism: Batoni (142); Appiani (142).

PART III

SPAIN (c. 1500-c. 1830)

I. ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE (FROM 1500)

145

- Architecture.** Gothic (145-148): Cathedrals of Seville (146), Burgos (147), Toledo (147), Salamanca (147), Segovia (147), and Granada (148). Renaissance Styles (*Plateresque, Herrera, Churriguera*) (148-151): Cordova Cathedral (149); the Escorial (149); Churriguera (151).

- Sculpture (152-157): Retablos and *Sillerías* (152); *Plateresque* Carvings (153); *Estile Mostruoso* (154); Torrigiani in Spain (154); Michelangelo's Influence: Alonso Berruguete (154); Montañés and Cano (156).

II. SPANISH PAINTING (c. 1500-c. 1830)

158

- Character of Spanish Pictorial Art (158). Pacheco (160). Spanish Primitives and Foreign Influence (161). Starnina (163). Jan van Eyck (163). Juan de Borgoña (164). Pedro Berruguete (164). The Mannerists: Alonso

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

PAGE

Berruguete (165); Morales (165); Vargas (165); Juan de las Roelas (166); Vicente Juanes (166); Ribalta (166). Titian in Spain (167). Antonis Mor (168). El Greco (168). Zurbaran (169). Velasquez (170). Murillo (174). Claudio Coello (178). Giordano and Tiepolo in Spain (179). Goya (180). Madrazo (181).	181
---	-----

PART IV

FRANCE (c. 1500—c. 1820)

PRELIMINARY

183

France at the End of the Middle Age (183). Early Architecture (186). Early Sculpture (188). Origins and Development of French Painting (191).	183
---	-----

I. FRENCH ART FROM CHARLES VIII (acc. 1483) TO LOUIS XIV (acc. 1643)

197

<p>(a) Architecture (c. 1500–1643) (197–208): Transition from Gothic to Renaissance, c. 1500–c. 1550: Churches (198); Châteaux—Chaumont (199); Amboise (200); Fontainebleau (201); and others. Renaissance prevails (202). ‘Lescot’s Louvre’ (203). Tours Cathedral (204). Saint-Pierre, Caen (204). Saint-Michel, Dijon (204). Classical and Palladian Style (205). Domes and Pantheon-like Exteriors (206). Churches of the Sorbonne, Les Invalides, and Val-de-Grâce (207). Luxembourg Palace (208).</p> <p>(b) Sculpture (c. 1500–1643) (208–214): <i>Calvaries</i> (208) and <i>Sepultures</i> (209). Colombe (209). Monuments (210). Goujon (212), Pilon (213), and others (213–214).</p> <p>(c) Painting (c. 1500–1643) (214–223): Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto in France—Francis I and the School of Fontainebleau (215). Portraits and Busts (218). The Clouets (219). <i>Mais</i> (221). Flemish Influences during Reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII (221). Rubens summoned to Paris by Marie de Médicis (221). Simon Vouet (222). Callot and Bosse (223).</p>	197
--	-----

II. FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

224

Preliminary (224–229). Observations on the Art and Political History of the Period (224).	224
---	-----

<p>(a) Architecture (c. 1643–c. 1820) (229–239): The Case of Architecture at this Epoch (230). Bernini invited by Louis XIV (232). Perrault’s Louvre Colonnade (232). Versailles chosen as the Royal Residence (233). Jules</p>	224
---	-----

HISTORY OF ART

CHAPTER

PAGE

- Mansard (233). Church Architecture and other in Paris (234). Bruant (234). François Mansard (235). Le Vau (235). Blondel (235). Gabriel (236). Simplified High Renaissance and 'Colossal' Style (236). Hôtel de la Monnaie, Palais d'Élysée, and Odéon (236). Bourse (237). Panthéon (237). Madeleine (237). Arcs de Triomphe (238).
 (b) Sculpture (*c.* 1643–*c.* 1820) (239–249): Girardon (239) and Coysevox (240). Puget (241). The Coustous (241). Pigalle (242) and Falconet (243). Houdon (244). Rude and David d'Angers (246). Barye (248). Carpeaux (249).
 (c) Painting (*c.* 1643–*c.* 1820): Preliminary (250).
Louis XIV (252–280): Nicolas Poussin (252); Ruskin on Landscape-painters, especially Poussin, Claude, and Rubens (254); Claude le Lorrain (263); Claude's Work compared with Turner's (264); Le Sueur (266) and Philippe de Champaigne (266 and 274); Development of a Genuine French School of Painting prevented by the Influence of Colbert and of Le Brun (267); the 'Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture' (268); Le Brun and Versailles (269); Pierre Mignard (271 and 274); Callot and Bosse (272); Parisian Artists form a School independent of Royal Patronage (273); Largillière and Rigaud (275); Watteau (276); Lancret (279).
Louis XV (280–286); Chardin (280); Boucher (281); La Tour (283); Nattier (284); the Vernets (285).
Louis XVI (286–291): Greuze (288); Fragonard (290); Hubert Robert (290); Madame Vigée-Lebrun (291).
The Revolution and First Empire (291–302): The New Classicism—Jacques-Louis David (294); Prud'hon (297); François Gérard (298). Antoine-Jean Gros (299). The Romantic School—Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (301); Ingres (302).

PART V

THE NETHERLANDS (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

PRELIMINARY

303

Sketch of the Political and Artistic History of Flanders and Holland.

(a) ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

309

Relics of the Romanesque Era (310). Gothic Churches, Civic Buildings, and Private Houses (311). Pre-Renaissance Sculpture: Gothic Stone-sculpture and Bronzes

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

PAGE

(313); Wood-carvings—Reredoses and Pulpits (315). Renaissance Influences slow to affect Flemish Architecture: Hôtel de Ville at Antwerp (316). Jesuitic Church Style in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (317). In Civic Architecture an attractive Flemish Style (318). Modified French *Baroque*, followed by Revival of Old Styles (319). Dutch Renaissance Architecture (320). Renaissance Stone-sculpture and Wood-carving in Flanders and Holland (321).

(b) FLEMISH PAINTING (*c.* 1400–1830) 323

Miniature-painting (324). Stained Glass (325). The Van Eycks (326). Van der Weyden (326). Memling (326). Petrus Christus (327). Bouts (328). Van der Goes (328). Gerard David (329). The Antwerp School and the 'Italianizers' (330). Quentin Matsys (332). Patinir and Bles (333). Bosch (334). The Brueghels (335). Mabuse (336). Van Orley (337). The Brils and other Landscape-painters (338). Antonis Mor (339). Rubens (340). Jordaens (346). Sustermans (346). Van Dyck (347). Philippe de Champaigne (350). Coques (350). Peter Lely (350). Brouwer and David Teniers (352).

(c) DUTCH PAINTING (FROM *c.* 1500) 353

Its Character (353). The 'Master of Delft' (353 *n.*). Lucas van Leyden (353).

(1) *Earliest Dutch Portraitists and Rembrandt* (356–361): Ravesteyn (357); Frans Hals (357); Rembrandt (358).

(2) *Post-Rembrandt Genre Painters and Portraitists* (362–366): Ter Borch (364); the Van Ostades (364); Van der Helst (364); Gerard Dou (364); Metsu (365); Maes (365); Jan Steen (365); Vermeer (366).

(3) *Landscapes and Sea-pieces* (366–370): Characteristics of Dutch Landscape-painting (366); Jan van Goyen (369); Albert Cuyp (369); Ruysdael (369); Adriaen and Willem van de Velde (370); Hobbema (370).

PART VI

GERMANY (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

PRELIMINARY

371

The Origins, Development, and Character of German Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting until about the End of the Middle Age (371). A Table of Political Events in

HISTORY OF ART

CHAPTER

PAGE

the History of Germany from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century (389).

I. SCULPTURE (c. 1500-c. 1800)

391

Der neue, schweifende Stil (394). Multscher (394). Herlin (396). Veit Stoss and Adam Kraft, of Nürnberg (397). Til Riemenschneider and Michael Pacher (399). Northern Sculptors: Meister Brüggemann and Meister Bertram (400). Peter Vischer and his Sons (400); the Shrine of St Sebald (401). The Maximilian Monument (402). Labenwolf's *Gänsemännchen*, Wurzelbauer's Tugendbrunnen, the Perseusbrunnen, and others (404). The Ludwigsgrab (406) and Mariensäule (407) at Munich. Peter Witte ('Candido'), Hubert Gerard, and Adrian de Bries (407). Berninesque and Rococo Sculpture: Corradini and Matielli at Dresden and Vienna (408). 'Catholic' Statuary at Prag (409). Schlüter's fine Equestrian Statue of the Great Elector (409).

II. ARCHITECTURE (c. 1500-c. 1800)

410

The Introduction of the Renaissance Style, long delayed, aided by German Renaissance Sculpture (411). Diverse Types in Different Parts of Germany (411). Over-ornamentation: Architectural Stone-carving and *Holzschnitzerei* (415). The Four Phases of German Architecture, c. 1500-c. 1820 (415). List of Castles, many Gothic originally and rebuilt in Transition or Renaissance Style (416). Wholly Renaissance Palatial Castle Style at Heidelberg and elsewhere (417). *Fachwerkhäuser* (419). List of *Rathäuser*, some originally Gothic and completed in Renaissance Style (419). *Lustschlösser* (421). List of a few of the Churches and Palaces built between about 1650 and 1820 in Austria (422), Bavaria (423), South-west Germany (424), Middle Rhineland and Franconia and North-west Germany (424), North Germany (425), Saxony (426), and Prussia (427).

III. PAINTING (c. 1400-c. 1820)

430

The Early Prag School (430). Meister Wilhelm and the Early Cologne School (431). Stephan Lochner (431). Southern Rhineland: Conrad Witz (432); Schongauer, of Colmar (433). Van der Weyden's Influence on German Pictorial Art (433). Vast Output of Reredoses (*Altäre*) (434). List of Painters and Carvers of such *Altäre*: Meister Christophorus (434); the 'Master of the Lippberg Passion' (435); Herlin (435); Pleydenwurff (435); Wohlgemut (436); Pacher (436). Hans Holbein the Elder (436).

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

PAGE

- Burgkmair (438). Albrecht Dürer and his Works (439). Grünewald (442). Lucas Cranach (444). Hans Holbein the Younger (445). Chodowiecki (451). Graff (451). Raphael Mengs (452). Angelica Kauffmann (453). Carstens, Cornelius, and Overbeck (453).

PART VII

ENGLAND

By STEWART DICK

I. ARCHITECTURE

455

- Transition from Gothic to Renaissance Architecture (455). Increase of Building Activity in Elizabeth's Reign (456). Inigo Jones (458). Wren (459). St Paul's Cathedral (460). John Vanburgh (461). William Kent (462). James Gibbs (462). Architecture in George III's Reign (462). The Brothers Adam (462).

II. SCULPTURE

463

- Torrigiani's Tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey (463). Italian and other Foreign Artists in England (463). Nicholas Stone (464). Caius Gabriel Cibber (465). Grinling Gibbons (465). Francis Bird (466). Flaxman (466). Nollekens (466). Sir Francis Chantrey (466). Alfred Stevens (466).

III. PAINTING

468

- (a) *English Painting before Hogarth* (468-471): Early Mural Paintings and Panel-pictures (468); Miniature-painters—Nicholas Hilliard, Isaac and Peter Oliver, the Two Hoskins, Samuel Cooper, Thomas Flatman, and Nicholas Dixon (469); Holbein in England (469); Followers of Holbein (470); Flemish and Dutch Artists in England (470); Van Dyck (470); Lely (471); Kneller (471).

- (b) *Hogarth, and the Rise of the English School* (472-475): Hogarth (472); Followers of Hogarth (473); Allan Ramsay (474); Influence of Canaletto: Samuel Scott (474); Charles Brooking (474); Richard Wilson (474).

- (c) *The Great Portraitists* (475-483): Reynolds (475); Gainsborough (478); Romney (480); Stubbs and Morland (481); other Contemporary Painters (481); Revival of Miniature-painting (481); Blake (482); Hoppner (482); Lawrence (482); Raeburn (483); Wilkie (483).

HISTORY OF ART

CHAPTER

PAGE

- (d) *The Watercolourists* (484-489) : Alexander and John Robert Cozens (484); Early Topographical Artists (485); Girtin (485); Turner (486); Cotman (487); Peter de Wint (488); David Cox (488); Richard Parkes Bonington (489).
- (e) *Crome, Constable, and Turner* (489-497) : Crome (489); Cotman (491); other Contemporary Artists of the Norwich School (491); Constable (491); Turner (493).

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS ON THE ART OF THE FAR EAST

By STEWART DICK

PRELIMINARY

499

I. SCULPTURE

500

- (a) *India* (500-504) : The *Stupas* at Sanchi (501) and Amaravati (502); the Shrine at Borobudur (502); Graeco-Roman Influence (503); Sculpture in the Gupta Period (504); Later Work (504).
- (b) *China* (505-508) : Early Incised Stone Tablets in Shantung Province (505); Buddhist Sculptures at Ta-tong-fou and at Long-men (507); Graeco-Roman Influence (507); Sculptures of Tang and Sung Periods (508).
- (c) *Japan* (509-512) : Early Japanese Sculpture (509); Bronzes of the Suiko and Tenchi Periods (510); Greek Influence (510); Giogi (510); Sculpture of Tempyo Period (510); Kobo Daishi (511); Unkei (511); Colossal Bronze Buddhas at Nara and Kamakura (511).

II. PAINTING

513

- (a) *Early Stages—China, India, and Turkestan* (513-519) : Calligraphic Quality of Oriental Painting (513); Ku K'ai-chih (514); the Frescos at Ajanta (515); Painting under the Tang Dynasty (516); Wu Tao-tzu (Go-doshi) (517); Wang-wei (518); Han Kan (519).
- (b) *Early Stages—Japan* (519-524) : Early Japanese Paintings (519); Kobo Daishi (520); Kanaoka (521); Yeshin Sodzu (521); the Tosa Painters—Takayoshi (522), Toba Sojo (523), and Nobuzane (523); the Battle-pictures of Mitsunaga, Sumiyoshi Keion, and Kosé Korehisa (523).
- (c) *The Sung and Ming Periods in China* (524-527) : Characteristics of Sung Painting (524); the *Sho-sho Hakkei* (525); Li Lung Mien (526); Hsia Kuei (Kakei) and

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

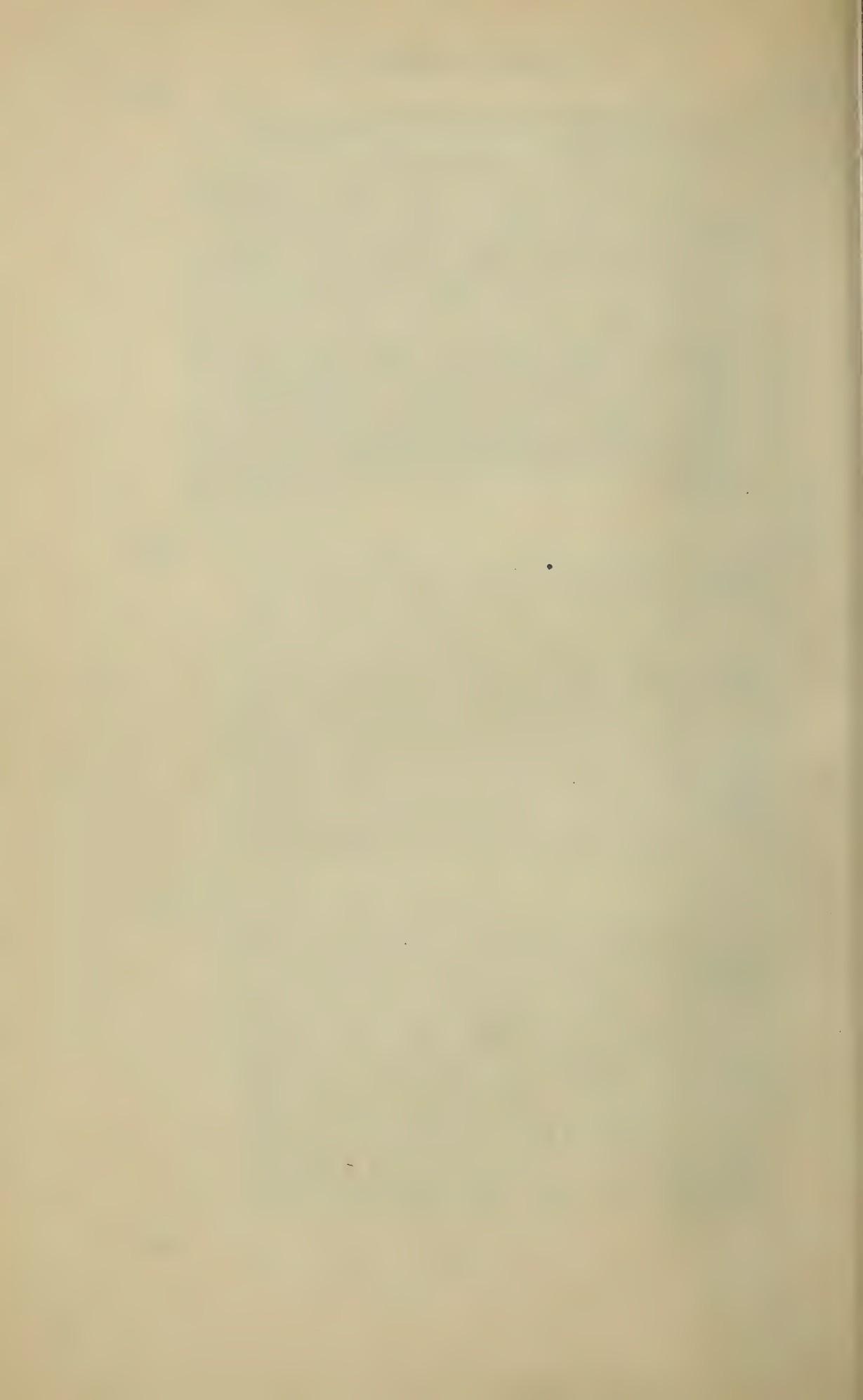
PAGE

Ma Yuan (Bayen) (526); Mu Chi (Mokkei) (526); the Ming Period (527).

(d) *Later Stages of Japanese Painting* (527-537): Cho Densu (528); Shiubun (528); Noami (528); Soami (528); Sesshiu and his Followers (529); the Kano School—Masanobu (530); Motonobu (530), Utanosuke (531), Yeitoku (531), Tanyu (532), Naonobu (532), Yasanobu (532), Tsunenobu (532), Hanabusa Itcho (532), Kawanabe Kyosai (532); Revival of Minor Arts and Crafts under Iyeyasu (533); the Korin School—Honnami Koyetsu (533), Tawaraya Sotatsu (533), Korin (534); Japanese Naturalistic Painters—Maruyama Okio (534), Mori Sosen (534), Goshun and Ganku (535); the Ukiyo-e School—Matabei (535), Moronobu (535), Colour-printing (535), Suzuki Harunobu (536), Kiyonaga (536), Utamaro (536), Hokusai (536), Hiroshige (536); Modern Japanese Art (537).

INDEX

539



ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>PAGE</i>
FIG.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
1. JULIUS II, BY RAPHAEL	4
2. S. PIETRO, ROME	4
3. S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, ASSISI	4
4. IL TEMPIETTO, ROME	5
5. CAPPELLA CHIGI, ROME	5
6. CANCELLERIA, ROME	6
7. CLOISTERS BUILT BY MICHELANGELO ON SITE OF DIOCLETIAN'S BATHS, ROME	6
8. LA SAGRESTIA NUOVA, S. LORENZO, FLORENCE	7
9. S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, ROME	7
10. S. MARIA DI CARIGNANO, GENOA	8
11. HALL IN PALAZZO DEL TE, MANTUA	8
12. CHIESA DELL' ANNUNZIATA, GENOA	9
13. TRIBUNE AND HIGH ALTAR, IL GESÙ, ROME	9
14. LA LOGGETTA, VENICE	10
15. LA LIBRERIA VECCHIA, VENICE	11
16. BASILICA, OR PALAZZO DELLA RAGIONE, VICENZA	12
17. CHIESA DEL REDENTORE, VENICE	13
18. VILLA ROTONDA, NEAR VICENZA	14
19. TEATRO OLIMPICO, VICENZA	14
20. LE PROCURATIE NUOVE, VENICE	15
21. 'CASA DEL DIAVOLO,' VICENZA	16
22. GLI UFFIZI, FLORENCE	16
23. THE YOUNG BACCHUS, BY JACOPO SANSOVINO	17
24. CARDINAL ASCANIO SFORZA, MONUMENT BY ANDREA SANSOVINO	18
25. BACCHUS, BY MICHELANGELO	19
26. PIETÀ, BY MICHELANGELO	20

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.		PAGE
27.	TONDO, BY MICHELANGELO	20
28.	DAVID, BY MICHELANGELO	21
29.	MOSES, BY MICHELANGELO	22
30.	'IL PENSIEROSO,' BY MICHELANGELO	23
31.	PERSEUS AND MEDUSA, BY BENVENUTO CELLINI	28
32.	MERCURY, BY GIAN DA BOLOGNA	28
33.	BEATRICE D'ESTE (?), BY LEONARDO DA VINCI (OR AMBROGIO DE PREDIS ?)	29
34.	ECCE HOMO, BY SOLARI	36
35.	MADONNA DEL ROSETO, BY LUINI	37
36.	THE MARTYRDOM OF ST SEBASTIAN, BY GIOVANNI ANTONIO SODOMA	37
37.	'MADONNA DEL SACCO,' BY ANDREA DEL SARTO	40
38.	'IL CENACOLO,' BY LEONARDO DA VINCI	40
39.	ANNUNCIATION, BY ANDREA DEL SARTO	41
40.	LUCREZIA PUCCI, BY BRONZINO	44
41.	VENUS, MERCURY, AND CUPID, BY CORREGGIO	45
42.	MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA, BY CORREGGIO	45
43.	MADONNA AND TWO SAINTS, BY GIORGIONE	48
44.	ST BARBARA, BY PALMA VECCHIO	49
45.	LA BELLA DI TIZIANO	49
46.	SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE, BY TITIAN	50
47.	FEAST IN LEVI'S HOUSE, BY PAOLO VERONESE	50
48.	THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN, BY TITIAN	51
49.	BACCHUS AND ARIADNE, BY TITIAN	52
50.	DANAЕ, BY TITIAN	53
51.	ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL, BY TITIAN	56
52.	AUGUSTUS AND THE SIBYL, PROBABLY BY BORDONE	57
53.	CHRIST'S VISIT TO MARY AND MARTHA, BY FRANCESCO BASSANO	57
54.	CONSIGNMENT OF THE RING, BY BORDONE	58
55.	BACCHUS, ARIADNE, AND VENUS, BY TINTORETTO	59
56.	LA VIERGE AUX ROCHERS, BY LEONARDO DA VINCI	64
57.	MONA LISA, BY LEONARDO DA VINCI	65

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
FIG. 58. THE VISITATION, BY ALBERTINELLI	65
59. PIETÀ, BY FRA BARTOLOMEO	68
60. FLORENTINE SOLDIERS SURPRISED BY PISAN TROOPS, BY MICHELANGELO	69
61. CREATION OF MAN, BY MICHELANGELO	72
62. FALL AND EXPULSION OF MAN, BY MICHELANGELO	72
63. DELPHIC SIBYL, BY MICHELANGELO	73
64. THE LAST JUDGMENT, BY MICHELANGELO	78
65. LO SPOSALIZIO, BY RAPHAEL	79
66. LA MADONNA DEL GRAN DUCA, BY RAPHAEL	80
67. THE 'CASA TEMPI MADONNA,' BY RAPHAEL	80
68. 'LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE,' BY RAPHAEL	81
69. MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO, BY RAPHAEL	81
70, 71. ANGELS FROM THE 'DISPUTA,' BY RAPHAEL	82
72. 'SCHOOL OF ATHENS,' BY RAPHAEL	83
73. L'INCENDIO DEL BORGO, BY RAPHAEL	84
74. THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES, BY RAPHAEL	85
75. 'FEED MY SHEEP,' BY RAPHAEL	85
76. 'LO SPASIMO,' BY RAPHAEL	86
77. 'LA PERLA,' BY RAPHAEL	86
78. ST CECILIA, BY RAPHAEL	87
79. LA MADONNA DI S. SISTO, BY RAPHAEL	88
80. 'LA DONNA VELATA,' BY RAPHAEL	89
81. PORTRAIT OF A LADY, ATTRIBUTED TO SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO	89
82. LA FONTANA DI TREVI, ROME, BY SALVI, AFTER A SKETCH BY BERNINI	94
83. ALTAR OF ST IGNATIUS, IL GESÙ, ROME, BY POZZO	95
84. S. MARIA DELLA SALUTE, VENICE	98
85. CHIESA DEGLI SCALZI, VENICE	99
86. FONTANA DEI QUATTRO FIUMI, BY BERNINI	106
87. THE CASCADES AT CASERTA, BY VANVITELLI	106
88. APOLLO AND DAPHNE, BY BERNINI	107
89. S. TERESA, BY BERNINI	107
	XIX

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.		PAGE
90.	MODESTY (?), BY CORRADINI	112
91.	IL DISINGANNO, BY QUEIROLO	112
92.	MONUMENT TO CLEMENT XIV, BY CANOVA	113
93.	DAEDALUS AND ICARUS, BY CANOVA	113
94.	HERCULES AND LICHAS, BY CANOVA	118
95.	DYING NAPOLEON, BY VELA	118
96.	PAOLINA BORGHESE, BY CANOVA	119
97.	PIETÀ, BY GIOVANNI DUPRÉ	119
98.	LA VERGINE IN GLORIA, BY LODOVICO OR ANNIBALE CARRACCI	124
99.	DEPOSIZIONE, BY CARAVAGGIO	125
100.	DEPOSITION, OR PIETÀ, BY RIBERA	125
101.	MADONNA DELLA PIETÀ, BY GUIDO RENI	126
102.	AURORA, BY GUIDO RENI	126
103.	VICTORIOUS SAMSON, BY GUIDO RENI	127
104.	JUDITH, BY CRISTOFANO ALLORI	127
105.	LAST COMMUNION OF ST JEROME, BY DOMENICHINO	128
106.	LA CACCIA DI DIANA, BY DOMENICHINO	129
107.	DANCING CUPIDS AND RAPE OF PROSERPINE, BY ALBANI	130
108.	SAMIAN SIBYL, BY GUERCINO	131
109.	POESIA, BY CARLO DOLCI	131
110.	MADONNA DEL ROSARIO, BY SASSOFERRATO	132
111.	HARBOUR VIEW, BY SALVATOR ROSA	133
112.	RECEPTION OF ST IGNATIUS LOYOLA INTO PARADISE, BY POZZO	136
113.	PART OF CEILING-FRESCOS IN THE RICCARDI PALACE, FLORENCE, BY LUCA GIORDANO	137
114.	CLEOPATRA'S BANQUET, BY TIEPOLO	138
115.	CRUCIFIXION SCENE, BY TIEPOLO	139
116.	THE PIAZZETTA, VENICE, BY CANALETTO	140
117.	CHIRON AND THE YOUNG ACHILLES, BY BATONI	141
118.	SEVILLE CATHEDRAL	146
119.	THE ESCORIAL	147

ILLUSTRATIONS

	<small>PAGE</small>
FIG.	
120. CHRIST ON THE CROSS, BY MONTAÑES	156
121. THE BAPTIST, BY MONTAÑES	156
122. VIRGIN AND CHILD, BY MORALES	157
123. QUEEN MARY, BY ANTHONY MORE (ANTONIS MOR)	168
124. APOTHEOSIS OF ST THOMAS AQUINAS, BY ZURBARAN	169
125. THE DRINKERS, BY VELASQUEZ	170
126. JOSEPH'S COAT BROUGHT TO HIS FATHER, BY VELASQUEZ	171
127. THE SURRENDER OF BREDA, BY VELASQUEZ	172
128. THE SPINNERS, BY VELASQUEZ	173
129. THE 'ROKEBY VENUS,' BY VELASQUEZ	174
130. THE CHARITY OF ST JAMES, BY MURILLO	175
131. MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK, BY MURILLO	176
132. THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES, BY MURILLO	176
133. THE ROMAN PATRICIAN'S DREAM, BY MURILLO	177
134. THE TELLING OF THE DREAM TO POPE LIBERIUS, BY MURILLO	177
135. THE MADONNA OF THE ROSARY, BY MURILLO	178
136. THE CHILDREN JESUS AND JOHN, BY MURILLO	179
137. CHARLES IV OF SPAIN AND HIS FAMILY, BY GOYA	182
138. JEAN II (LE BON)	183
139. CHARLES V	183
140. CHÂTEAU DE PIERREFONDS	186
141. HOUSE OF JACQUES CŒUR, BOURGES	187
142. CHARLES VII, BY FOQUET	187
143. PALAIS DE JUSTICE, ROUEN	190
144. MONUMENT TO CATHERINE D'ALENÇON	191
145. MONUMENT TO PHILIPPE POT	191
146. MARTYRDOM OF S. DENIS, BY MALOUEL (OR BY BELLECHOSE OF BRABANT?)	194
147. PIETA, SCHOOL OF AVIGNON	194
148. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS, ATTRIBUTED TO FROMENT	195
149. TRIPTYCH, ATTRIBUTED TO THE 'MASTER OF MOULINS' (OR TO JEAN PERRÉAL)	196

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.		PAGE
150.	THE NATIVITY, PERHAPS BY THE 'MASTER OF MOULINS'	197
151.	CHÂTEAU DE CHAUMONT	200
152.	CHÂTEAU D'AMBOISE	200
153.	CHÂTEAU DE CHAMBORD—NORTH FRONT	201
154.	CHÂTEAU DE CHENONCEAUX—WEST FRONT	201
155.	PART OF LESCOT'S FAÇADE OF THE LOUVRE—PORTE JEAN-GOUJON	202
156.	FONTAINEBLEAU—LA COUR DES ADIEUX	202
157.	CATHEDRAL OF TOURS	203
158.	SAINt-PIERRE, CAEN	203
159.	SAINt-MICHEL, DIJON	206
160.	L'ÉGLISE DU VAL-DE-GRÂCE, PARIS	206
161.	SAINt-Louis DES INVALIDES, PARIS	207
162.	L'ENSEVELISSEMENT DU CHRIST	208
163.	MISE AU TOMBEAU, BY LIGIER RICHIER	209
164.	STE ANNE ET LA JEUNE VIERGE	210
165.	LA VIERGE DU CHÂTEAU D'OLIVET	211
166.	LA PRUDENCE, BY COLOMBE	211
167.	ST GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, BY COLOMBE	212
168.	DIANA AND STAG, BY GOUJON	212
169.	MONUMENT TO THE DUC DE BRÉZÉ, BY GOUJON (AND COUSIN ?)	213
170.	THREE GRACES, OR VIRTUES, BY PILON	213
171.	FRANCIS I, BRONZE BUST	214
172.	HENRY IV, BRONZE BUST	214
173.	FRANCIS I, BY JEAN CLOUET	215
174.	ELISABETH OF AUSTRIA, BY FRANÇOIS CLOUET	215
175.	ENTOMBMENT, BY SIMON VOUET	222
176.	ST PAUL AT EPHESUS, BY LE SUEUR	222
177.	COLONNADE OF THE LOUVRE	223
178.	VERSAILLES	223
179.	LA PORTE SAINT-DENIS, PARIS	234
180.	LE PANTHÉON, PARIS	235

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.	PAGE
181. LA BOURSE, PARIS	236
182. L'ÉGLISE DE LA MADELEINE, PARIS	236
183. ARC DE TRIOMPHE (DU CARROUSEL), PARIS	237
184. ARC DE TRIOMPHE (DE L'ÉTOILE), PARIS	237
185. LA TOILETTE D'APOLLON, BY GIRARDON	238
186. SHEPHERD PLAYING THE FLUTE, BY COYSEVOX	239
187. PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA, BY PUGET	239
188. MILO OF CROTONA, BY PUGET	240
189. DIOGENES AND ALEXANDER, BY PUGET	240
190. MERCURY PUTTING ON HIS WINGED SANDALS, BY PIGALLE	241
191. LA BAIGNEUSE, BY FALCONET	241
192, 193. NAPOLEON, BY HOUDON	244
194. VOLTAIRE, BY HOUDON	245
195. DIANA, BY HOUDON	245
196. LA MARSEILLAISE, BY RUDE	246
197. CENTAUR AND LAPITH, BY BARYE	247
198. LA DANSE, BY CARPEAUX	248
199. NEAPOLITAN FISHER-BOY, BY RUDE	249
200. GANYMEDE, BY THORWALDSEN	249
201. SHEPHERDS OF ARCADIA, BY POUSSIN	254
202. DIOGENES CASTING AWAY HIS BOWL, BY POUSSIN	255
203. THE BLIND MEN OF JERICHO, BY POUSSIN	262
204. THE LANDING OF CLEOPATRA ON THE BANK OF THE CYDNUS NEAR TARSUS, BY CLAUDE LE LORRAIN	263
205. EMBARKATION OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA, BY CLAUDE LE LORRAIN	266
206. ALEXANDER'S PASSAGE OF THE GRANICUS, BY LE BRUN	267
207. MELEAGER AND ATALANTA IN CALYDON, BY LE BRUN	267
208. LARGILLIÈRE WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER, BY HIMSELF	276
209. WINTER, BY LANCRET	276
210. EMBARKATION FOR CYTHERA, BY WATTEAU	277

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.		PAGE
211.	LOUIS XIV, BY RIGAUD	280
212.	'BENEDICITE,' BY CHARDIN	280
213.	'SUNSET,' BY BOUCHER	281
214.	DIANA TENDED BY NYMPHS AFTER BATHING, BY BOUCHER	281
215.	Mlle FEL, BY LA TOUR	286
216.	LA CRUCHE CASSÉE, BY GREUZE	287
217.	MADAME LEBRUN WITH HER DAUGHTER, BY HERSELF	287
218.	LE SERMENT DU JEU DE PAUME, BY DAVID	294
219.	THE CORONATION SCENE, BY DAVID	294
220.	FIGHT BETWEEN ROMANS AND SABINES, BY DAVID	295
221.	MADAME RÉCAMIER, BY DAVID	296
222.	JUSTICE AND VENGEANCE PURSUING CRIME, BY PRUD'HON	296
223.	PSYCHE BORNE TO HEAVEN BY ZEPHYR (OR CUPID), BY PRUD'HON	297
224.	MADAME RÉCAMIER, BY GÉRARD	297
225.	LES PESTIFÉRÉS DE JAFFA, BY GROS	300
226.	NAPOLEON ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF EYLAU, BY GROS	300
227.	THE RAFT OF THE MEDUSA, BY GÉRICHAULT	301
228.	SAINT-ROMBAUT, MALINES	310
229.	SAINTE-GUDULE, BRUSSELS	310
230.	ANTWERP CATHEDRAL	311
231.	HÔTEL DE VILLE, LOUVAIN	311
232.	HÔTEL DE VILLE, ANTWERP	316
233.	MAISONS DES CORPORATIONS, BRUSSELS	316
234.	LA CHEMINÉE DU FRANC	317
235.	PULPIT IN SAINTE-GUDULE, BRUSSELS	317
236.	VIERGE AU DONATEUR, BY JAN VAN EYCK	326
237.	LAST SUPPER, BY DIRK BOUTS	326
238.	CENTRE AND WING OF THE 'MADONNA OF THE DONNE FAMILY,' BY MEMLING	327
239.	MARRIAGE OF ST CATHARINE, BY MEMLING	327

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.	PAGE
240. MARRIAGE OF ST CATHARINE, BY GERARD DAVID	330
241. ENTOMBMENT, BY QUENTIN MATSYS	330
242. VIRGIN AND CHILD, BY QUENTIN MATSYS	331
243. 'BANKER AND HIS WIFE,' BY QUENTIN MATSYS	331
244. REST ON FLIGHT TO EGYPT, BY PATINIR	332
245. REST ON FLIGHT TO EGYPT, BY HENDRIK BLES	333
246. 'FEBRUARY,' MINIATURE IN THE 'GRIMANI BREVIARY'	333
247. VISIT OF THE MAGI, BY BOSCH	334
248. ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY MABUSE	335
249. ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY PIETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER	335
250. 'HEARING,' BY JAN BRUEGHEL	336
251. THE ROAD TO CALVARY, BY PIETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER	337
252. LANDSCAPE, BY PAUL BRIL	337
253. PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF, BY ANTONIS MOR	338
254. MARRIAGE OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS, BY RUBENS	339
255. CORONATION OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS, BY RUBENS	340
256. ROMULUS AND REMUS, BY RUBENS	341
257. SEVEN CHILDREN WITH GARLAND OF FRUIT, BY RUBENS	341
258. DESCENTE DE LA CROIX, BY RUBENS	342
259. DESCENTE DE LA CROIX, BY RUBENS—LATER VERSION	342
260. RUBENS WITH HIS FIRST WIFE, BY HIMSELF	343
261. HÉLÈNE FOURMENT AS BRIDE, BY RUBENS	343
262. THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS, BY RUBENS	344
263. CHÂTEAU DE STEEN, BY RUBENS	344
264. ENTRY OF HENRY IV INTO PARIS, BY RUBENS	345
265. CONCERT APRÈS LE REPAS, BY JORDAENS	346
266. CHARLES I, BY VAN DYCK	347
267. FRANÇOIS DE MONCADA, BY VAN DYCK	348
268. VIERGE AUX DONATEURS, BY VAN DYCK	349

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.		PAGE
269.	TEMPTATION OF ST ANTHONY, BY DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER	349
270.	VILLAGE WEDDING, BY DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER	352
271.	PART OF A TRIPYCH IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON, ATTRIBUTED TO A DUTCH (?) PAINTER WHO WORKED (<i>c.</i> 1520) IN DELFT	353
272.	PORTRAIT OF A LADY, BY RAVESTEYN	356
273.	BANQUET OF ST HADRIAN'S CROSSBOWMEN, BY FRANS HALS	357
274.	A LESSON IN ANATOMY, BY REMBRANDT	360
275.	'THE NIGHT WATCH,' BY REMBRANDT	360
276.	THE PILGRIMS OF EMMAUS, BY REMBRANDT	361
277.	THE OFFERING OF MANOAH, BY REMBRANDT	361
278.	FRANÇOISE VAN WASSERHOVEN (?), BY REMBRANDT	362
279.	PORTRAIT OF AN OLD LADY, BY REMBRANDT	362
280.	'THE PEACE OF MÜNSTER,' BY GERARD TER BORCH	363
281.	Le MÉNÉTRIER (THE FIDDLER), BY ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	364
282.	LANDSCAPE WITH CATTLE, BY ALBERT CUYP	364
283.	'GRACE BEFORE MEAT,' BY JAN STEEN	365
284.	'COUP DE SOLEIL,' BY RUYSDAEL	368
285.	'COUP DE CANON,' BY WILLEM VAN DE VELDE	368
286.	THE AVENUE, BY HOBBEMA	369
287.	VILLAGE WITH WATER-MILLS, BY HOBBEMA	369
288.	DAS ALTPÖRTEL, SPEYER	382
289.	DAS ÜNGELINGERTOR, STENDAL	382
290.	'ECCLESIA,' STRASSBURG CATHEDRAL	383
291.	'SYNAGOGE,' STRASSBURG CATHEDRAL	383
292.	ST SEBALD'S SHRINE, BY PETER VISCHER	402
293.	ST ELISABETH, BY RIEMENSCHNEIDER	403
294.	KING ARTHUR, BY PETER VISCHER	403
295.	DER SCHÖNE BRUNNEN, NÜRNBERG	404
296.	DER PERSEUSBRUNNEN, MUNICH	404
297.	DER GROSSE KURFÜRST, BY SCHLÜTER	405
298.	Die Hofkirche, Dresden	405

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG:	PAGE
299. SCHLOSS ELTZ	416
300. HAUS KAMMERZELL, STRASSBURG	417
301. HEIDELBERG CASTLE	417
302. RATHAUS, BRUNSWICK	418
303. RATHAUS, LÜBECK	418
304. RATHAUS, EMDEN	419
305. RATHAUS, ROTHENBURG	419
306. RATHAUS, COLOGNE	420
307. DOM AND PART OF RATHAUS, BREMEN	420
308. BELVEDERE, VIENNA	421
309. PALAIS SCHWARZENBERG, VIENNA	421
310. KARLSKIRCHE, VIENNA	426
311. ZWINGER PAVILION, DRESDEN	426
312. FRAUENKIRCHE, DRESDEN	427
313. WEST PORTAL OF SCHLOSS, BERLIN	427
314. SCHLOSS, MÜNSTER	428
315. DIE COMMUNS, NEUES PALAIS, POTSDAM	428
316. DAS DOMBILD	429
317. THE MAGI, BY CONRAD WITZ	432
318. ST WOLFGANG HEALS A SICK MAN, BY PACHER	432
319. DIE MADONNA IM ROSENHAG, BY SCHONGAUER	433
320. ST BARBARA, BY HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER	438
321. ST ELISABETH, BY HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER	438
322. CHRISTINA OF MILAN, BY HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER	438
323. ALBRECHT DÜRER, BY HIMSELF	439
324. ALBRECHT DÜRER, BY HIMSELF	439
325. ADORATION OF THE TRINITY, BY ALBRECHT DÜRER	442
326. THE KNIGHT, DEATH, AND THE DEVIL, BY ALBRECHT DÜRER	442
327. ADAM AND EVE, BY LUCAS CRANACH	443
328. VIRGIN AND CHILD, BY LUCAS CRANACH	443
329. TRIPTYCH, BY LUCAS CRANACH	444
330. THE MADONNA OF THE MEYER FAMILY, BY HOLBEIN	445

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.		PAGE
331.	HENRY VIII, BY HOLBEIN	450
332.	THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS, BY RAPHAEL MENGS	451
333.	FREDERICK THE GREAT, BY GRAFF	454
334.	ANGELICA KAUFFMANN, BY HERSELF	454
335.	ANGEL TOWER, CANTERBURY	455
336.	HAMPTON COURT—TUDOR BRIDGE	455
337.	LONGLEAT HOUSE	456
338.	RETCHFORD HALL	456
339.	THE PALACE, STIRLING CASTLE	457
340.	BANQUETING-HALL, WHITEHALL	457
341.	ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL	460
342.	ST STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK—INTERIOR	461
343.	BOW CHURCH, CHEAPSIDE	461
344.	HAMPTON COURT	462
345.	SOMERSET HOUSE	462
346.	THE VERE TOMB	463
347.	CHOIR-STALLS, ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL	463
348.	FIGURES FROM FIREPLACE, DORCHESTER HOUSE	466
349.	PORTRAIT OF RICHARD II—PAINTER UNKNOWN	467
350.	PORTRAIT OF HIS WIFE, BY NICHOLAS HILLIARD	470
351.	OLIVER CROMWELL, BY SAMUEL COOPER	470
352.	CALAIS GATE, BY WILLIAM HOGARTH	470
353.	DR EDMUND BUTTS, BY JOHN BETTES	471
354.	THE SHRIMP GIRL, BY WILLIAM HOGARTH	471
355.	LANDSCAPE WITH BATHERS, BY RICHARD WILSON	474
356.	CORNARD WOOD, BY THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	474
357.	NELLY O'BRIEN, BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	475
358.	THE AGE OF INNOCENCE, BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	475
359.	LORD HEATHFIELD, BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	476
360.	THE BLUE BOY, BY THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	477
361.	THE HON. MRS GRAHAM, BY THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	477
362.	THE MORNING WALK, BY THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	478
363.	THE BEAUMONT FAMILY, BY GEORGE ROMNEY	479
364.	STABLE INTERIOR, BY GEORGE MORLAND	482

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.	PAGE
365. BLIND MAN'S BUFF, BY SIR DAVID WILKIE	482
366. DR NATHANIEL SPENS, BY SIR HENRY RAEBURN	483
367. KIRKSTALL ABBEY, BY THOMAS GIRTIN	488
368. GRETA BRIDGE, BY JOHN SELL COTMAN	488
369. THE PORINGLAND OAK, BY JOHN CROME	489
370. CROSSING THE BROOK, BY J. M. W. TURNER	489
371. THE HAYWAIN, BY JOHN CONSTABLE	492
372. DIDO BUILDING CARTHAGE, BY J. M. W. TURNER	492
373. SPITHEAD—BOAT'S CREW RECOVERING AN ANCHOR, BY J. M. W. TURNER	493
374. ULYSSES DERIDING POLYPHEMUS, BY J. M. W. TURNER	493
375. SANCHI STUPA AND GATEWAY	502
376. DRYAD OF WOODS—DETAIL FROM GATEWAY OF SANCHI STUPA	502
377. SEATED BUDDHA—FIRST TO SECOND CENTURY A.D.	503
378. SEATED BUDDHA—FIFTH CENTURY A.D.	503
379. BUDDHA ATTENDED BY ANANDA AND KASSAPA AND TWO BODHISATTVAS	506
380. SEATED FIGURE OF A LOHAN	507
381. SEATED BODHISATTVA—SUNG DYNASTY	507
382. WOODEN FIGURE OF KWANNON, ASCRIBED TO SHOTOKU DAISHI	512
383. BRONZE FIGURE OF BODHISATTVA, BY GIOGI	512
384. BODHISATTVA—DETAIL FROM AJANTA FRESCO	513
385. TWO FORMS OF AVALOKITESVARA	513
386. KWANYIN, AFTER WU TAO-TZU	524
387. BIRDS AND LOTUS—SUNG DYNASTY	524
388. TIGER, BY MU CHI	525
389. SHOKI, THE DEMON-QUELLER, BY CHO DENSU	525
390. SHORIKEN CROSSING THE SEA ON HIS SWORD, BY KANO MOTONOBU	525
391. MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE, BY SESSHU	530
392. 'EVENING SNOW ON THE MOUNTAINS,' BY SESSEN	530

HISTORY OF ART

FIG.

	PAGE
393. KWANNON, BY KANO TANYU	531
394. MONKEYS, BY SOSEN	531
395. WAVE SCREEN, BY KORIN	534
396. ONE OF THIRTY-SIX VIEWS OF FUJI, BY HOKUSAI	535
397. HORSEMEN, FROM THE 'MANGWA' OF HOKUSAI	535

PART I

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

CHAPTER I

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE¹

IN the chapter on Quattrocento architecture we saw how, about 1430, a new style, which rapidly spread and completely displaced Italian Gothic (except at Venice), was initiated by Brunelleschi at Florence, and how Bramante of Urbino, developing this new Florentine round-arch style as modified by Laurana, the Dalmatian architect of Duke Federigo of Urbino, erected at Milan, from 1472 to 1500—during the reign of Duke Lodovico il Moro—some very fine buildings in what is called his first, or Milanese, style. The most notable of these are the choir, the transept, and the dome of S. Maria delle Grazie, the church so well known on account of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, which that great artist was painting in the refectory of the adjoining monastery during the last years of the century.

The best of these Quattrocento (Middle Renaissance) buildings were founded upon principles underlying classical and Romanesque architecture, but their builders were in the truest sense original, not directly imitating classical models nor slavishly subservient to the classical rules enunciated by Vitruvius, but endued with that exquisite sense of proportion and that noble self-restraint which are acquired from a sincere admiration of the finest Greek and Roman monuments.

In so far as the so-called 'Classic' style of the High

¹ Here and in the following sections, as well as in the chapters on the Trecento and the Quattrocento in Vol. I and in the chapters on Early Christian and Byzantine and Romanesque architecture and mosaics, I have drawn freely on my *Medieval Italy* and *Italy from Dante to Tasso* ('Great Nations' series, Harrap and Co.).

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

Renaissance (say 1500 to 1550) was a genuine development from that of the preceding period—the period of Brunelleschi and the early days of Bramante—it possessed vitality;¹ but it deteriorated rapidly, and many of the great buildings which were erected in the first half of the sixteenth century are characterized by lifeless imitation of disconnected parts of classical structures and by frequent misuse of some of the main constructive features of classical architecture.

This is especially noticeable in the misuse of the column by Cinquecento architects, in which misuse they were preceded by the Romans of the Empire.

In Greek architecture columns supported the massive horizontal entablature, and usually also a roof, and the appeal that they make to our sense of beauty is like that made by a living, lithe or stalwart, human body balancing on the head without undue effort a heavy weight.²

But when the Romans in their huge monuments and amphitheatres and aqueducts adopted Etruscan, or Oriental, arches (which at first were simple round-headed apertures in a massive wall and were separated only by thick pier-like masses) columns and architraves—the latter sometimes bent into arcs—were added,³ set into the masonry as mere decorative survivals; and in some cases, as in that of the Colosseum, rows of such arches flanked by useless columns of various orders rose one above the other in tiers.

In the Italian architecture of the Cinquecento is to be found very frequently this use of the column and the architrave—this misuse of what is essentially constructive, the significance of which, as well as its beauty, consists in its doing the work for which it was originally designed.⁴ It

¹ The *cortile* of the Palazzo della Cancelleria at Rome (built perhaps as early as 1495) is attributed to Bramante, as are many other Early Renaissance buildings. He probably designed it; and anyhow it offers a fine example of the Brunelleschi or Laurana style combined with classical features. The combination of the light-arched colonnade with classical cornices and horizontal and vertical courses, as in Sansovino's Venetian works, is highly effective.

² This simile by no means suggests that a column should take the form of an Atlas or a Caryatid. Also, it is a most absurd misuse when a huge single column is made to support a comparatively small statue. Twisted shafts likewise seem to stultify the *raison d'être* of columns.

³ The Theatre of Marcellus is a good example of columns pretending to support architraves.

⁴ A similar argument and a similar excuse may be applied in the case of Lombard-Romanesque, with its exterior, often blind, arcades.

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

is this merely decorative use of columns and entablatures and pediments and false windows and other such shams that mainly differentiates the later Classical Renaissance architecture from that of Brunelleschi and the early work of Bramante, where the columns support either the whole weight of the architrave, and the superincumbent mass, as in the Tempietto of Bramante's first creation at Rome, or else uphold the arches on which the upper part of the building really rests, as in the Innocenti and S. Lorenzo and S. Spirito at Florence.

The decorative use of columns, pilasters, entablatures, pediments, blind windows, etc., was found to be a very easy method of producing an impression of grandiosity, if not grandeur—such as was encouraged by ever-increasing wealth and luxury ; but there were in that era some Italian architects of unquestionable genius, such as Bramante (*d. 1514*) and Sansovino (*d. 1570*), and among the buildings of the High Classical Renaissance there are not a few which by their noble proportions and the tasteful richness of their decoration make us forget to be critical, and win our sincere admiration—at all events as splendid framework and foreground, such as, according to Ruskin, Sansovino's and Scamozzi's magnificent piles, the Libreria Vecchia and the Procuratie Nuove at Venice, form for the picture of St Mark's.

Another weak point in many Cinquecento buildings is that the models used were unfortunately not the fine columns of the three Greek orders, such as were easily to be found in South Italy and Sicily—at Paestum and Agrigentum and Selinus and elsewhere—but the debased Roman-Greek orders of Julius Caesar's military engineer, Vitruvius. Possibly, however, the rich carvings of Composite capitals and splendid Roman entablatures may have suited the genius of such men as Sansovino better than the severer grandeur of the ancient Doric and Ionic.

The best church-designers of the Italian Cinquecento, it should be remarked, seem to have gone rather to Byzantine than to Roman models for their general designs, preferring the so-called Greek cross and using a great central dome, such as we find in Bramante's design (afterward altered) for the new St Peter's, the lineal ancestors of which

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

were churches of the type of S. Sophia or even S. Vitale rather than the Roman basilicas. To construct on any ancient principle the immense domes of Late Renaissance churches would, indeed, have been impossible. In order to 'hang the Pantheon dome in mid-heaven,' as Michelangelo did, it was necessary to have recourse to the discoveries of Byzantine architects.

The two centres of the best High Renaissance architecture in Italy were Rome and Venice. Besides these two cities, Genoa, Verona, Mantua, and some other North Italian towns possess fine specimens. Let us consider first the two great centres, and after noticing the other cities pass on to note the lamentable deterioration which, except at Venice, took place in the Classical style even before the death of Michelangelo in 1564.

(a) Rome (1500-c. 1564)

The great epoch of Classical Cinquecento architecture extends over the pontificates of Julius II, Leo X, Clement VII, and the Farnese Pope Paul III, and even perhaps to that of Paul IV (*d.* 1559) or to the death of Michelangelo in 1564. Between the second and third (both Medicean) popes, a Dutchman, Adrian VI, of Utrecht, ruled the Church for nearly two years, but as he was (though otherwise an estimable man and a zealous reformed of abuses) anything but a favourer of the arts, despising all such things and all *belle lettres*, we may omit him, merely remarking that during those two years the Vatican is said to have resembled a Trappist monastery, and even such artists as Giulio Romano and Sebastiano del Piombo were, if we can believe Vasari, almost starved to death.

Julius II (1503-13) belonged to the Rovere family, which, sprung from lowly origin, became illustrious in the history of the Church and of the State. He was a warlike and ambitious man—the first who fully merited the title of a pope-king. To him rather than to Leo X we should give the credit of having initiated the so-called Golden Age of the Italian Renaissance, for it was he who persuaded Michelangelo to return to Rome and gave him those two vast



2. S. PIETRO, ROME

Photo Alinari



3. S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, ASSISI

By Vignola

Photo Alinari

5. CAPPELLA CHIGI, ROME

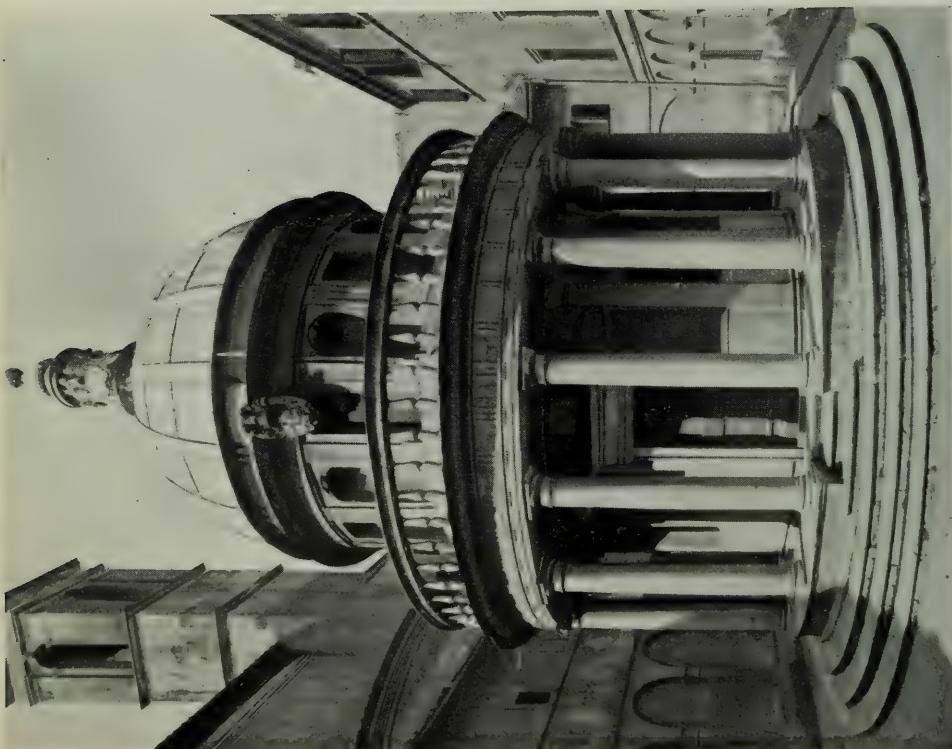
5

By Raphael
Photo Alinari



4. IL TEMPIETTO, ROME

By Bramante
Photo Bregi



CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

labours, the monument which proved the ‘tragedy’ of its sculptor’s life and the painting of the Sistine Chapel ; it was he too who invited Raphael to Rome, and who entrusted Bramante with the reconstruction of St Peter’s. Leo X, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, was then already famous as Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici. He had fled from Florence with his brother Piero the Unfortunate, and had been taken prisoner by the French at the battle of Ravenna (1512), but he escaped, and was elected pope in the place of Julius II. He favoured Raphael especially (who had already worked five years at his Stanze frescos under Julius), and treated Michelangelo somewhat capriciously, sending him to Florence to accomplish an enormous and distasteful task. Raphael he made architect of St Peter’s on the death of Bramante in 1514, and it was during his pontificate that many of Raphael’s greatest works were produced.

Besides Michelangelo and Raphael and Bramante, we find at Rome during the pontificates of these two popes the architects Giuliano da Sangallo, Peruzzi, and the elder Sansovino, as well as Perugino, Signorelli, and other Umbrian painters who had first been summoned thither by Sixtus IV, the uncle of Julius. The enthusiasm for classical art which became so great at Rome soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century was doubtless to some extent due to the important discoveries of ancient works of sculpture that were made about this epoch. The *Apollo* which Julius transported to the garden-house of the Belvedere formed the germ from which were developed the mighty sculpture-galleries of the Vatican, and in 1506 the *Laocoön* was unearthed in a vineyard near the Baths of Titus and was at once recognized by Michelangelo and Sangallo as the group described by Pliny. Clement VII (1523-34), the crafty cousin of Leo, was too much taken up with disastrous politics and too much overwhelmed by the terrible sack of Rome by the Spaniards and their Lutheran mercenaries to pay much attention to art ; but in spite of all devastation, and in spite of the death of Raphael, Rome retained her artistic supremacy. This was mainly due to the continued presence, after Clement’s death, of Michelangelo, whose mighty *Last Judgment* was not finished till 1541 and whose

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

transformation of the Baths of Diocletian into a great monastery and the noble church of S. Maria degli Angeli occupied him until 1560, four years before his death.

After this short survey of the period under consideration we shall be better able to see how the following facts, artistic and biographic, fit in with each other.

But before passing onward we should here note that the grandeur and beauty of the buildings and paintings with which the city was now adorned served to make more conspicuous the terrible squalor and desolation that surrounded them. Rome's finest streets, often almost impassable by reason of mud and refuse, were miserably disfigured by groups of the most filthy and dilapidated medieval habitations and by ill-kempt waste-places. The poorer classes were pitifully poor. There was scarcely any productive labour, scarcely any agriculture and commerce. The Roman craftsmen, no less than the artists, were slavishly dependent on the vast wealth that the Church had accumulated by jubilees and indulgences and other such means—on the hordes of wealthy prelates who with their favourites and women thronged the papal court and dominated patronage, while many of the old noble families, such as the Gaetani, the Cenci, and the Savelli, were ruined or miserably impoverished, the Colonna and Orsini being the only names that retained any of their former dignity.

Bramante left Milan on the fall of Duke Lodovico il Moro in 1499. He made his way to Rome, where Michelangelo, a youth of twenty-four, had been living for some three years. Here the notorious Borgia, Alexander VI, was presiding over a papal court of which the less said the better. Bramante's first architectural work in Rome may have been that *cortile* of the Cancelleria of which I have already spoken, for it shows a style hitherto unknown in Rome and yet one that has far more affinity to the new Florentine style (or that of Laurana at Urbino) than to what one regards as genuine 'Bramante architecture.' Probably the first two or three years of his sojourn in Rome were much occupied in studying the remains of ancient buildings; and the result of these studies seems to have been that celebrated Tempietto—the first genuinely Classical Cinquecento struc-



6. CANCELLERIA, ROME

By Bramante

Photo Brogi



7. CLOISTERS BUILT BY MICHELANGELO ON SITE OF
DIOCLETIAN'S BATHS, ROME

Now the Museo Nazionale

Photo Brogi



8. LA SAGRESTIA NUOVA, S. LORENZO, FLORENCE

By Michelangelo

Photo Brogi



9. S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, ROME

By Michelangelo

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

ture—which he built (1502) in the court of the cloisters of the newly erected S. Pietro in Montorio, on the spot where it was then falsely believed that the Apostle was crucified. It has the form of an ancient round temple in Roman Doric style.

Vasari attributes ‘numberless’ buildings to Bramante in North Italy, in Rome, and elsewhere, but many are doubtless by his imitators. Built certainly from his designs in Rome are, besides the Tempietto and the Cancelleria (or at least its church, S. Damaso), only the cloisters of S. Maria della Pace and the Cortile Belvedere in the Vatican. An assistant of Bramante’s at Rome was the younger Antonio da Sangallo, who is notable as architect of the Farnese Palace. This fine but exteriorly rather monotonously massive building, since 1874 the residence of the French ambassador, was begun by Alexander Farnese, who became pope in 1534. After Sangallo’s death Michelangelo added the top storey with its grand cornice.

Peruzzi of Siena (1481–1537) came to Rome in 1503 and became an assistant of Bramante’s. His fellow-townsman, the rich banker Chigi, commissioned him to build the Villa Chigi, now world-famous as the Farnesina, in the Trastevere. The style, light and elegant in comparison with that of Bramante and Sangallo, with graceful frieze pierced with windows, is much admired. On the death of Raphael (1520) Peruzzi was associated with Sangallo as architect of St Peter’s. Fine buildings by Peruzzi exist at Bologna, Ferrara, and elsewhere, but his chief work lay at Rome, where he died, it is said in great poverty. His tomb is beside Raphael’s in the Pantheon.

Raphael as architect is known especially in connexion with St Peter’s; but in S. Maria del Popolo there is a most interesting specimen of his work as a builder in the Classical Renaissance style—the Chigi Chapel. It shows a great wealth of decorative mouldings. The ground-plan is that of a Greek cross.

Michelangelo’s greatest architectural feat was the designing of the dome of St Peter’s, which was mainly built after his death by Vignola and Della Porta from his wooden model. Two other important undertakings that he accomplished as

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

builder, or anyhow as designer, were the reconstruction of the Piazza of the Capitol, with its palatial surroundings (not finished until the seventeenth century), and the above-mentioned transformation, about 1560, of the colossal remains of Diocletian's Thermae into a Carthusian monastery, including a most impressive church—the S. Maria degli Angeli—which he formed out of the mighty 'tepidarium' of the Baths.¹

A few words should here be said about the vast subject of the building of St Peter's. The ancient basilica (see Vol. I, pp. 183-184) was not demolished till the pontificate of Julius II, though the demolition had been contemplated and some new foundations had been laid some fifty years previously by the art-loving Nicholas V, for whom the Florentine architect Rossellini prepared designs for a new edifice.

The main motive that impelled Julius was apparently the desire to erect a building big enough to hold the monument which he designed to erect to his own memory—that monument of which the only part ever finished, famous for the grand statue of Moses, is to be seen in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

Julius chose Bramante as the architect of the new St Peter's, of which the foundation-stone was laid on April 18, 1506. Bramante's design was that of a Greek cross, with a great dome. On his death in 1514 Giuliano da Sangallo, Fra Giocondo (the builder of the beautiful Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona), and Raphael were appointed, and after them Antonio da Sangallo and Peruzzi and Michelangelo, who during the last eighteen years of his life was mainly occupied with the task of superintending the erection of the huge building and the designing of the dome. He tried to restore Bramante's plan, which had been considerably altered, but wished to add a great portico on the east front.² Then,

¹ The large and very graceful cloisters show a decided resemblance to Brunelleschi's work. Besides his Roman work, amongst which was the design for the Porta Pia, erected soon after his death, Michelangelo constructed at Florence the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, in which are his celebrated monuments to Medicean princes, and the Laurentian Library.

² It may surprise some readers to learn that the metropolitan cathedral of Western Catholicism and many other older churches in Rome ignore 'orthodox orientation.'



IO. S. MARIA DI CARIGNANO, NEAR GENOA

By Alessi

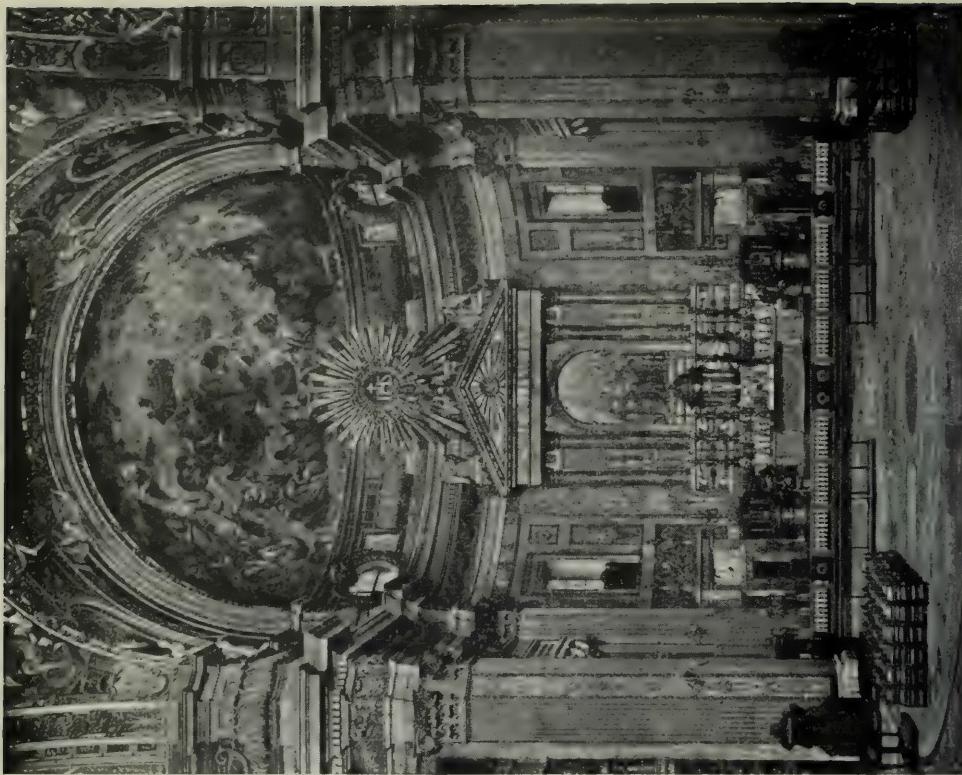
Photo Brogi



II. HALL IN PALAZZO DEL TE, MANTUA

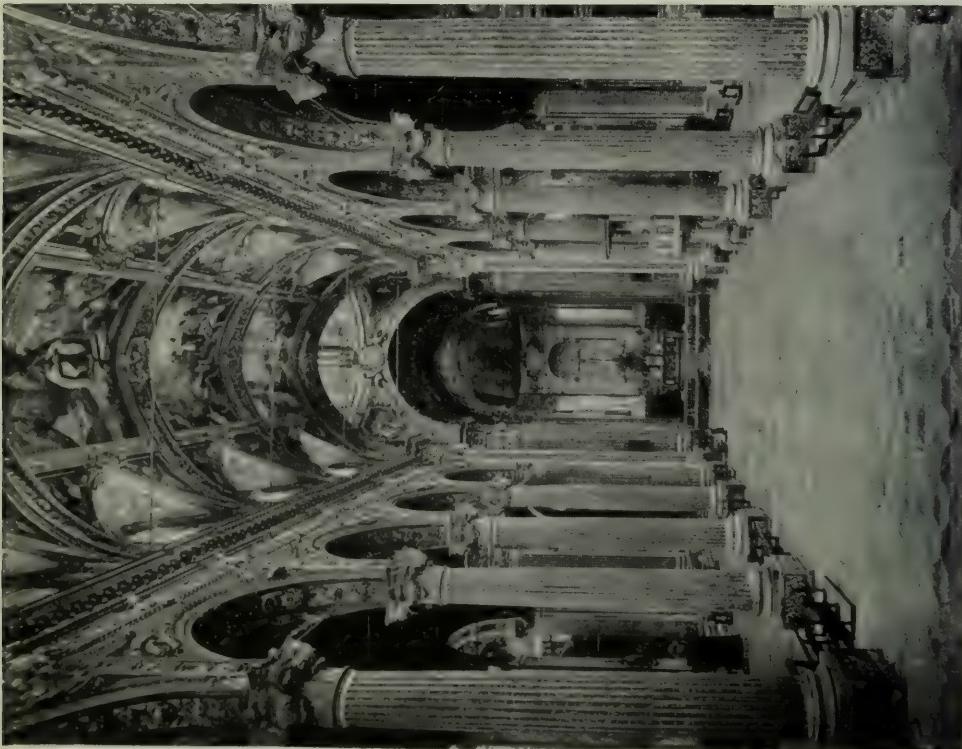
By Giulio Romano

Photo Alinari



12. CHIESA DELL' ANNUNZIATA, GENOA

Photo Brogi



13. TRIBUNE AND HIGH ALTAR, IL GESÙ, ROME

Photo Brogi

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

finally, the favourers of the Latin-cross design prevailed, and during the pontificate of the Borghese pope, Paul V, about 1606, this design was carried out by Carlo Maderna, and the huge barocco façade, topped with his statues and barocco clock-frames, was begun by this architect, continued by others, and ‘improved’ by Bernini—and the result is that from the great piazza Michelangelo’s wonderful dome is scarcely visible.

(b) Central and Northern Italy, especially Venice

I have already noted the fact that in Lombardy and other parts of North Italy there are not a few fine Late Renaissance buildings some of which are ascribed to Bramante and may well have been built by his imitators or pupils.¹ Such are the Incoronata at Lodi, the churches of S. Sisto and S. Sepolcro at Piacenza (now attributed to a newly discovered architect, Alessio Tramello), the churches of S. Giovanni and the Madonna della Steccata at Parma, and others at Cesena, Viterbo, Todi, Macerata (Madonna delle Vergini), and elsewhere. But, numerous as these Bramantesque churches are, there is, with one very conspicuous exception, namely Venice—to which we shall soon come—no Italian city besides Rome which possesses real masterpieces of Classical Renaissance architecture.

Genoa, it is true, has assumed its epithet *La Superba* on the strength of her Renaissance palaces; but, although some of these magnificent marble piles are exceedingly impressive, they are for the most part not quite satisfactory as artistic specimens of the Cinquecento style. The best were designed by Galeazzo Alessi of Perugia, a pupil of Michelangelo.² The

¹ Battaglio, Zaccagni, Suardi ('Bramantino'), the two Genga (father and son) of Urbino, and Baldassarre Lancia, also of Urbino and a contemporary of Vasari, are some of the best known. A very interesting architect of Urbino—one of the many produced by this little native town of Bramante and Raphael—was Pacciotto (b. 1521), perhaps a relative (as Bramante himself) of the great painter. He designed many famous strongholds—e.g., at Vercelli, Nice, Turin, Ancona, and the castle of Antwerp. He is also said to have assisted (Herrera?) at the Escorial.

² S. Maria di Carignano is an interesting Genoese church begun by Alessi. It is loftily situated above the sea. In general plan it resembles St Peter's (Rome) in miniature. At San Pier d'Arena, near Genoa, there are four fine palaces probably built by Alessi.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

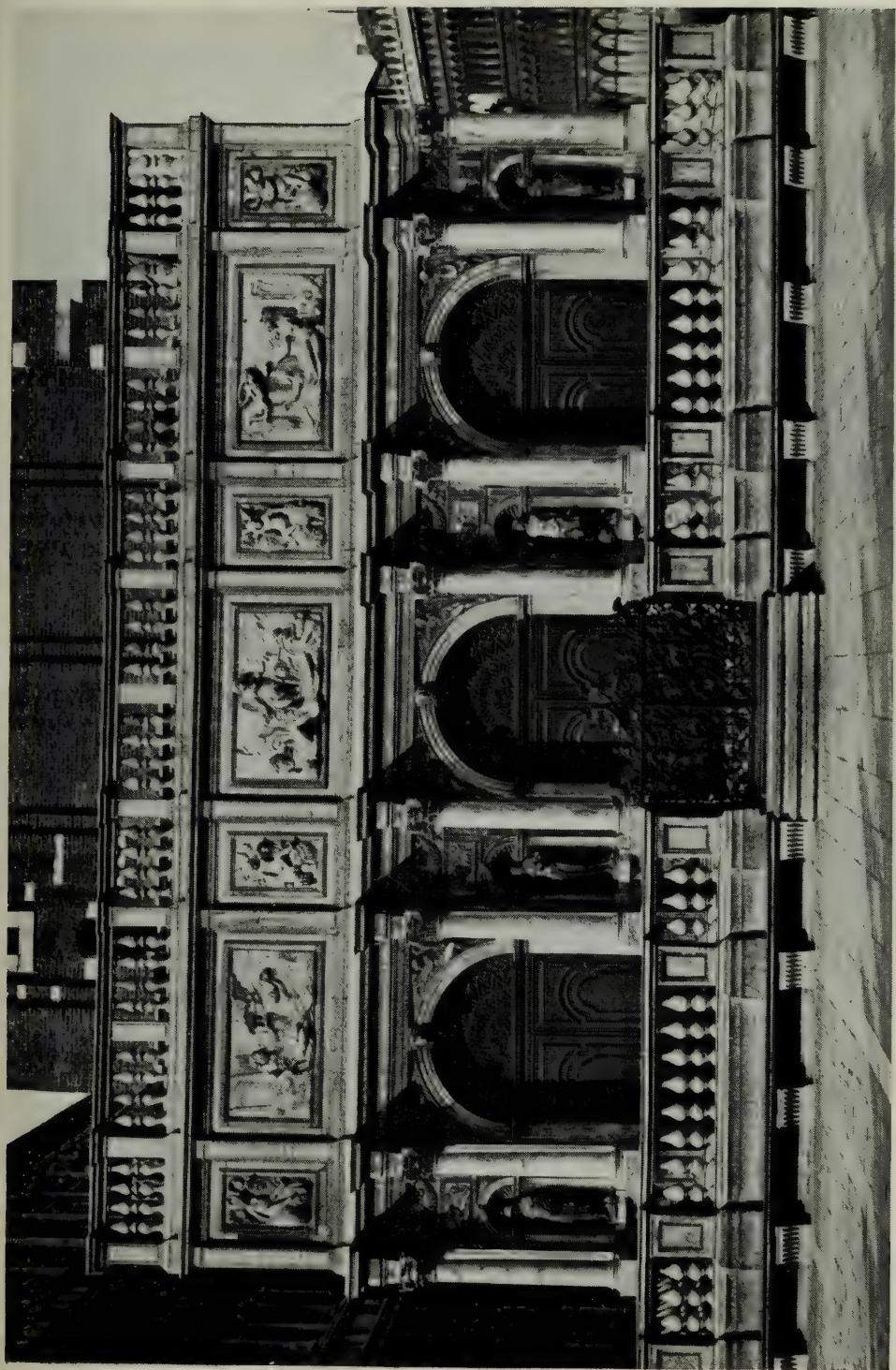
one notable Cinquecento Genoese church is the SS. Annunziata, which was not built till 1587 and shows the new tendency to over-decoration and extravagance. Its architect was that Della Porta whom I have mentioned as co-operating with Vignola in building the dome of St Peter's from the model left by Michelangelo. He and Vignola were also the architects of the Roman church Il Gesù, which, as we shall see, was the first conspicuous example of the later Italian *barocco*, or *rococo*,¹ style that was soon to extend its malign influences far and wide.

A native of Verona, Sanmicheli (1484–1559), distinguished himself during the first half of the Cinquecento as architect. His Porta del Palio and Porta Nuova at Verona are handsome and solid constructions, and many of his buildings there and at Venice—as well as in Crete, Cyprus, and Corfu—testify to his skill as a designer of strongholds; but to judge from his Verona palaces, Pompei and Bevilacqua, he would seem to have possessed but little sense for beauty in proportion and in outline. On the other hand Ruskin, though but little inclined to recognize the nobler traits of Renaissance architecture, tells us that in the ‘noble front’ of the Palazzo Grimani at Venice—almost certainly the work of Sanmicheli—‘there is not an erring line, not a mistaken proportion.’ Some of us, however, may feel that the single balcony is not quite satisfactory.

Other cities in which notable Cinquecento buildings are to be seen are Florence and Mantua. In Florence they are rare. The Palazzo Pandolfini (Nencini) is said to have been built by Francesco da Sangallo (youngest of the four celebrated architects of this family) after a design by Raphael. The Palazzo Uguccione in the Piazza della Signoria, once attributed to Raphael, has been proved by documents to have been built by Folfi (called L’Ammogliato) about 1550. The Renaissance windows of the Pitti Palace, as well as its columned court facing the Boboli Gardens, are the work (c. 1570) of the Florentine architect and sculptor Bartolomeo Ammanati, a pupil of Sansovino.

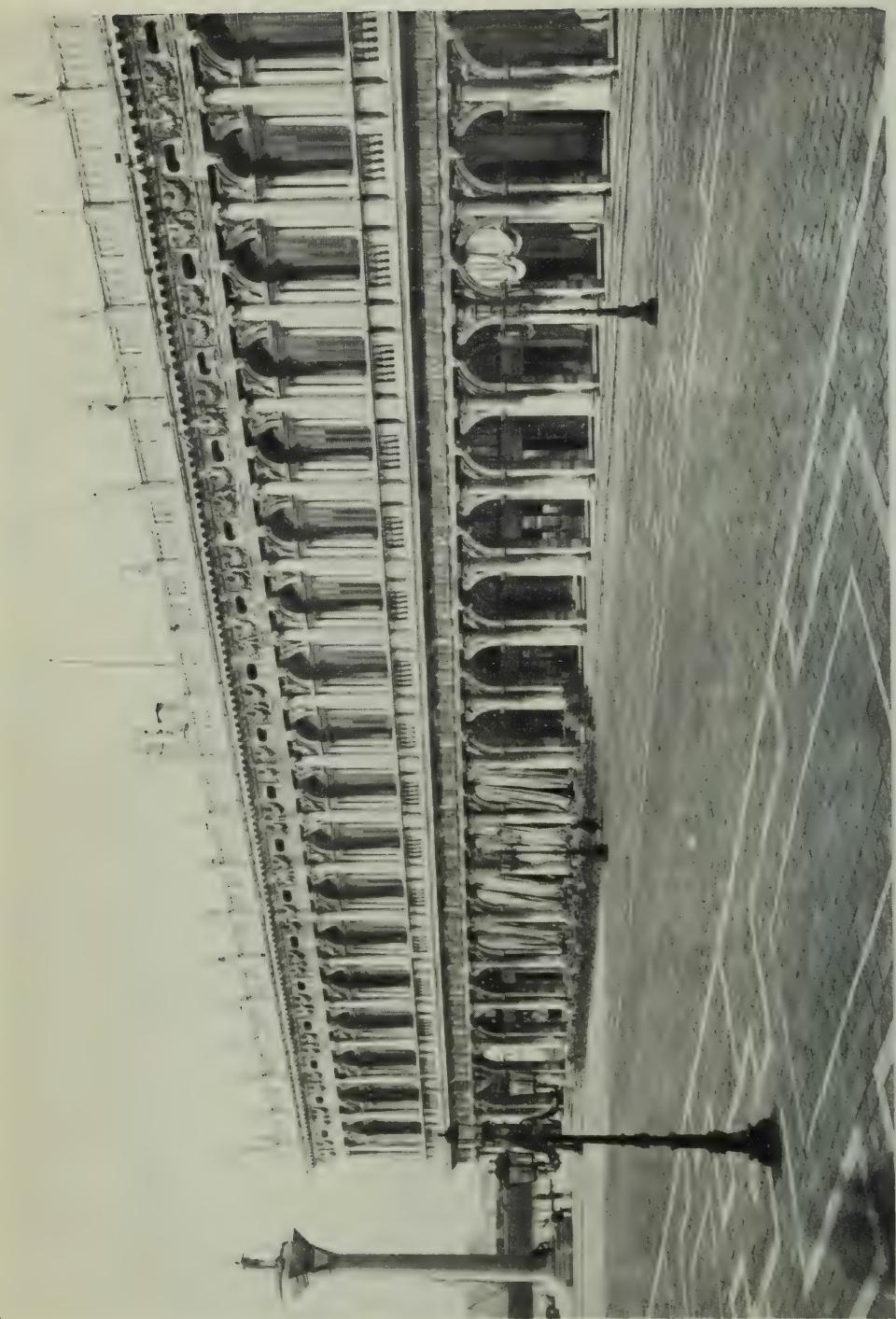
Mantua possesses a massive and dignified Renaissance building—the famous Palazzo del Te, built by Giulio Romano

¹ For the meaning and the use of these two terms see note on p. 14.



14. LA LOGGETTA, VENICE

By Sansovino
Photo Alinari



15. LA LIBRERIA VECCHIA, VENICE

By Sansovino
Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

and (as we shall see later) decorated by him with wondrous frescos. To him is also attributed the building (after a design by Raphael) of the Villa Madama at Rome, originally erected for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterward Clement VII), but, like the Palazzo Madama, called after its later owner, Margaret of Parma, daughter of the Emperor Charles V.

We now come to the three great masters of Venetian Cinquecento architecture, namely Jacopo Tatti—better known by the name Sansovino, which he adopted from his master, Andrea Contucci di Monte San Savino, or Sansovino—and Palladio and Scamozzi. Jacopo Sansovino, whom we shall meet also as a sculptor, was a Florentine. It is said that he left Florence in disgust when (in 1514) the Medicean Pope Leo X sent Michelangelo thither to furnish S. Lorenzo with that magnificent white marble façade which has never been erected. At Rome he studied ancient buildings and doubtless also Bramante's work. When Rome was besieged by the Spaniards and Lutherans under Constable Bourbon he fled to Venice. Here he seems to have won respect and admiration, although Benvenuto Cellini, with a beam in his own eye, saw in him nothing but a 'swaggering braggart.' His chief works at Venice were the Palazzo Corner della Cà Grande, the massive Zecca (Mint), the Loggetta at the foot of the Campanile (crushed by its fall in 1902, but reconstructed), and the Libreria Vecchia (1536–53), which forms all the west side of the Piazzetta—certainly a most impressive building, even if one accepts Ruskin's advice to regard it merely as magnificent architectural framework. The Doric arcade of the lower storey possesses unquestionable beauty and much nobility and dignity. The upper (Ionic) storey, although splendid, is somewhat heavy. It is overladen with a very lofty and massive and richly decorated entablature—in the middle of which, by the way, it is interesting to notice, windows are inserted in evident imitation of Peruzzi's device when designing the Villa Farnesina.

To Palladio (1518–80) was due, perhaps more than to Sansovino, the vigorous superiority that Venice established, even over Rome, by means of its characteristic Cinquecento architecture—a healthy, exuberant growth which for some time prevented the spread in North-east Italy of

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

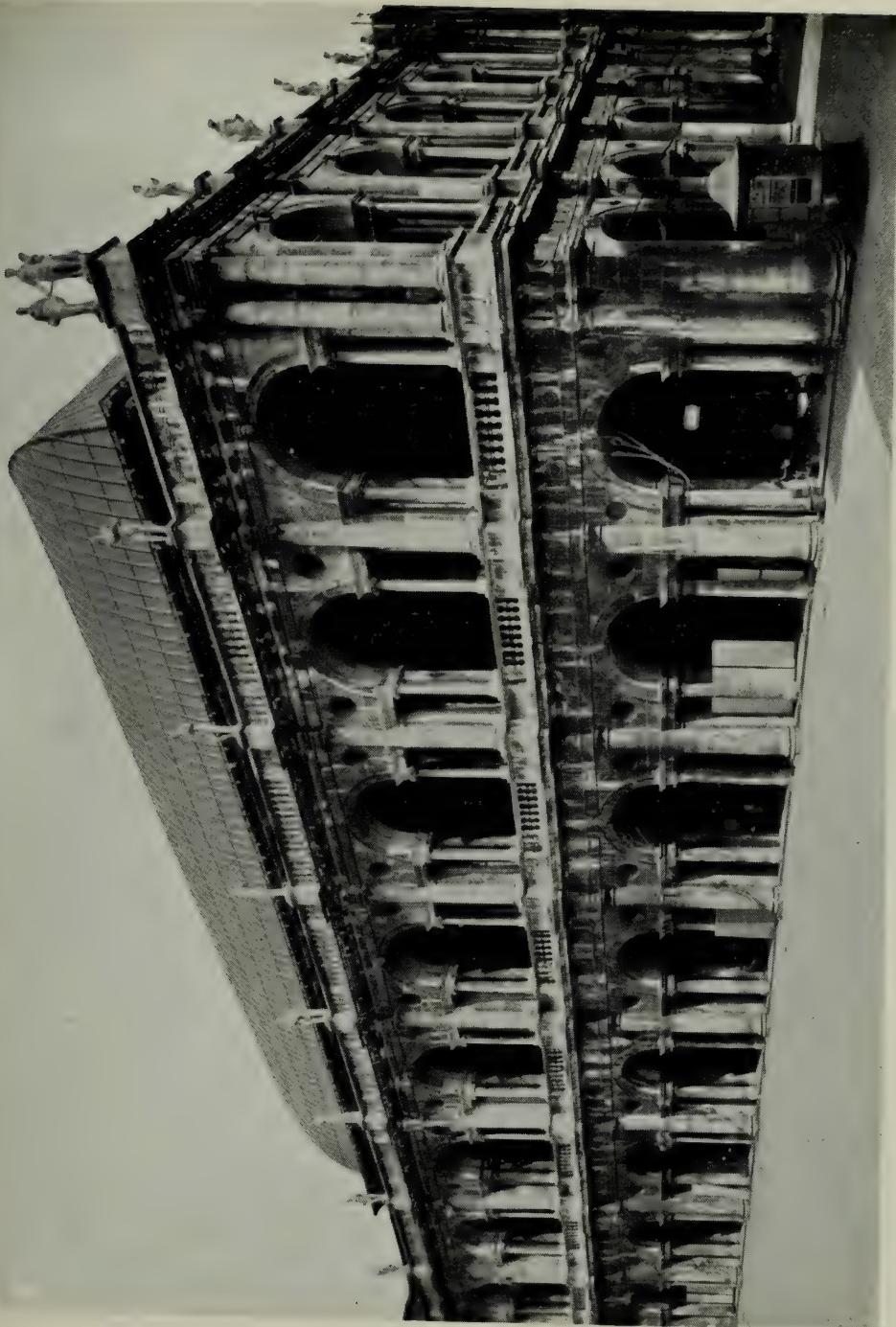
baneful barocco influences. Vicenza, Palladio's birthplace, has especially the honour of having offered a staunch resistance to these influences. Here, when only thirty-one years of age, he built the very noble Renaissance arcades (the so-called Basilica Palladiana) which surround the Gothic town hall. At Venice he initiated the impressive style of church architecture which makes the façade consist of a huge portico formed by a single row of very massive and lofty columns—a simplification, and at the same time an enlargement, of the porticoed façades of such ancient buildings as the Pantheon. The finest Palladian church in Venice is that of the Redentore—so much admired by Byron. It has a very dignified front, upraised above a grand flight of stairs. The interior is simple and striking, the rows of stately columns producing ‘an effect like that of solemn music, with rich, full chords.’¹

In the case of buildings other than churches Palladio sometimes used lofty columns, free or attached, serving for two or three storeys, instead of the usual superposed tiers of different orders, such as we have in his ‘Basilica,’ and in the Venetian Libreria and Procuratie. A remarkable example of this is afforded by the unfinished Palazzo Giulio Porto, called the Casa del Diavolo, at Vicenza. In this his native city is to be seen also his fine Palazzo Chiericati (now the museum), as well as other palaces and his last work—finished after his death by Scamozzi—the Teatro Olimpico, which in its many false windows, used for internal decoration and as niches for statues, as well as in the profuse and heavy ornamentation, shows very plainly the influence of the now rapidly prevailing late barocco style. A dignified building by Palladio, La Rotonda, stands among the hills to the south of Vicenza.

A notable follower of Palladio, six years older than his master, was the builder of the Rialto Bridge, known as Giovanni da Ponte (1512–97). He also built the prisons which were, about 1600, connected with the Doges' Palace by the ‘Bridge of Sighs,’ constructed by Antonio Contino.

Younger than Palladio by a whole generation, and famous

¹ Anderson's *Italian Renaissance Architecture*. Palladio's design for S. Giorgio Maggiore was carried out by Scamozzi. The Palladian style was introduced into England by Inigo Jones, and became very popular.



16. BASILICA, OR PALAZZO DELLA RAGIONE, VICENZA

By Palladio
Photo Alinari



17. CHIESA DEL REDENTORE, VENICE

By Palladio

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

both for his writings¹ and for his buildings, was Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616). At Vicenza he built the fine Palazzo Porto (Trissino), and at Venice one of the two Palazzi Contarini degli Scrigni (1609) on the Grand Canal. Some twenty-five years earlier, in 1584, he had begun his greatest work, namely the Procuratie Nuove, which flank the Piazza of St Mark's on the south, opposite to the Old Procuratie (residence of the nine chief counsellors of the Doge, the *Procuratori*), which had been erected toward the end of the fifteenth century by Pietro Lombardo and others. In Scamozzi's magnificent array of arches and columns the two lower storeys (Doric and Ionic) are copied, somewhat carelessly, from Sansovino's Libreria and are surmounted by a third storey with Corinthian columns and square-topped windows, over which, on arched Roman pediments, as in Michelangelo's Sacristy tombs, nude figures perilously recline.

(c) The Decline

We have now reached the end of the great architecture of the Italian Renaissance, which at Venice had lasted considerably longer than elsewhere. The decline, which had begun in Rome before the death of Michelangelo (1564) and which he himself had helped to initiate,² was mainly due to the fatal ignorance or neglect of the truth that no true grandeur or beauty is possible in architecture which conceals vital and organic form—where the character and function of the main constructive parts of a building and their relations to each other and to the whole are hidden, or misrepresented, for the purpose of making mere decorative display the main object.

Pedantic subservience to the rules of the Roman writer Vitruvius in regard to details, such as even in the best Cinquecento work is often found with a palpable disregard of general proportion, caused in time a total neglect of structural beauty. Thus a most wonderfully beautiful column

¹ *Discourses on the Antiquities of Rome* and *A Scheme of Universal Architecture*.

² Even his very first architectural work, the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, shows a tendency toward employing false windows merely for decorative purposes. In S. Maria degli Angeli, one of his latest works, barocco ornament is conspicuous.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

is often used with no regard to the true function of a column, or to its relation to the rest of the building—or even to the entablature itself. Decorative effect was the one object aimed at. Such things as pilasters, false windows, niches, panels, balustrades, etc., were used for mere ornament, external and internal, and as display of ornament became more and more the one *raison d'être* of a building all kinds of horrors were perpetrated: what constructively should be straight was made curved or twisted; what should be solid and steadfast was set in apparent motion; what had hard work to do was attenuated or hidden away, as if exertion were something to be ashamed of; while what was constructively otiose was bombastically exaggerated and turbulent flaunted.¹ The most monstrous displays of this late barocco, or rococo,² style, which reached its climax in the days of Bernini (seventeenth century), are to be seen in countless churches that excite the admiration and reverence of the average modern Italian.

The chief culprit in regard to the introduction and dissemination of this false style was probably Barozzi, who is better known by the name of his birthplace, Vignola, near Modena. He has already been mentioned as a fellow-worker with Della Porta in the erection of Michelangelo's great dome. He lived mostly at Rome. About 1552, with the help of Michelangelo, he co-operated with Vasari in building the graceful villa of Pope Julius III (now a museum) outside the Porta del Popolo. That Vignola was capable of designing buildings of really noble dignity and self-restrained power is proved not only by this Villa Giulia but still more forcibly by the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi—the vast receptacle in which is preserved the Chapel of the Portiuncula, the little church that was built on this spot by St Francis.³ It seems almost incredible that contempor-

¹ Cf. Mr Anderson's above-cited book.

² Some writers use the terms 'barocco' and 'rococo' somewhat indiscriminately. It is, however, better to limit 'barocco' mainly to the structural irregularities of Late Italian Renaissance architecture and to reserve 'rococo' mainly for the exuberances and monstrosities of internal (and also external) ornamentation, such as became especially prevalent in France during the Regency and in the reign of Louis Quinze, but were no less rampant in late Italian Jesuitic architecture. 'Barocco' (Fr. *baroque*=bizarre, irregular) is of uncertain origin; 'rococo' is derived from *roc*, or *rocaille* (rockwork, shellwork).

³ S. Maria degli Angeli was finished by Galeazzo Alessi (see p. 9). It was partly rebuilt after the earthquake of 1832.



18. VILLA ROTONDA, NEAR VICENZA

By Palladio

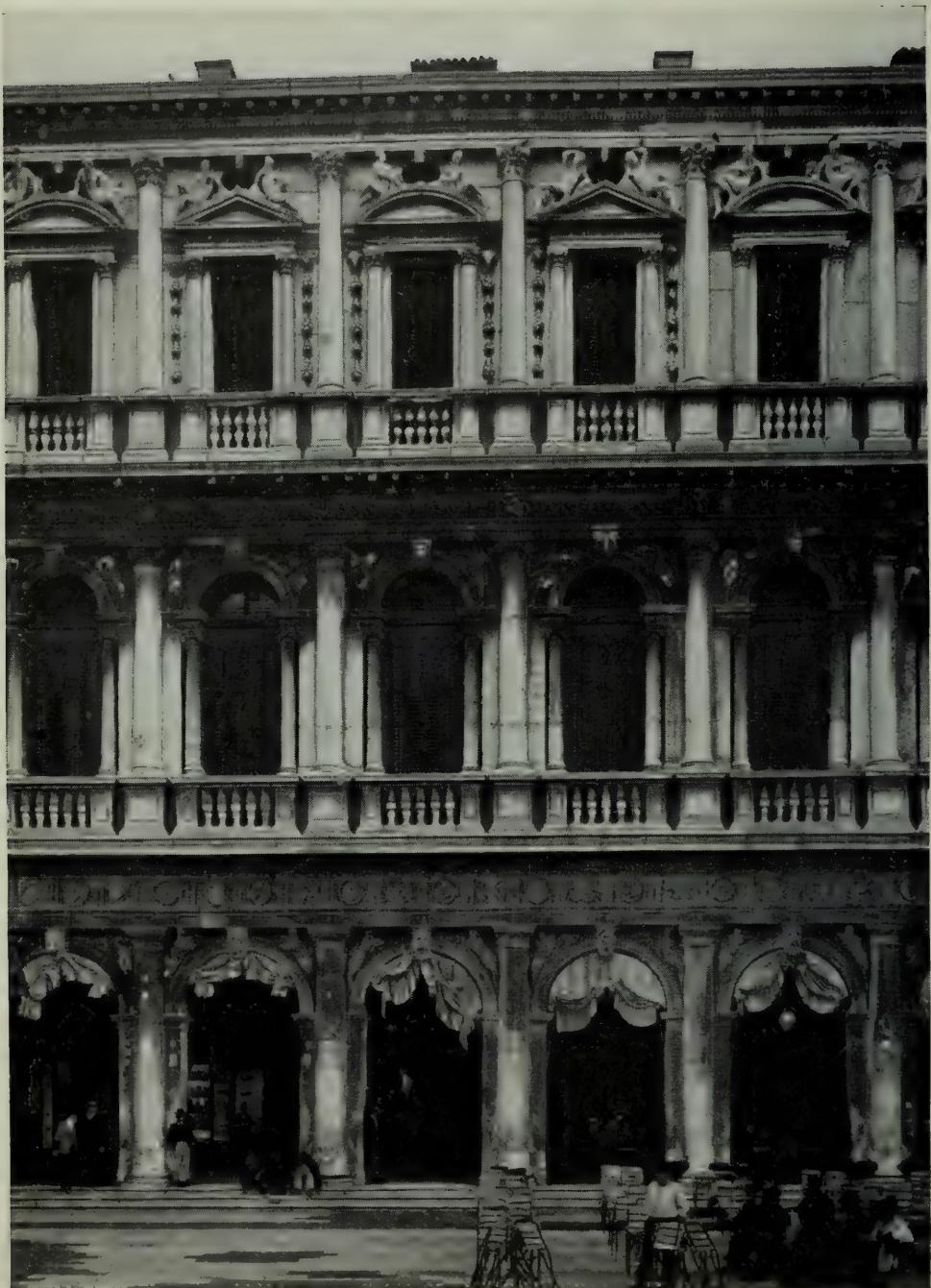
Photo Alinari



19. TEATRO OLIMPICO, VICENZA

By Palladio and Scamozzi

Photo Alinari



20. LE PROCURATIE NUOVE, VENICE

By Scamozzi

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO ARCHITECTURE

aneously with the erection of this great and severely simple Renaissance church (*c.* 1568) Vignola should have been occupied in producing, in co-operation with Della Porta, that which is rightly regarded as the archetype of those countless fanes of so-called 'Jesuit' style which are to be found in most Christian and not a few pagan lands. This building is the church called Il Gesù, at Rome, the burial-place of Ignatius Loyola. Its façade, imitated weakly from work of Alberti, does not prepare one for the extravagant barocco ornamentation that, as Fig. 13 well indicates, disfigures the interior.

One of the last sane architects of the Cinquecento was Vasari, who between the years 1560 and 1574 erected at Florence for the Medicean duke, Cosimo I, the great and dignified pile of buildings that is well known by the name Gli Uffizi—a performance that redounds much more to his credit than does anything he ever painted.

The Medicean Pope Clement VII, who from his stronghold, the Castle of St Angelo, had witnessed helplessly the capture and sack of Rome by Spaniards and Northerners, some three years later came to terms with the all-powerful Emperor Charles and conferred on him at Bologna (1530) the golden crown and the ridiculous title of *Imperator Romanorum*—thus sealing, as it were, the bond of Italy's servitude. Rome lost for a time its artistic supremacy, many artists having fled thence before the siege, or in consequence of the terrible atrocities and acts of vandalism perpetrated by the captors. The injury done to works of art—architecture, sculpture, and painting—was enormous. Literature too suffered severely. Many priceless classics and medieval manuscripts vanished—not a few being used, it is said, as bedding for the horses stabled in libraries and churches.

Clement VII was followed by the Farnese Pope Paul III, who, as well as his somewhat short-lived and inconspicuous¹ successors, gave but little attention to art, being too much

¹ Gregory XIII made himself notable by instituting the 'Gregorian Calendar' and by building for his favourite Order of Jesuits the great Collegio Romano—now used to house a vast library and museums.

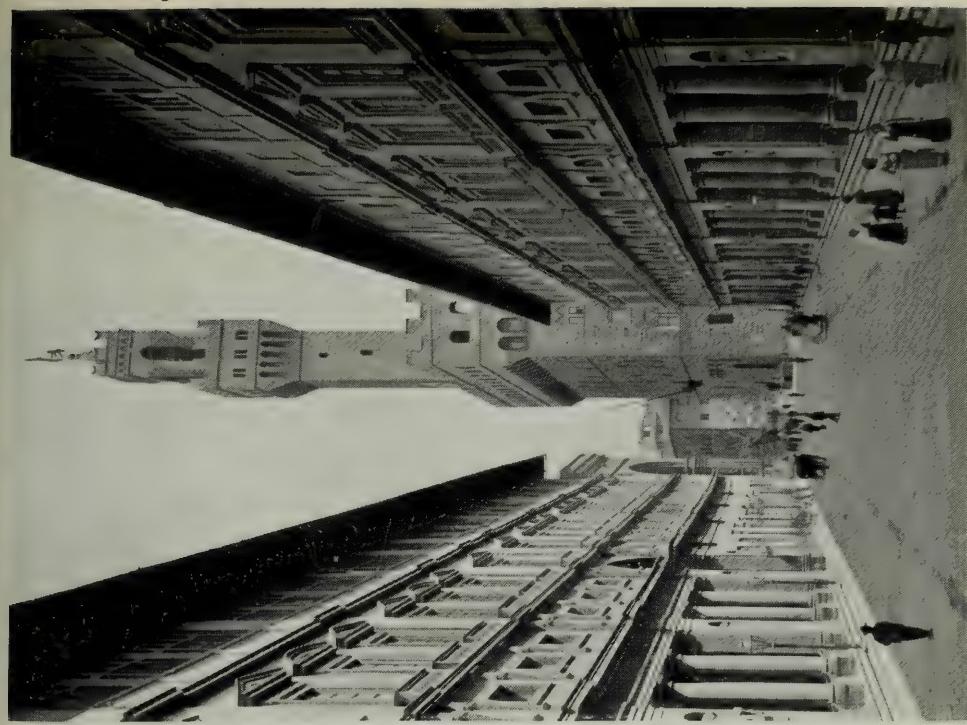
In spite of the lack of interest in art shown by these popes there was a great amount of church-building, especially on the part of the Jesuits.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

occupied in the attempt to extirpate Protestantism by Tridentine Councils, by the 'Sacred Office' of the Inquisition, by Spanish *autos-de-fé*, by the zeal of the new Order of Jesuits, by the institution of the Index, and by other such methods, the sum total of which constitutes what is sometimes dignified by the name of the Catholic Revival.

It was not until the pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-90) that Rome began to reassert itself architecturally. (The art of painting found its only home at Venice till quite the last years of the century.) This pope, Felice Peretti, had been a hard-working friar in the Marche, and seems to have been inspired with a sincere, though fruitless, desire to purge the Augean mews of the papal court. But he also developed as builder and restorer an enthusiasm to which we owe some impressive features of the Rome of our days, such as the long Via Sistina, the Piazza of the Lateran, the great obelisk of the Piazza of St Peter's, the restored columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and the Fontanone dell' Acqua Felice, at a corner of the present Via Venti Settembre. Most of these works were effected by his favourite architect, Domenico, a native of Melide on the Lake of Lugano, who from his fountains acquired the name 'Fontana.' His Fontanone is presided over by a bad imitation of Michelangelo's *Moses*—so bad that its maker, Prospero Bresciano, is said to have died of grief at his ill success. Sixtus V also caused to be built the imposing façade of the Church of the Sacred House at Loreto.

Finally we may note, as perhaps the most prominent Roman architect of the last years of the Cinquecento and the first quarter of the following century, that Carlo Maderna who, as already stated, carried out, in the pontificate of Paul V (c. 1606), the transformation of the Greek-cross design of St Peter's into that of a Latin cross, and made a beginning of the huge barocco east front.



22. GLI UFFIZI, FLORENCE

By Vasari
Photo Brogi



21. 'CASA DEL DIAVOLO,' VICENZA

By Palladio and Scamozzi (?)
Photo Alinari



23. THE YOUNG BACCHUS

By Jacopo Sansovino

Florence, National Museum

Photo Brogi

CHAPTER II

CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE

THE rarity of really great Quattrocento and Cinquecento sculpture in comparison with the number of pictures of this era that may be called genuine works of art can be partly accounted for by the greater expensiveness and intractability of the sculptor's material and the greater need for special gifts and special training in order to turn out something passably good ; but there is also another reason : the painter was often able to express the spirit of the new age more easily than even the greatest sculptor.

Although our ignorance of ancient painting—an ignorance due to the perishable nature of the painter's materials in comparison with marble and bronze—may mislead us, it seems as if the Hellenic spirit found its fullest artistic expression in that sculpture the relics of which have never been surpassed, and are unrivalled in the world except by a few works of Italian *quattrocentisti* and *cinquecentisti* and perhaps of a few French Gothic and a few later sculptors. The modern spirit, on the other hand—that spirit which has of late years revealed its nature and its ideals in such an emphatic fashion—is essentially un-Hellenic and unsculpturesque. Its main characteristics, as those of painting, may be indicated by such words as unrestraint, variety, complexity, and extension, whereas the essential qualities of sculpture, and of Hellenic art and thought, are self-restraint, pure form, simpleness, and concentration. It is evident, therefore, that in painting (the relation of which to sculpture resembles that of the prismatic spectrum to the colourless sunlight) we have a means far more effective than sculpture for expressing the restless and multitudinous cravings of modern humanity, and even for revealing those aspirations toward the infinite which Greek sculpture, with its ideal of perfect material form, never attempted to intimate.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

The success of the sculptors of the Italian Renaissance (from Niccolò Pisano down to Michelangelo, or even Gian da Bologna) was due to the fact that they adopted, not the outlook of their own age, but that of ancient Hellas¹—or rather that of Hellenistic and Roman-Greek art, which, in spite of the disrepute into which it has latterly fallen, produced—or, anyhow, reproduced—much that is grand and beautiful.

In the first volume we considered the early revival of sculpture initiated by Niccolò Pisano toward the end of the Trecento and succeeded by the growth of a vigorous native school of sculptors (Andrea and Giovanni Pisano, and Giotto, and then Della Quercia, Donatello, Ghiberti, and others), and we saw how the real *ars statuaria*, such as was practised by the Greeks and their Roman imitators, was first, after more than a thousand years, resuscitated by Donatello, whose *David* was the earliest important *statue*—to use the word in its proper sense—of the Renaissance era. A thoroughly Greek love of beauty and power, especially of beauty and power manifested in the undraped human body, was the motive that impelled Donatello, and this same sentiment inspired most of the great sculptors of the Classical Renaissance, especially the greatest of them—Michelangelo Buonarroti.²

Michelangelo and some of his followers will naturally occupy most of our attention in this chapter. First, however, let us note a predecessor of his who forms a kind of link between the *quattrocentisti* and the *cinquecentisti*, namely Andrea Contucci di Monte San Savino, known commonly as the elder Sansovino (1460–1529); and with him we may mention his pupil, Jacopo Tatti, of Florence, whom, under the name Sansovino, adopted from his teacher, we know already as the architect of the Libreria Vecchia and the Loggetta at Venice, and whose *Young Bacchus* (Fig. 23) proves his skill as sculptor.

¹ Many of us probably feel that French Gothic sculpture, which *did* adopt the outlook and *did* try to express the religious sentiment of the age, reaches at times a level higher than that of such Classical Renaissance sculpture as the most highly admired works of Michelangelo, Cellini, and Gian da Bologna.

² In one of his sonnets addressed to Vittoria Colonna Michelangelo says that God has nowhere revealed himself more clearly than in the human body. His *David* and his, rather repulsive, nude *Christ* (in S. Maria sopra Minerva), as well as his Medici monuments, testify to this creed of his.



24. CARDINAL ASCANIO SFORZA

Monument by Andrea Sansovino

Rome, *S. Maria del Popolo*

Photo Brogi



25. BACCHUS

By Michelangelo

Florence, National Museum

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE

Andrea Sansovino was a talented architect and sculptor—one of the early students (says Vasari) in that celebrated sculpture-garden of Lorenzo the Magnificent which a few years later the young Michelangelo frequented. Andrea betook himself, however, to turning out fashionable monuments in the elegant style of Mino of Fiesole, Desiderio of Settignano, and Benedetto da Maiano ; and although some of his tombs show, quite as much as the best of this school, unquestionable beauty in architectural framework and in figures he has earned an unfortunate notoriety as the initiator of the fashion so derided by Ruskin of making the recumbent image of the defunct raise its head as if curious to ascertain its surroundings—*facendo alla guancia della sua palma letto*, to use Dante's expression—with hand under cheek, 'as if the man had died of tooth-ache,' to use the somewhat ribald remark of our playwright Webster. A not undignified *Christ's Baptism*, over the east door of the Florentine Baptistery, is perhaps Andrea's best work,¹ unless we may so describe the carvings (the *Annunciation* and the *Magi*) which adorn a chapel of the Chiesa della Santa Casa at Loreto²—the only two that he finished of seven.

Michelangelo Buonarroti was born (1475) not far from La Verna, that wondrously beautiful spot on a ridge of the Apennines, "'twixt Tiber and the Arno,' sacred to memories of St Francis. As a child he came to Settignano, near Fiesole, and while still a boy was a pupil of Ghirlandaio in Florence, another of whose pupils, Granacci, became his special friend.³ Having fallen out with Ghirlandaio, he

¹ The melodramatic angel is an eighteenth-century addition, as also (we may hope) the absurd pedestals. Rusticci's *Preaching of the Baptist*, over the north door, is a fine work—indeed, he is said to have been aided by Leonardo da Vinci. The *Beheading of the Baptist*, over the south door, by Danti (1571), is very inferior to the other two groups.

² The Church of the Sacred House at Loreto, not far from Ancona, enshrines the so-called House of the Virgin that, it is said, was brought thither from Nazareth in 1295. The church was built over it (like S. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi over the Portiuncula) in the year 1465.

³ It was at this period that, while working with other pupils at copying Masaccio's frescos in the Carmine church, he was struck in the face by the big, bullying, odious, military-like Torrigiani so violently that, said Torrigiani to Benvenuto Cellini (*Vita*, I, xiii), 'I felt the bone and the cartilage of the nose give way under my fist as if it had been a wafer ; and thus marked by me he will remain as long as he lives.'

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

worked independently in the famous sculpture-garden of the Medici, to whom Granacci introduced him; and it is said that he gained the special favour of Il Magnifico by his copy of a faun's head,¹ to which he added much character by cleverly knocking out a tooth—an incident that apparently determined much of his future, for he became an inmate of the Medici Palace and an intimate associate of the artists and scholars who frequented the court of Lorenzo, among whom were Botticelli, Poliziano, and Pico; and with them he came under Savonarola's influence, which all his life long affected him strongly. Of this period there is an interesting relic in the Casa Buonarroti, Michelangelo's own house (now town property), where it has been since his death, namely a relief representing the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithae—a somewhat crude but exceedingly spirited work showing his early tendency toward the counterpoise of violent forces. This relief was suggested to Michelangelo, it is said, by Poliziano.

Not long after the death of Lorenzo (1492), Michelangelo, evidently foreseeing trouble,² left Florence. During a stay at Bologna, where the powerful bas-reliefs of the Creation by Della Quercia strongly attracted him, he made one of the kneeling angels, and perhaps the figure of S. Petronio, which adorn the tomb of S. Domenico (Vol. I, p. 330 and Fig. 257). On his return to Florence, about 1495, when Savonarola was becoming supreme, he carved a *Sleeping Cupid*, which was sold as an antique to a Roman cardinal, and it was to settle the dispute occasioned by this fraud that, on the invitation of the cardinal, he found his way to Rome—where he was destined to spend a great part of his life. During this first visit, which lasted from 1496 to 1501—half the pontificate of the nefarious Alexander VI—he produced the *Bacchus* (now in the Bargello) and the *Pietà*, which is the only supremely great work of sculpture in St Peter's. In this very beautiful group, although the almost girlish face of the

¹ Now in the Bargello. Vasari asserts that Michelangelo had 'never before touched marble or chisels.'

² The foolish Piero, who was soon after expelled, although he employed Michelangelo in the selection of gems and knick-knacks, showed his character by forcing him to waste his time in making what Vasari describes as a *bellissima statua*—of snow!



26. PIETÀ
By Michelangelo
Rome, St Peter's
Photo Brogi



27. TONDO
By Michelangelo
Florence, National Museum
Photo Anderson



28. DAVID

By Michelangelo

Florence, Accademia

Photo Brogi

CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE

Mother and the heavy body of her Son may give us pause, most of us will recognize the first entirely satisfactory presentation of such a subject in *ars statuaria*—for the works of Luca and Andrea della Robbia come under a different category. This *Pietà* is a realization in a form as perfect as that of the best Greek sculpture of what Christian sculpture had for more than a thousand years vainly attempted to express—emotions, beliefs, and aspirations of the human heart not dreamed of in Greek philosophy.

Soon after his return to Florence, in 1501, he probably produced the two circular bas-reliefs of the Madonna and Child, one of which is in the Bargello and the other in London. In these well-known *tondi* we have again the beauty and tender pathos which distinguish some of Michelangelo's earlier sculptures and offer such striking contrast to the display of power—the *terribilità*—of his later works.¹

It is known to almost every one how Michelangelo undertook to make for the Florentine authorities a statue of David out of a huge block of marble which some ambitious sculptor had vainly attempted to use, and which for thirty years or so had lain neglected. In 1504 eighteen Florentine masters, commissioned to choose a site for *Il Gigante*, decided to leave the choice to the sculptor himself, and it was erected near the main portal of the Palazzo Vecchio. Thence, in 1873, it was removed to the Accademia.² The subject was prescribed: the youthful adversary of Goliath was to indicate the new republic defying its enemies. The statue is undeniably of very noble proportions and gives the impression of immense self-restrained power; but does not this power suggest a young Samson or Hercules rather than a David divinely aided in his contest with brute force? Do not Donatello and Verrocchio satisfy us more?

After the completion of the *David* Michelangelo received

¹ In these *tondi* is to be noted the habit of leaving parts of a sculpture unfinished—with the *viva figura*, as he calls it in his sonnets, only half liberated from the marble—perhaps for fear of losing sight of the vision by attention to external detail. Or was it caused by mere impatience? The *Captives* (Accademia), the *Brutus* and the small *David* (Bargello), the *Pietà* in the Florentine Duomo, and the *Day* and *Twilight* (S. Lorenzo) are other examples.

² A good copy has replaced it; and the statue in bronze looks down on Florence from near S. Miniato.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

from the Gonfaloniere Soderini the commission which resulted in the designing of the famous *Cartoon*; and at this period he produced also the chief of his rare easel-paintings, namely the *Holy Family* of the Uffizi and the *Deposition* of our National Gallery. In 1505 he was called to Rome by Julius II, who had conceived the idea of erecting to his own memory a colossal monument adorned with about forty large statues. This vast undertaking was entrusted to Michelangelo. The tomb as designed by him would have been the most stupendous in the world. Old St Peter's was deemed unworthy to contain it, so it was decided to build a new St Peter's huge enough to serve as a canopy for such a mausoleum. But the building of the new basilica proved a very long affair, and the overwhelming task—the ‘tragedy’ of his life, as he called it—which forced the sculptor to waste much of his energy in quarrying marble for this gigantic tomb, ended after forty years in the creation of a monument of more modest dimensions in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, adorned with only one statue wholly by the hand of the great master, namely the *Moses*.

The mutable, masterful, and disdainful conduct of the Pope so excited the somewhat irritable and proud artist that he suddenly left Rome, and it was not till three threatening papal briefs had been sent to the Florentine Signoria that he consented to reconciliation and joined the pontiff at Bologna. Here he made a bronze statue of Julius which was erected over the portal of S. Petronio, where it remained only five years; for in 1511, when the French under Trivulzio and the gallant young Gaston de Foix took Bologna, it was melted down to make a cannon, derisively named *La Giulia*. When again in Rome the Pope—to whose imperious and capricious temper we may for this once perhaps be grateful—ordered Michelangelo to abandon sculpture and cover the roof of the Cappella Sistina with frescos. How this was accomplished is told elsewhere. Some five months after this gigantic task was completed Julius II died, and Giovanni de' Medici, who was elected as the new pope (Leo X), sent Michelangelo to Florence to design and erect for S. Lorenzo a magnificent façade; but after the artist had wasted five years (1514–19) in quarrying an immense amount of

CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE

marble and transporting it from Carrara to Florence the idea of the façade was abandoned.¹

At this time, it will be remembered, the republic which had been resuscitated by Savonarola, and had continued to exist under the perpetual Gonfaloniere Soderini, had been abolished (1512) by the revival of the Medicean rule, the two brothers Giuliano (Duke of Nemours) and Giovanni having been installed in power. Giovanni was elected pope in 1513. Giuliano resigned, and died in 1516, after which Lorenzo II, son of Piero the Unfortunate, ruled for three years—the three last years during which Michelangelo was toiling at the façade. Then Cardinal Giulio de' Medici—son of the Giuliano who was killed by the Pazzi conspirators—acquired the supreme power, and during the three years of his rule, before he was elected pope in 1523, he supervised the building by Michelangelo of the magnificent New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, which he meant to be the mausoleum of the Medici family.² Of the intended monuments Michelangelo—evidently angered and depressed at thus having to glorify tyranny—produced during the next ten years only the unfinished figure of a Madonna, under which the coffins of Lorenzo il Magnifico and his brother Giuliano rest, and the famous tombs of Giuliano (Duke of Nemours) and Lorenzo II, the statue above whose sarcophagus is generally known as *Il Pensieroso*.³ The gigantic reclining figures, usually named *Day*, *Night*, *Twilight*, and *Dawn*, are somewhat enigmatical. That they had some political significance seems probable from the well-known lines in which Michelangelo makes *Night* say that she is glad to be asleep and to be of stone while ‘disaster and shame endure’—namely that caused by the re-establishment of tyranny in the person of the half-mulatto Alessandro, from fear of whom, perhaps, the sculptor

¹ S. Lorenzo—perhaps more fortunate than S. Croce—is still without a marble façade. Michelangelo's first design is still to be seen in the Casa Buonarroti. About 1514 (before leaving Rome?) he began the nude *Christ* of S. Maria sopra Minerva. It was finished by assistants. Not only on account of its obtrusive nudity (which exists no longer) it is an unattractive statue.

² During the next two years (1524–26) Michelangelo built also the fine Laurentian Library adjacent to S. Lorenzo.

³ Neither of the two statues is a portrait. Doubtless the sculptor purposely avoided immortalizing these persons. (See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, Figs. 59 (a) and (b) and List of Illustrations, and p. 482 n.)

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

left his great task unfinished, and departed—perhaps fled—from Florence.¹

Almost simultaneously with Michelangelo's arrival at Rome occurred the death of Clement VII. His successor, Paul III—of dubious fame as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese—declaring that the *Moses* was quite enough of a monument to Julius, set the sculptor to work at the huge fresco of *The Last Judgment*, which occupied all his energies until the end of 1541. The remaining twenty-two years of his life added little to his works as sculptor, the only sculpture of any importance being that which, it is said, he intended to adorn his own tomb—a *Pietà* of four figures, in which the face of Nicodemus is thought to have been modelled from his own. Perhaps on account of the unfavourable position of this *Pietà*, behind the high altar of the octagon in the Florentine Duomo, it seems, in spite of Ruskin's eloquence, very seldom to make any deep impression on the spectator.

In connexion with Michelangelo two implacable rivals of his should here be noted. The first, Pietro Torrigiani, as we have already seen, disfigured him by a blow on the nose with his fist. This violent-tempered fellow became one of those many wandering Italian artists who helped to introduce Cinquecento art into other countries. It was he who made the fine monument to Henry VII which is to be seen (though much obscured by the bronze screen within which it stands) in Westminster Abbey. In Seville Museum a powerfully designed terra-cotta statue of St Jerome (once in the Hieronymite convent) is attributed to him. He is said to have gone to Granada with the hope of being commissioned to make monumental tombs for the Capilla de los Reyes (royal mausoleum) of the cathedral, in which Ferdinand and Isabella had been interred; but he seems to have got into trouble with the Inquisition, and died in a dungeon at Seville in 1522.

The other sculptor who earned ridicule by his bitter jealousy of Michelangelo's fame was Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560); nor was this ridicule undeserved, if we may

¹ For the expulsion of the Medici after the sack of Rome (1527) and Michelangelo's activity during the subsequent siege of Florence (1530) see *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, pp. 484–486. The death of his aged father in 1534 perhaps also induced him to leave.

CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE

judge from his really very ungainly gigantic figures of Hercules and the vanquished Cacus, so disdainfully but justly criticized by Benvenuto Cellini (II, lxx), which are still allowed to offer a painful contrast to the fine copy of Michelangelo's *David* in front of the Palazzo Vecchio. And surely it is justifiable to describe his *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* in the S. Lorenzo piazza as an eyesore. By some (e.g., Natali and Vitelli) he is accredited with the design of the grandiose monuments of the Medicean popes, Leo X and Clement VII, in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome; but the design was probably by Antonio da Sangallo, and the statues were certainly by Montelupo and Bigio. In the Uffizi there is a copy of the *Laocoön* by Bandinelli, who rather audaciously introduced various alterations.

In the first year of the Cinquecento was born that gifted, impetuous, boastful, and audaciously mendacious individual, Benvenuto Cellini, whose lively but often repellent *Autobiography* gives us a vivid picture of what we may hope was not the best side, socially or artistically, of the later Renaissance era. Here we have to do with him merely as a sculptor, and as such his fame depends almost entirely on his *Perseus holding the Medusa's Head*, which statue was made in 1553, some twenty-six years after Cellini's dramatic experiences at the siege of Rome, and which still stands where he first erected it—namely in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence.

Of the very numerous works that he produced as *orafò* (goldsmith, or rather designer and worker in the more precious metals), such as cups, medallions, salt-cellars, helmets, etc., have survived only a few cups, a salt-cellar, and the cover of a Book of Hours, although there are in museums many articles attributed to him. His extant sculptures (bronzes) are the rather tame *Ganymede* (Bargello), a *Christ* in the Escorial, a large bust of Grand Duke Cosimo (Bargello), a lanky and commonplace reclining *Nymph* (Louvre), and the *Perseus*, which was received with boundless applause by the artistic, literary, and fashionable classes of Florence—the new statue being covered, after the custom of the day, with odes and sonnets in Greek and Latin and Italian. But amidst all this outburst of admiration there was some intelligent criticism. One quatrain that

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

excited hilarity spoke justly of the *corpo di vecchio e gambe di fanciulla*;¹ and all who were even to a small extent imbued with the Greek spirit—that is, the spirit of true sculpture—must have felt, as many feel in our day, almost as much repelled by the disgusting results of decapitation as Gentile Bellini was (if the story be true) when the Turkish sultan gave him a lesson in realism by having a slave decapitated in his presence.

The following extract from Cellini's *Autobiography* gives a vivid account of the founding of his masterpiece. He first describes how he made the wax model and how he answered the assertion of Duke Cosimo that to cast the figure in bronze was impossible; then how he set to work, devised and built a special kind of furnace, made the mould, and set it beneath the smelting-pot, which was filled with many chunks of copper, bronze, and alloy, and was connected with the mould by channels that could be opened and closed. Unluckily, all these efforts brought on a serious attack of fever, so that after having lit his fire he was obliged to betake himself to bed. Visitors, however, came and assured him that his enterprise was utterly impracticable and that the metal was getting spoilt and not liquefying, and this roused him. He sent to a neighbour for several hundredweight of well-dried young oak-wood, and the molten mass began to clarify and flash, the heat being terrific. ‘Now when they saw that the brew [*migliaccio*] was beginning to clarify all the crew obeyed my orders with much zeal, and I made them fetch half a “loaf” of tin, weighing about 60 pounds, and cast it into the brew, which, helped by the fuel and other means, and by being stirred up with iron bars and poles, in a short time became liquid.

‘Now when I saw that I had raised the dead, against the belief of those ignorant fellows, such vigour returned to me that I was no longer aware of having fever or any fear of death. But all of a sudden there was a crash and a mighty flash, just as if a thunderbolt had been discharged in our very presence, so that by the extraordinary and

¹ ‘Body of an old man and legs of a girl.’ The bronze relief at the base of the statue (original in the Bargello) representing the succour of Andromeda shows still more conspicuously very unattractive features of the same nature.

CINQUECENTO SCULPTURE

fearful shock every one was quite dazed, and I more than any other. When the great noise and light had ceased we began to gaze at each other, and we perceived that the cover of the furnace had burst and was lifted up in such a way that the bronze was overflowing. Then hastily I had the mouths [apertures] of my mould opened, and when I saw that the metal did not run with requisite ease, having recognized that the probable cause was that the alloy had been consumed by reason of the terrible heat, I sent for all my tin [and pewter?] plates and dishes and trays, which numbered about 300, and threw them one by one in front of the channels, and a part I threw into the pot.

'Thereupon, when every one saw that my metal had become beautifully liquid and that my mould was filling they all gladly and heartily helped and obeyed, while I gave my orders, now here now there, and lent a hand and kept exclaiming, "O God, Who with Thine infinite powers didst raise [Thyself] from the dead and gloriously didst ascend into heaven . . .," so that all of a sudden my mould was full; for which reason I threw myself on my knees and thanked God, and then turned to a plate of salad that was there on a bench, and with great appetite ate and drank together with all that crew, and then, it being two hours before dawn, I went to bed feeling very well and joyous, and lay myself to sleep so sweetly as if I had never known any misfortune in my life.'

Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli of Florence (1504-63) was a somewhat eminent sculptor of the Michelangelesque school, and seems to have acted as assistant to Michelangelo. In 1529 he was invited to Genoa by Andrea Doria in order to alter and adorn with sculptures the famous Palazzo Doria and the church of S. Martino, which contains many monuments of the Doria family.¹ A great fountain made by him at Messina was ruined by the earthquake of 1911. His attempted restoration of the *Laocoön* proved a failure.

¹ The palace was a gift from Genoa to Andrea Doria, the famous admiral of the combined fleets of Charles V of France and of Genoa. In 1528 he established an oligarchic constitution and was granted (like Old Cosimo at Florence in earlier days) the title of *Pater Patriae*. He suppressed the conspiracy of Fiesco (1547), and died in 1560. Ariosto (*d.* 1533) extols him as *quel Doria, che fa dai pirati sicuro il vostro mare*.

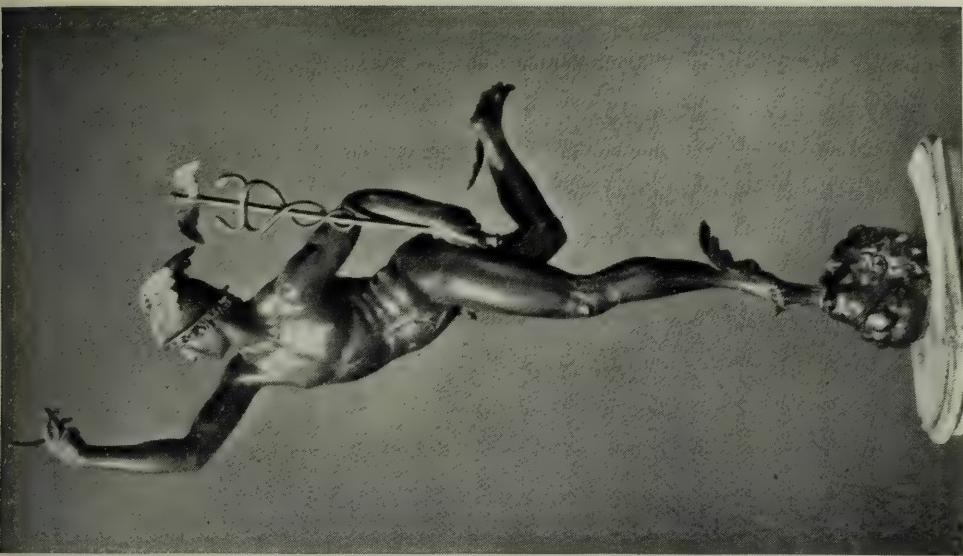
ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–92) of Settignano, near Florence, was a pupil of the younger Sansovino and distinguished himself not only as the builder of the court of the Pitti Palace and the Bridge of the Holy Trinity at Florence, as well as of various palaces at Lucca and the huge Collegio Romano at Rome, but also as the sculptor of the colossal statue of Neptune that towers above the fountain-basin and its bronze sea-divinities in the great Piazza of Florence. Fra Guglielmo della Porta is not to be confused with Giacomo della Porta, the architect who, with Vignola, constructed Michelangelo's dome of St Peter's and the church Il Gesù at Rome and who built the SS. Annunziata at Genoa. Fra Guglielmo can scarcely be regarded as a sculptor of eminence, although he was employed on several important works. In S. Lorenzo, the cathedral of Genoa, are to be seen (in a chapel of the left aisle) seven contorted statues which show how great his ambition was to rival Michelangelo and how lamentably he failed. In the adjacent chapel of St John the Baptist (where relics of that saint are said to be preserved) the carved *tabernacolo* is a more successful work of his. At Rome, in St Peter's, he erected a monument to Paul III with allegorical figures that are a bad dream of Michelangelo's *Twilight* and *Dawn*.

Jean Boulogne (1524–1608), known better as Gian da Bologna, was born at Douai but studied sculpture at Florence, where he became a zealous follower of Michelangelo and was much employed by Duke Cosimo and his sons. His best-known work is his bronze *Mercury* (Fig. 32). The poise of the figure is artistically, if not in reality, so perfect that it excites universal admiration. Originally it was a decoration of the Villa Medici garden at Rome. After long imprisonment in a gloomy little room of the Florentine Museo Nazionale it has been recently transferred to an adjacent loggia, where it is seen to advantage. Other works of his are the *Rape of a Sabine Woman* and *Hercules slaying Nessus*—groups in the Loggia de' Lanzi—and the fine bronze equestrian statues of Cosimo I and Ferdinand I which adorn respectively the Piazza della Signoria and the Piazza dell' Annunziata at Florence.

32. MERCURY

By Gian da Bologna
Florence, National Museum
Photo Brogi

**31. PERSEUS AND MEDUSA**

By Benvenuto Cellini
Florence
Photo Brogi





33. BEATRICE D'ESTE (?)

By Leonardo da Vinci (or Ambrogio de Predis ?). See pp. 34 n. and 63 n.

Milan

Photo Brogi

CHAPTER III

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

Preliminary

THE first half of the Cinquecento was, as we have seen, the period of what is usually called the High, or Classical, Renaissance. This term applies more fully in the case of building than in that of painting, the difference between the architecture of Brunelleschi and that of, say, Sansovino consisting very largely in the closer imitation by the latter of the constructive principles and ornamentation of ancient buildings.

The difference between the pictorial art of the Early and that of the Late, or High, Renaissance is not quite so obvious ; it is much more easily noticed than it is analysed and described. It is true that a striking feature of many ‘religious’ Cinquecento pictures is their unabashed paganism. But this fashionable and superficial Classicism—for it was this rather than an assimilation of the classical spirit—although it distinguishes the High Renaissance from earlier phases of art-revival in Italy, is by no means its only or its most important characteristic. The mere names of such *quattrocentisti* as Fra Filippo Lippi, Benozzo Gozzoli, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Mantegna, and even Botticelli and Perugino and Francia, and those of Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and Tintoretto, make us at once conscious of the fact that, besides this paganism or Classicism, there are other and very important differences between the paintings of these groups of artists ; and we find ourselves asking in what these differences consist.

In the first volume of this book I have noted how the old conventional, religious painting of the Middle Ages, practised in Italy by Byzantine artists, or by Benedictines and other painters trained in the Byzantine style, began in

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

the first half of the Quattrocento to be replaced by an art—that of such later *quattrocentisti* as preceded Leonardo da Vinci—which not only possessed a new technique, gained by zealous study of anatomy, perspective, chiaroscuro, etc., and by the use of the new oil medium, but also undertook new subjects (classical, allegorical, *genre*, historical) and frequently used the old ‘sacred subject’ apparently for the sole purpose of introducing portraits, costumes, well-known events, scenes, or buildings. Many of these late Quattrocento painters, moreover, show a delight in natural objects, such as plants and flowers, and in depicting all manner of details with loving accuracy.

Now, as Mr Symonds says, in these pre-Raphaelites—these Italian painters of the Early and Middle Renaissance—it is the aim rather than the achievement that arouses our admiration, whereas in the early *cinquecentisti* ‘the hand has become so obedient to the brain’ that nothing further is left to be desired in expression.¹ This ‘facile mastery,’ with its disdain for the more timid and more reverent attempts of earlier artists to reveal their visions, and for their loving delight in reproducing the minute details of natural objects, is one striking characteristic of High Renaissance painting.²

Another characteristic is what perhaps we might call pure aestheticism—the use of beauty and grandeur (and also the terrible) merely for the sensations that they excite. Thus means have now become ends in themselves.

Still another characteristic, and perhaps the most distinctive, is the wondrous art shown by the greatest painters of the early Cinquecento in so presenting persons and their surroundings that they no longer, as in almost all earlier Italian paintings, seem to be grouped and arranged for the occasion,³ but have such relation to the scene in which

¹ *La mano che ubbedisce all' intelletto*, an expression used by Michelangelo that well describes the ‘facile mastery’ of the *cinquecentisti* (what Vasari in his third *Proemio* calls *la gagliardezza e bravezza del disegno*), offers a very suggestive contrast to Dante's lament that ‘form very often accords not with the intention of art,’ and that Nature herself ‘works like the artist who has the habit of art, but a hand that trembles’ (*Par.* i, 127; xiii, 77).

² This contempt is exemplified by Michelangelo's description of Perugino as a *goffo*—a blundering fool.

³ Perhaps the only exceptions to this among the earlier painters are Masaccio and, later, Signorelli. It certainly holds with Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Mantegna,

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

they move and have their being, and to the other persons depicted, that, in the highest sense, art conceals art, and the impression made is that of something real—produced by nature, or anyhow by ‘an art that nature makes,’ if we may thus apply Shakespeare’s words.

The new departure was really begun, as early as about 1425, by Masaccio; but his great style, displayed in the Brancacci Chapel frescos in the Carmine church at Florence, exercised no wide influence until it was assimilated by Fra Bartolomeo, Michelangelo, and Raphael; and although Vasari justly says that Masaccio was ‘the first to give figures beautiful attitudes, natural movement, an expression of real life, and a relief [presentment] similar to reality,’ it is Leonardo da Vinci that he rightly selects as the founder of what he calls the ‘third’ or ‘modern’ style. Leonardo, born some thirty years before Raphael, was chronologically as much of a *quattrocentista* as was Ghirlandaio, Francia, or Cima, but he possessed in a high degree the characteristics of the High Renaissance artists which we have noted—the ‘mastery and boldness,’ as Vasari calls it, in design, the power to use both beauty and ugliness in order to excite emotions, and the new art of presentment—finely exemplified by that fragment of his *Battle of the Standard* preserved for us by Rubens.

But Leonardo, as Raphael and as Michelangelo, possessed also that poetic power which not only acquires facile mastery, but uses it for the true ends of art. Not only could he design with *gagliardezza e bravezza* and with *grazia divina*, as Vasari notes, but the possession of this mastery, so far from causing him to despise the reverent and loving reproduction of detail by earlier masters, allowed him to spend a vast amount of energy in most minute and exact delineation of such natural objects as plants, flowers, and even lichens, and to declare that the direct study of nature, from its grandest effects to its smallest details, is the one true foundation of all artistic excellence.

Works of overwhelming power—of what has been called

Ghirlandaio, Perugino. The theatrical *Journey of the Magi* by Benozzo Gozzoli (Vol. I, Fig. 300) and his S. Agostino frescos at San Gimignano are striking examples. The contrast between the earlier side-wall frescos in the Sistine Chapel and those of Raphael’s Stanze well enforces what I have said.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

terribilità—were produced by Michelangelo. His was a great formative, plastic genius; and this is seen not only in his sculptures and his architecture, but in his painting, and to some extent also in his poetry. As a painter, although he denied his right to this name,¹ he, like Leonardo, most assuredly possessed in the highest degree the facile mastery and other characteristics of the great *cinquecentisti*, as is proved by his first great picture no less than by his last.² His true value, however, as a painter consists in the fact that in one work at least—the ceiling-frescos of the Sistine Chapel—he has shown rare poetic feeling and the ability to intimate with splendid mastery his visions of the ideal world. These wondrous scenes of the Creation, of the Fall, and of the Deluge, surrounded by majestic figures of Prophets and Sibyls, offer a striking contrast to the much later fresco on the west wall—*The Last Judgment*—an immensely large and powerful, but for many a most disconcerting, picture.³ The contrast makes us realize from what a height into what abyss that ‘Michelangelism’ could fall which exercised its mighty, misleading influence even on Raphael himself, and produced by means of a pupil of Raphael (namely Giulio Romano) the monstrous frescos of the Sala dei Giganti in the Mantuan Palazzo del Te.

Raphael, said Michelangelo, owed less to nature than to study. He doubtless meant that Raphael owed less to his originality than to his gift of assimilation—which was marvellous; but the dictum would also contain some truth if it meant that Raphael studied the works of nature less than those of art—thus failing to fulfil the condition laid down by Leonardo da Vinci, and bringing on himself in our age the reproach of insincerity and artificiality.

To discuss this question theoretically would involve the affirmation of axioms and the assumption of postulates on the nature and end of art which would lead us too far afield.

¹ In a sonnet to Vittoria Colonna he speaks of his *turpissime pitture*, and he often told Pope Julius that he was ‘no painter,’ as he also asserts in a sonnet to Giovanni di Pistoia, written while occupied with his Sistine Chapel frescos.

² The cartoon of *Florentine Soldiers surprised by Pisan Troops* (known only by a fragmentary copy, see Fig. 60) and the *Last Judgment*, in both of which he shows his infinite superiority to Signorelli and all other such predecessors.

³ The masses of human nakedness and the wingless angels are right logically; but logic has few rights in the intimation of the supernatural.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

I shall therefore allow myself to dismiss theory and to note the fact that the profound and sincere love and admiration which many feel for the pre-Raphaelite *quattrocentisti* is sometimes accompanied by an opinion, founded mainly on a theoretical basis, that Raphael's art is such as Ruskin believed it to be, namely insincere and artificial ; but it is, I think, also a fact that a familiarity with Raphael's greatest works not seldom has the result that this opinion becomes overborne and finally swept away by the irresistible conviction that we have in such art as that of the Stanze frescos, the *Madonna di S. Sisto*, and the Tapestry Cartoons—to leave much else aside for the moment—some of the very highest products of the creative genius of man ; and without attempting to offer reasons for this change of opinion, I surmise that it may be a fact that a great artistic genius does not necessarily invent new modes of presentment, but that he may assimilate and use old methods, and through them attain the highest object of art.¹

After the death of Raphael, in 1520, at the early age of thirty-seven, the Roman school of painting, which he had founded, rapidly degenerated under the influence of a debased neo-paganism and an impotent imitation of the style of Michelangelo ; and this decline was followed, toward the end of the century, by a period of reaction, during which the aim of one school (that of Caravaggio) was nominally a return to the precepts of Leonardo—to the study and imitation of nature—but was really the presentment of unrestrained human nature, while the rival school of Eclectics preached and practised ‘selection’ from the various styles and methods of former artists. Neither school has had any really important influence on the progress of art, although they both excited very great admiration—an admiration that continued to exist almost

¹ To make use of earlier methods and to assimilate earlier ideas is, of course, a very different thing from Eclecticism such as that of the Carracci. Raphael was certainly no mere Eclectic. As he wrote to Castiglione in reference to the *Galatea*, he ‘made use of certain ideals that formed themselves in his mind.’ Indeed, Goethe was right in affirming that he was of all Italian painters the one most imbued with the Greek spirit. As one out of many proofs of this might be cited his Bergamo *St Sebastian* (a fairly early work), in which, with truly Greek spirit, he has rejected the common and harrowing representation of the saint as riddled with arrows, and has given us a handsome smiling youth holding a symbolic arrow in his hand.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

undiminished until mid-Victorian days—and an imitation which has adorned our galleries with many fine and cumbered them with many monstrous and worthless pictures.

The Seven Cinquecento Schools

In the foregoing prefatory remarks I have attempted to indicate the general nature of Cinquecento painting and the phases through which it passed. I now have to face a much longer and more laborious task, and in order to avoid too much complication and too long interruptions in the following account of the seven principal schools of Italian painting that flourished during the Cinquecento I shall have to neglect strict chronological sequence and treat several of the greatest and most representative painters in separate monographs, which will follow the general sketch.

The seven schools are those of Lombardy, Siena, Florence, Rome, Bologna, Parma (with Ferrara and Ravenna), and Venice. The artists whom I have selected for somewhat full treatment, in appendices to this section, are Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Bartolomeo, Michelangelo, and Raphael.

(1) **Lombardy (especially Milan).** But little is known of Lombard Renaissance painting before the days of Leonardo da Vinci, who, although he was Tuscan by birth and lived at Florence for the first thirty years of his life, is especially connected with Milan. There were, however, some notable Quattrocento Milanese painters, such as Vincenzo Foppa and Borgognone—who has been called by Morelli the Fra Angelico of Lombardy¹—and Cristoforo and his son Ambrogio de Predis.² Foppa, who was perhaps a pupil of Squarcione of Padua and Jacopo Bellini of Venice, is known by several vigorous pictures at Milan as well as by his masterpiece, an *Adoration of the Magi*, in our National Gallery. He remained apparently quite unaffected by the influence of Leonardo, although he lived until about 1515. Ambrogio de Predis, on the other hand, although a pupil of Foppa's, was evidently a zealous imitator of the painter

¹ A very touching *Crucifixion* by him is to be seen in the Certosa of Pavia.

² Believed by some to have painted the well-known and beautiful portrait of (probably) Beatrice d'Este, for which see p. 63 n.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

of *Mona Lisa*, and may even have taken a part in the production of the famous replica of the *Vierge aux Rochers* which is in our National Gallery.¹

It was about 1482 that Leonardo settled at Milan, where, favoured by Lodovico il Moro and, while she lived, by the charming Beatrice d'Este, he remained until the fall and exile of the ill-fated duke in 1500. During these eighteen years (as will be noted at more length in the account that I shall give of his life and works) he developed that *stile leonardesco* which, although it owed its existence largely to Masaccio, as did the art of Raphael himself, is an out-growth of more genuine originality and perhaps of nobler influence than any other product of the Classical Renaissance. Deferring the consideration of Leonardo's own work, we must here note some of those who at Milan, Pavia, and in other parts of Lombardy, as well as at Florence, Siena, and Rome, adopted his style. Leonardo's followers, like the disciples of many other great artists, and of many great thinkers, never formed any real school.

Bernardino Luini (of Luino, on Lago Maggiore) is the best known of them and is often called his pupil, and many 'Luinis' formerly passed as genuine 'Leonardos'; but it seems more than probable that he never entered the studio of his great contemporary. Pictures by Luini are to be seen in many Lombard towns—at Milan, Pavia, Como, Lugano,² Legnano, Monza, and elsewhere. In the Brera at Milan a room is given up to his works. Among these is the really beautiful *Madonna del Roseto* (see illustration) and the fresco of *St Catharine carried to her Tomb by Flying Angels*.

Especially perhaps in regard to Luini may be accepted Mr Berenson's remark that Leonardo's faces of women and children had a tendency to *sweetness*, which was counteracted by his sovereign power over form, but which asserted itself in his imitators.

Other *leonardeschi* are Boltraffio, Giampietrino, Cesare da Sesto (from Sesto Calende, on Lago Maggiore), Sabatini

¹ Mr Berenson and others think this replica to be wholly painted by De Predis.

² The *Crucifixion* in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli is really impressive. It shows more affinity to the old Lombard school than to Leonardo. In the huge Castello of the Sforza at Milan there are interesting fresco-portraits by Luini of some of these dukes.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

of Salerno, Francesco Melzi, Andrea Solari, Bartolomeo the Venetian (a disciple of Giovanni Bellini), and Bernardino dei Conti. Numerous works of these painters, and some by Foppa, Borgognone, Zenale,¹ De Predis, and other Lombard contemporaries of Leonardo, are preserved in the Brera, the Ambrosiana, and the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan.

Boltraffio (1467–1516) is usually accredited with a fine, but badly restored, fresco on golden ground in the Convent of S. Onofrio, on the Janiculum (Rome)—in which convent Tasso died in 1595. A fashionably attired Madonna holding by a waistband her rather dapper and self-conscious Child is in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, and a large *Madonna* is in our National Gallery.

Da Sesto's very beautiful *Madonna and Child* in the Brera is the product of his earlier Leonardesque enthusiasm. Later he adopted Raphael's manner, as is seen by his *Adoration of the Magi* in the Neapolitan Museum.

Also Andrea Sabatini of Salerno (1480–1545) was a clever and facile imitator both of Leonardo and of Raphael. His pictures are to be seen at Naples and in Salerno Cathedral.

Andrea Solari (1458–1552) was brother to the sculptor Cristoforo Solari (known as 'the Hunchback'), whom we noted in the first volume, and who was one of the builders of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan and the maker of the monument to Lodovico il Moro and his duchess. Andrea's masterpiece is perhaps his *Ecce Homo* (Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan). At Brescia is a fine picture by him—that of *Christ carrying his Cross*; in the Louvre are his *Madonna of the Green Cushion*² and a *Crucifixion*; in our National Gallery are several of his minor works. The *Ecce Homo*, as will be seen from the illustration, is a picture of great nobility, and is also notable for its wonderful detail, reminding one of that of the *Mona Lisa*.

Bernardino dei Conti—the chief painter produced by Pavia—was a pupil of Foppa, but became a follower of

¹ A picture, probably by Zenale, with portraits of Beatrice d'Este and the Moro, is given in *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, Fig. 25. To Giampietrino are attributed by Morelli (the 'hand and ear' expert) pictures often believed to be by Luini, or even by Leonardo himself.

² This is, like others of Solari's works, notable for the exquisite finish of details. The mother is suckling her Child, who lies on the green cushion. The landscape in the background, with its dark foliage and sunlit streams, is beautiful.



34. ECCE HOMO
By Solari. Milan
Photo Brogi

36. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST SEBASTIAN

By Giovanni Antonio Sodoma

Florence

Photo Brogi



35. MADONNA DEL ROSETO

By Lüni

Milan

Photo Brogi



CINQUECENTO PAINTING

Leonardo. His chief works are two pictures representing the Madonna and Child at Milan, one of which—that in the Brera—is a curious combined echo of the *Vierge aux Rochers* and the *Madonna and Child with St Anne* (both in the Louvre). At the Hermitage (Petrograd) is, or was, a *Madonna suckling the Child*, long attributed to Leonardo, but now believed to be by Conti.¹

Lastly, in loose connexion with the *leonardeschi* may be mentioned Gaudenzio Ferrari, native of a village not far from Varallo, which region possesses numerous works of his. He is said to have studied under Luini, but shows very little sign of his influence, affecting a much more dramatic style. Like Luini, he worked among the Lombard mountains. Remarkable frescos and easel-pictures by him are to be seen at Milan, Turin, Vercelli, Novara, and Arona. At Varallo there is a large *Crucifixion* by him, crowded with figures on foot and horseback and by flying angels. It is disagreeably theatrical, but a fine effect is produced by the dignified repose of the dead Christ amidst the contortions of the human and angelic surroundings.

(2) Siena can boast of only one great Cinquecento painter, if indeed Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (1477–1549), better known as Sodoma, merits the epithet ‘great.’ He was, moreover, not a native of Siena, but of the region of Vercelli, between Milan and Turin. His earliest works (at Siena, whither he came when young) are almost Peruginesque. About 1500 he migrated to Milan and came under Leonardesque influences,² which may be observed in pictures painted on his return to Siena, several of which are in the Istituto delle Belle Arti in that city. In 1507 he was summoned to Rome by Julius II and ordered to decorate the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. Of his work there it is impossible to recognize anything except perhaps the general scheme for decorating the vaulted ceiling; but Raphael, whose wondrous frescos soon afterward (1508–11) adorned not only the compartments of the ceiling, but also the side-walls of

¹ Many drawings formerly attributed to Leonardo have been assigned to Conti by latter-day experts.

² A *Madonna* by Sodoma is in the collection of Leonardesque paintings in the Brera. One of his best works, a *St Jerome*, has lately come to the National Gallery through the Mond bequest.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

this Stanza, was (says Morelli) so pleased with Sodoma's performance that he introduced his portrait side by side with his own in the so-called *School of Athens*.¹ The paintings on which Sodoma's fame mainly rests are the *Ecstasy of St Catharine* (in S. Domenico, Siena), the fresco of *Christ bound to the Pillar* (Belle Arti, Siena), and the *St Sebastian* (at present in the Pitti Gallery). At times he shows technical skill of a very high order and a wonderful perfection in detail. This last characteristic, which was evidently due to Leonardesque influence, was to some extent abandoned when he adopted Raphael's later manner, and a rich and massive 'classical' style, which he was not strong enough to use with mastery. This ambitious style is especially apparent in the above-mentioned fresco, the *Svenimento (Fainting, or Ecstasy) of St Catharine*, and in the rarely seen, because rarely accessible, pictures *The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* and *The Family of Darius before Alexander*, painted (about 1513) on the walls of the upper storey of the Roman villa of the rich Sienese banker Chigi—now known as the Villa Farnesina. Sodoma, like Raphael, had wonderful imitative talent, but he was entirely without that great master's power of assimilation and re-creation. The so-called *Presepio (Manger-scene)* in the Belle Arti at Siena might almost be mistaken for a 'Perugino' or 'Ghirlandaio'; other pictures there contain figures and faces more Leonardesque than anything by Luini himself, while the large *Descent from the Cross* has all the theatrical *gagliardezza* of Raphael's *Transfiguration* without Raphael's wondrous gift for composition. This all-important difference may be noted in Sodoma's five large frescos that adorn the Oratory of S. Bernardino, Siena. In these there are many figures beautiful in design and modelling, most of them evidently studied from Raphael's Roman work—some, indeed, closely imitated; but what we have seen to be an essential characteristic of great Cinquecento painting is here conspicuously absent: the persons are grouped and arranged,

¹ By others believed to be the portrait of Perugino. Such approval by such a judge, if really given, would certainly prove that popular taste in regard to Sodoma's well-known works deserves more respect than some feel inclined to accord it, however much they may admire the perfection of his drawing and modelling and colour, especially in the nude human body.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

so to speak, for the occasion, without any such relation to each other and to the surrounding scene as to produce the effect of something natural.

Besides Sodoma may be mentioned here as a Sienese painter that Peruzzi whom we have already met as one of the architects of St Peter's and as the builder of the above-mentioned Villa Chigi (Farnesina). In this villa he adorned with frescos of mythological subjects and views of Rome one of the large upper rooms (the other contains Sodoma's *Roxana*, etc.), and covered the ceiling of the Galatea hall with personifications of the constellations.

(3) **Florence** was the city in which Leonardo da Vinci studied for more than a dozen years before he settled in Milan, so that, although he was not a native of their city, the Florentines naturally took a pride in his celebrity and were susceptible to his influence. As in the case of Milan, no Leonardesque school was formed at Florence, Lorenzo di Credi, his fellow-student in the famous *bottega* of Verrocchio, alone professing to be his follower,¹ but all the greater Florentine painters of the early Cinquecento were more or less profoundly affected by his insistence upon that return to a study of nature which has ever preceded every important departure in the pictorial art, and by those wondrous methods of composition, drawing, and modelling which enabled him to give manifest proof of the truths that he proclaimed. Of these Florentine artists the chief are Piero di Cosimo, Fra Bartolomeo, Albertinelli, and Andrea del Sarto.

Piero di Cosimo, so called as being the favourite pupil of Cosimo Rosselli (the Florentine painter, follower of Benozzo Gozzoli, known chiefly by his frescos in the Sistine Chapel), has been largely discovered of late, and enjoys at present a considerable reputation. His *chef-d'œuvre* is the large fresco in the Cappella Sistina representing the destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea (formerly attributed to Rosselli). A very brilliantly and carefully painted portrait

¹ Although not a great artist, Lorenzo di Credi was a very zealous and skilful painter. He copied, says Vasari, works of Verrocchio and Leonardo for the King of Spain so as to be indistinguishable from the originals. His pictures (Florence, Pistoia, Paris, etc.) are mostly of religious subjects. He was a *Piagnone* and burnt his 'profane' pictures at the *bruciamento delle Vanità* of 1497; but a nude Venus by him has been discovered.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

of the celebrated *bella Simonetta*,¹ now at Chantilly in France, shows how strongly he was influenced by Leonardo's style, as does a picture of a warrior in armour in our National Gallery. Of very different nature, but still no less Leonardesque in treatment, are the rather fantastic panels in the Uffizi Gallery on which he depicted in oils the story of Perseus and Andromeda. An old inventory, says Mrs Ady, states that Leonardo himself drew some of the figures in one of these pictures.

Fra Bartolomeo and his friend Albertinelli will be discussed somewhat later, when I have finished this sketch of the various schools of the Cinquecento. Thus Andrea del Sarto (1486–1531) alone remains to be noted here as one of the great Florentine painters of this era.²

Andrea, son of a tailor named Agnolo, was a pupil of Piero di Cosimo, but later an ardent follower of Leonardo and Fra Bartolomeo. It is the fashion nowadays to speak patronizingly, or even somewhat contemptuously, of him. 'This tailor's son had but his father's soul,' as some one remarks in *Aurora Leigh*, sums up many modern 'appreciations' of him, although as regards technique he is still allowed the name given him by his contemporaries—*il pittore senza errori*. It is true that gentleness and graciousness characterize his work rather than vigour and power, and that the repetition of certain slightly varied types, as well as his marked mannerisms, makes a monotonous impression; but some of his best paintings certainly prove that if he had no soul he had a very fair substitute. Among these works we may unhesitatingly place his *Annunciation* (Fig. 39), so charmingly natural and 'open-air' in comparison with many others, and his beautiful but much faded fresco in the cloister of the Florentine church of the Annunziata—the so-called *Madonna del Sacco*.³

¹ See *Italy from Dante to Tasso* (index). As she died in 1476, when Piero was a lad of fourteen, this portrait must be taken from some earlier likeness.

² Raphael one associates mainly with Rome, but his 'Florentine period' of two or three years was very prolific. He owed much to his study of Masaccio and Michelangelo and to Leonardo's *Cartoon* and *Magi*. These artists were his veritable masters more than Perugino or Timoteo Viti.

³ As regards vigorous composition probably his frescos in the Annunziata court, done when he was barely twenty, especially the *Nativity of the Virgin*, and those in the cloister of the Barefoot Friars at Florence, are his finest work. (Some of the latter date from 1515, others from ten years later.)



37. 'MADONNA DEL SACCO'
By Andrea del Sarto
Florence, Cloisters of L'Annunziata
Photo Brogi



38. 'IL CENACOLO'
By Leonardo da Vinci
Milan
Photo Brogi



39. ANNUNCIATION

By Andrea del Sarto

Florence

Photo Brog

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

Besides the *Annunciation* there are in the Florentine galleries several easel-pictures of his which become endeared to all capable of appreciating graciousness and dignity at their true worth. Among these are the *Deposizione (Pieta)* and the *Madonna delle Arpie*—so called because of the sculptured Harpies that decorate the Virgin's throne. In this *Madonna* appear the handsome features of that Lucrezia who about this time (1517) became his wife, and who—if we are to believe Vasari, a pupil of Andrea's—ruined the artist's life and made him degrade his art in order to meet the penury caused by her extravagances. In 1518 he accepted an invitation to visit the court of Francis I of France, where he was highly appreciated; but having returned to fetch his wife, he ended by remaining with her at Florence. One of his later works (1526) was the fresco of the *Last Supper* still to be seen in the refectory of the ruined monastery of S. Salvi, just outside Florence—a picture which is said to have so impressed the imperialist soldiers besieging Florence in 1529 that they spared the convent. His last great work was the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, painted for Francis I, but now in the Dresden Gallery. In 1531 he died of the plague.

The regrettable habit of overloading his figures with voluminous masses of drapery, although it sometimes lends a certain grandeur (as in the *Madonna del Sacco*), mars woefully many of the works of Andrea del Sarto. This habit seems to have been confirmed and intensified by the influence of Fra Bartolomeo, but even in the early frescos the tendency is visible.

Three of the followers of Andrea del Sarto should be mentioned—the last two as most excellent portrait-painters: firstly, his friend and imitator, Franciabigio (a pupil of Albertinelli), whose *Marriage of the Virgin*¹ and *Scenes from the Baptist's Life*, in the Annunziata and the Scalzi, compete with Andrea's frescos; secondly, another of his pupils and assistants, Pontormo (1494–1557), whose *Visitation*, in the same court of the Annunziata, rivals still more successfully the frescos of his master; thirdly, Bronzino (1502–72), a pupil of Pontormo's, to whom are attributed very numerous

¹ Angered at the unveiling of this fresco before it was finished, the painter aimed at the Virgin's head a blow with a hammer, traces of which are still visible.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

portraits of the Medici and other notabilities.¹ In their earlier style, and as portrait-painters, Pontormo and Bronzino nearly, if not quite, attained greatness, but they both unfortunately fell under the spell of *michelangelismo* and produced works of empty grandiosity (such as several in the Uffizi and in our National Gallery) which revealed their limitations. Pontormo was wise enough to recognize this fact, and at his request he was buried beneath his fresco of the *Visitation*.

Contemporary with these were Granacci (*d.* 1543) and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (*d.* 1561). Granacci was a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio and of Filippino Lippi (who introduced his portrait in one of the Carmine frescos), but in his *Madonna of the Girdle* and his *Assumption* (at Florence) he imitated Fra Bartolomeo, while in his rather spirited *Entry of Charles VIII into Florence* (acquired some time ago by the Uffizi) he adopted a very different style. Granacci is more interesting as a friend of great men, among whom was Michelangelo, than as an artist. The same may be said of his pupil Ridolfo, son of the elder Ghirlandaio, although he produced a great deal and had a great *bottega* with many assistants and was such a skilful imitator that several of his portraits have been ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci or to his intimate friend Raphael.

One should perhaps mention here the very poor artist and very interesting art historian Vasari (1512-74). One of his works is a very disagreeable portrait of Lorenzo il Magnifico. Another represents Clement VII with Charles V.

(4) It will be remembered that during the middle and later Quattrocento some of the popes—for instance, Nicholas V and Sixtus IV—attracted to Rome by their generous patronage a number of painters from North and Central Italy, such as Fra Angelico, Melozzo of Forli, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Signorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio. But it was the advent of Bramante (whose Tempietto began the High Classical Renaissance in Rome in 1502), and that of Michelangelo (1505) and Raphael (1508), which made Rome

¹ Those of Lucrezia Panciatichi and of Eleonora of Toledo with her son Don Garzia (Uffizi) are perhaps Bronzino's best. The 'Tribuna' of the Uffizi Gallery, once devoted to great masterpieces, is now given over mainly to Bronzino.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

during the early Cinquecento, though it produced no artists, the centre of Italian art, Florence having surrendered her supremacy and Venice being late and slow in winning recognition for her new and splendid school of painting.

The rise and fall of the so-called Roman school will be indicated sufficiently in the subsequent accounts of Michelangelo and Raphael, so we may pass over the first period of the High Renaissance—that period which is often called the Golden Age of the Medicean pope, Leo X, although it was Julius II who invited Raphael and Michelangelo to Rome and who by his character deserves far more to be regarded as the Cinquecento Augustus, or Maecenas, than the self-complacent and pompous Leo, who had no real appreciation for what was great or beautiful in art and merely cared to use artists for his own glorification. After Leo's death (less than two years after that of Raphael) the Philistine Adrian VI hunted scholars and artists from the Vatican and from Rome and dispersed valuable collections of books and works of art. His successor, Clement VII, although, like Leo X, of the art-loving house of the Medici, disappointed expectations, doubtless partly on account of the disasters that during his pontificate came upon Rome and Italy. The sack of Rome by German Lutherans and Spaniards in 1527 dispersed Roman artists.¹ Then came a period during which, with the exception of the gifted but coarse-natured Giulio Romano, all the numerous and devoted scholars of Raphael fell into a slough of mediocrity from which they tried to save themselves by desperate but futile efforts to imitate the grandeur of Michelangelo's style; and ere that mighty genius died (1564) Rome was, as regards art, a desolation.

A revival connected with Rome and Naples took place toward the end of the century. But as it extended its influence far into the next² it will be enough to explain here the nature of the movement, a fairly full account of which will be given later. The Naturalist school, founded by

¹ Many found their way to France and introduced there Renaissance influences. French decorative art especially was strongly influenced by Raphaelesque work, such as that of the Loggia; and the school of Fontainebleau spread this style through a great part of Europe.

² Salvator Rosa (also a poet and musician) was the last really fine artist descended from the Roman Naturalists. He died in 1673.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

Michelangelo Amerighi of Caravaggio (1569–1609), held the highest object of art to be the realistic presentation of Nature in all her moods, and regarded as the most impressive of these moods the unrestrained emotions of human nature—thus ignoring the fact that all great art, as all great character, needs self-restraint and equipoise. Caravaggio gained at Rome, Naples, and Malta immense popularity by means of his realistic imitation, especially in portraits, and in *genre* pictures of sacred subjects, in which he introduced a great deal that is commonplace and vulgar and often painfully emotional. But he had indubitable genius, and his style possesses at times a breadth and nobility almost Michelangel-esque. At Naples the Naturalistic school, originally instituted by Polidoro, also a native of Caravaggio in Lombardy, and by Sabatini of Salerno (both pupils of Raphael), was later headed by the Spaniard Ribera (*Lo Spagnoletto*), through whom chiefly the influence of this school spread to Spain and became the source of much of the painful unrestraint and vulgarization of sacred subjects that characterize some French schools of painting and sculpture, while a similar infection was carried to Flanders by Rubens, who did not escape it during his visit to Rome.

(5) The Eclectic ('Selective') school was founded by Lodovico Carracci of **Bologna**, who educated as artists his still more celebrated cousins, Agostino and Annibale, the latter of whom, as many others of the Eclectics, worked much in Rome and Naples. The original plan on which these painters determined to wage war against the Naturalists was (as we learn from a sonnet by Agostino) to form a combination of Raphaelesque designs, Venetian 'action and shade,' Lombard colour, Michelangelo's 'terrible way,' the 'pure style of Correggio,' and so on. But they, and the best of their followers, rose above this hotchpotch method and developed an original power which (as had been the case with Raphael) allowed them to assimilate freely—and they did so even from the Naturalists—without remaining mere imitators.¹ The chief of the Eclectics born before the end of the

¹ The originality of Annibale Carracci showed itself in the fact that he was one of the first of modern painters to produce genuine landscape. The art of Poussin and Claude le Lorrain owed much to him.



40. LUCREZIA PUCCI
By Bronzino
Florence, Uffizi
Photo Bragi



42. MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA

By Correggio

Parma

Photo Anderson



41. VENUS, MERCURY, AND CUPID

By Correggio

London, National Gallery

Photo Anderson

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

Cinquecento, besides the Carracci, are Domenichino, Guido Reni, and Guercino. Their works will be considered in Part II, together with those of other artists of the Seicento.

We have seen that at Rome considerably before the middle of the Cinquecento, and until the coming of the so-called Naturalists and Eclectics, the influence of Raphael suffered almost total eclipse. In Northern Italy, however, it continued to produce somewhat notable effects. Not only did the sack of Rome and subsequent events bring Roman artists (Giulio Romano among them) to regions north of the Apennines, but at Bologna, Ferrara, Verona, and Ravenna we find artists whose Raphaelesque work, if not very original, is certainly attractive.¹ Of these artists the most worthy of mention are Bagnacavallo of Bologna, a disciple of Francia, and his later master, Dosso Dossi of Ferrara (1480-1542), who, together with his brother, is placed by his friend Ariosto among the supreme painters of that age :

*Leonardo, Andrea Mantegna, Gian Bellino,
Duo Dossi, e quel ch'a par sculpe e colora,
Michel, più che mortal, angel divino,
Bastian, Rafael, Tizian . . .*

Ariosto was perhaps not a very discriminating art critic—and was doubtless influenced by the fact that Dosso illustrated the *Orlando* with several of his best paintings (e.g., the Borghese *Circe*), but he was probably juster than was Vasari, who treats Dosso despitefully. He certainly had poetic imagination, and some of his landscape backgrounds are worthy to be named with those of Giorgione or Titian.

Another northern *raffaellesco* visibly affected by Venetian colour is Benvenuto Tisi (1481-1559), known better under the name of his native place, Garofalo. Many of his pictures are at Ferrara, in churches and in the Palazzo de' Diamanti, and in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, which is rich in works of this school. He possessed great technical ability, but certainly does not merit the title of the 'Ferrara Raphael'

¹ They were also doubtless affected strongly by the now widely spreading Venetian influences—by the wondrous colouring of Giorgione, Palma, and Titian. At Verona and Ravenna we have the rather obscure *raffaelleschi*, Carotto, Cavazzola, Longhi, and others.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

sometimes conferred on him, for his work is at the same time very ambitious and painfully weak, many of the faces showing a simpering conventionality.

(6) We now turn to **Parma**, where we find a really great artist, Antonio Allegri, better known, from his birthplace, as Correggio (1494-1534). A consideration of his works takes us back again to the first third of the Cinquecento.

Like Raphael and Giorgione, he died young. He received his first training at Ferrara, and soon gave proof of very great technical ability, if not perhaps of very high artistic gifts. He resided mostly at Parma, where he led a quiet life; for his immense celebrity did not begin till after his death. His early works (produced probably at Modena and Bologna) were imitative of Francia and Raphael. At Parma he developed a style which exercised strong influences on Italian art. Perhaps the most important of these was what one may call an ethical influence. His work is full of *joyousness*—of strong and happy emotions, from the raptures of childhood to those of passionate love (voluptuous but not licentious), and to the ‘dithyrambic ecstasies,’ as Mr Symonds calls them, of saints and angels, and even of the Fates themselves, whom he depicts disporting themselves like Bacchantes. But this joyousness often fails to find fit expression, and even comes perilously near grotesqueness, on account of the artist’s mania for foreshortening. He was the first—as says Sir Henry Layard—who warred systematically against flatness of surface. He delighted in producing the sensation of depth by perspective illusions caused by the position, often most ungainly, of his figures, and by the effects of chiaroscuro.¹ For instance, a Madonna is depicted by him as seen from such a standpoint that her knees almost reach her chin while seated on her celestial throne; or she is, as in the *Assumption* of the Parma Duomo, throwing herself, at what one might call violently foreshortened full-length, backward on a bed of clouds, as if fainting in delirious rapture. This work of Correggio’s—the painting of the cupola of the Parma Duomo—was his

¹ Melozzo of Forli, who died in the year that Correggio was born, and Mantegna (*d.* 1506) were the first to attempt audacious foreshortenings, and this trickery later led to the many and often repulsive ‘perspective’ frescos with which cupolas and ceilings were disfigured.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

biggest undertaking. It is ardently admired by those who can appreciate highly the astounding feats of foreshortening accomplished by the painter, but the impression made on the uninitiated is generally that of mingled astonishment and consternation at the Redeemer plunging headlong through space, the supine and delirious Virgin, and the great multitude of angelic beings displaying their raptures by sprawling in innumerable foreshortened attitudes ; and it must be confessed that the wit of Correggio's contemporaries, who christened his work *un guazzetto di rane* ('a *ragoût* of frogs'), seems scarcely to surpass the irreverence of the painter himself.

But Correggio's best easel-pictures are of a totally different nature. They may lack imagination and nobility of outline¹ and composition, but they possess technical qualities of the highest order. Of these the most important is a mastery in the treatment of light and shade so incomparable that the artist well deserves the title given him by Natali and Vitelli—*il re della luce*. By means of ingenious contrasts he produces effects of the most dazzling brilliance and the darkest shadow, and by almost imperceptible gradations of light and colour he attains the most exquisite modelling and a voluptuous delicacy in depicting the nude so illusive that, as Giulio Romano remarked, one seems to be looking at real flesh. Many of his pictures are well known, such as the *Adoration* in the Uffizi, the so-called *Zingarella Madonna* at Naples, the *Madonna della Scodella* at Parma, the *Vierge au Panier* and the lovely *Venus and Mercury* in our National Gallery, the *Giorno* at Parma, the *Danae* at Rome, and the *Notte (Adoration of the Shepherds)* at Dresden—famous for the wonderful effect of the light that streams from the recumbent Child. At Dresden is also the not less famous *Reading Magdalene*, which Venturi has lately reattributed to Correggio, thus attempting to rescue it from the verdict of Morelli, the great demolisher and renovator of art reputations, who on account of the cold and flat colouring of the celebrated blue robe, and the copper-

¹ The perfection of Correggio's *sfumatura* often makes definite outline disappear—and definite outline seems to possess, in art, a very peculiar power of appeal.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

plate on which the picture is painted, gave it away to some Flemish artist.

(7) **Venice**, as we have often had occasion to observe, was always late in receiving mainland influences. As late as 1516 Gian Bellini was still painting Early Renaissance *Madonnas*, sixty-one years after the death of Fra Angelico, and eighty-eight after the death of Masaccio, at an epoch when Leonardo da Vinci had finished his *Cenacolo* and his *Mona Lisa*. And it was some twenty-five years after Botticelli's *Primavera* that the young Giorgione, two years younger than Michelangelo, began at Venice to introduce humanity and nature into pictures in the place of Biblical and ecclesiastic subjects, and to display that 'Giorgionesque spirit' and 'Giorgionesque style' of which art critics had so much to say before somebody discovered the fact, if it be a fact, that of all the pictures attributed to Giorgione only *one* was painted by him.

At the beginning of the century Giorgione and Titian were both young men of about twenty-three years of age. Giorgione was destined to live only ten years longer, Titian seventy-six—surviving by five years the battle of Lepanto. Palma Vecchio, some three years younger than Titian, died in 1528, nearly fifty years before him, just after the sack of Rome and just before the siege of Florence. Tintoretto, born in 1518, was engaged on his vast *Paradiso*, his Scuola di S. Rocco frescos, and all his other mighty works during the half-century in which Venice carried on her desperate conflict with the Turks and lost Cyprus and many others of her oversea possessions. Twenty years before he died (in 1594) the Turks had recovered from the defeat of Lepanto and had forced on Venice an ignoble peace. Paolo Veronese, ten years younger than Tintoretto, died six years before him. Palma Giovane (1544–1628), some sixteen years younger again, survived the first quarter of the seventeenth century, a period in which the glory of Venice was sinking beneath the horizon amidst a blaze of colour.

Of Zorzi (Giorgio) of Castelfranco, usually called Giorgione, very little is known except that he died (1510) of the plague when about thirty-three years of age. The one picture that was certainly painted by him is an indescribably



43. MADONNA AND TWO SAINTS

By Giorgione. *Castelfranco*

Photo Alinari



45. LA BELLA DI TIZIANO

Florence, Pitti Gallery
Photo Brogi



44. ST BARBARA

By Palma Vecchio
Venice, S. Maria Formosa
Photo Brogi

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

beautiful *Madonna and Two Saints* (at Castelfranco), which alone would prove him to have been a very great artist. All the rest of his easel-pictures, they say, have disappeared, like his once famous frescos on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi at Venice. The idyllic *Meeting of Jacob and Rachel* (Dresden) is given to Palma Vecchio, the *Tempesta* (Venice) to Paris Bordone, the *Concerto* (Pitti) to somebody else. For all these losses Morelli and others compensate his fame by attributing to him the ‘most beautiful Venus in the world’—that *Sleeping Venus* which in the Dresden Gallery rivals a similar picture by Titian; and Venturi includes among the genuine ‘Giorgiones’ the *Tempesta*, the *Tre Filosofi* (Vienna), and a few more. Where experts differ so considerably it is hazardous to express an opinion, but perhaps one may allow oneself to doubt whether the painter of the Castelfranco *Madonna*, or of the Dresden *Venus*, or even of the *Jacob and Rachel*, also produced such things as the *Concerto* of the Pitti or the *Solomon’s Judgment* of the Uffizi.

Palma Vecchio (1480–1528), a pupil of Gian Bellini, attached himself to Giorgione and later to Titian, to whom several of his paintings were long attributed. He is perhaps the most manly and robust of all the Venetians. The dignity of his men—such as one sees in his *St Peter enthroned amidst Six Saints* (Accademia, Venice)—is equalled by the Junonian beauty of his women, such as the famous *St Barbara* of S. Maria Formosa (Venice) and the *Young Venetian Lady* (Vienna), while in the *Rachel* of the Dresden picture above mentioned as attributed to him we have a buxom beauty of a more homely kind.

In a history of Italian painting Titian (1477–1576) would seem to claim at least the same amount of space as that due to Milton in an equally voluminous history of English literature. But having to treat in two moderately sized volumes a subject of such magnitude I have had to limit myself not only to the three important arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, but to a comparatively small number of works of art and their makers, and have, as a rule, given biographical facts only as far as they seem to have had some important bearing on the work of the artist. Titian lived very nearly a hundred years, and he had at times close

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

relations with important personages, such as the Emperor Charles V, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Urbino, and the Gonzagas of Mantua ; he also painted many celebrities—one of whom was Ariosto ; but, even though his innate love for magnificence of scene and colour was doubtless confirmed and deepened by the circumstances of his life, these circumstances did not influence essentially the nature of his work, nor affect its artistic value to any important extent.¹ I shall therefore limit myself to mentioning some of his finest pictures and to making a few observations on their characteristics and those of Venetian Cinquecento painting in general.

At first he seems to have produced only somewhat ineffective pictures, such as *Madonnas* of the traditional type (e.g., the *Vergine al Parapetto* at Vienna), but, evidently influenced by Giorgione and Palma, both almost his coevals, his latent genius appears to have been suddenly developed. The earliest genuine 'Titian' is the so-called *Sacred and Profane Love* in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. It presents two women of that Junonian type which we have already met in the work of Palma—one richly and heavily robed, the other nude.² Of about the same date (1508) is the impressive *Christ and the Tribute Money* at Dresden, in which one recognizes a very different influence—that of Albrecht Dürer, who was at Venice in 1506 ; and in the relics of frescos in St Anthony's School at Padua, painted in 1511, there is evidence that he was still wavering in regard to style, for they show unmistakable Quattrocento tendencies.

Not until 1512, when he was already *nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*, did he begin the long series of his characteristically Titianesque paintings ; and it seems possible that the task which in this year he undertook, that of finishing works

¹ For Titian's visit, or visits, to Spain see the chapter on Spanish painting. In the Prado Gallery at Madrid there are more than forty of his works.

² These massive-limbed women are incomparably nobler than those of Rubens, but are certainly not of the type with which we associate Helen of Troy or the Homeric Aphrodite. Nevertheless, there are indications that the picture is meant to represent Aphrodite persuading Helen to leave Sparta ; but the Northern church with pointed steeple is somewhat of a puzzle. (Is it due to Dürer ?) This is perhaps the first picture with real landscape (not a mere background) in Italian art.



46. SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE

By Titian

Rome, Villa Borghese

Photo Brogi



47. FEAST IN LEVI'S HOUSE

By Paolo Veronese

Venice

Photo Anderson



48. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN
Upper half. By Titian

Venice, Frari

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

begun by his friend Giorgione, may have determined finally his style. The first important result was the celebrated *Assumption* (Venice; lately restored to the church of the Frari). In this work of great magnificence of colour and unquestionable grandeur we see the whole power of Titian's genius, and its limitations. In colour and in harmonious composition we feel that it surpasses greatly Raphael's *Transfiguration*; but the thought of the Madonna and Child of what one calls the *Madonna di S. Sisto* makes us conscious of the gulf that separates the two artists.¹

Of about the same date (1515) is the beautiful *Noli me tangere* (the risen Christ and the Magdalene) of our National Gallery; and shortly afterward for Duke Alfonso of Ferrara he painted several classical-mythological pictures, of which a very fine specimen is the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, another treasure of the London gallery, as is also his portrait of Ariosto, who was at that period a resident official at the Ferrarese court. It was at this court of Alfonso that Titian met the Junonian beauty Laura Dianti, whose portrait (in the Louvre) shows that she was also the model used by him for his celebrated picture known as the *Flora* (Uffizi). It was not till 1523 that the works promised to the Duke of Ferrara were finished, for Titian had now many commissions, one of his patrons being Frederic Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, the consort of that 'Lady of the Renaissance,' Isabella d'Este, who, together with her sister Beatrice, Duchess of Milan, played such an important part in the political events of that epoch.² For Gonzaga he painted one of his comparatively few sacred pictures, the *Descent from the Cross*, which is now in the Louvre. Another (painted in 1526) is the large and impressive *Vergine del Pesaro* (Frari, Venice), in which the Madonna, with the Child—a most lovely group—is receiving, under an enormous colonnaded portico, a deputation of the rich and famous Pesaro family. The simple and gracious dignity of the central group amidst the magnificent surroundings produces a visionary effect, and the splendid colouring, the harmony of the composition, and the play of light and shade make it

¹ The *Madonna di S. Sisto* was painted a year or two later than the *Assumption*.

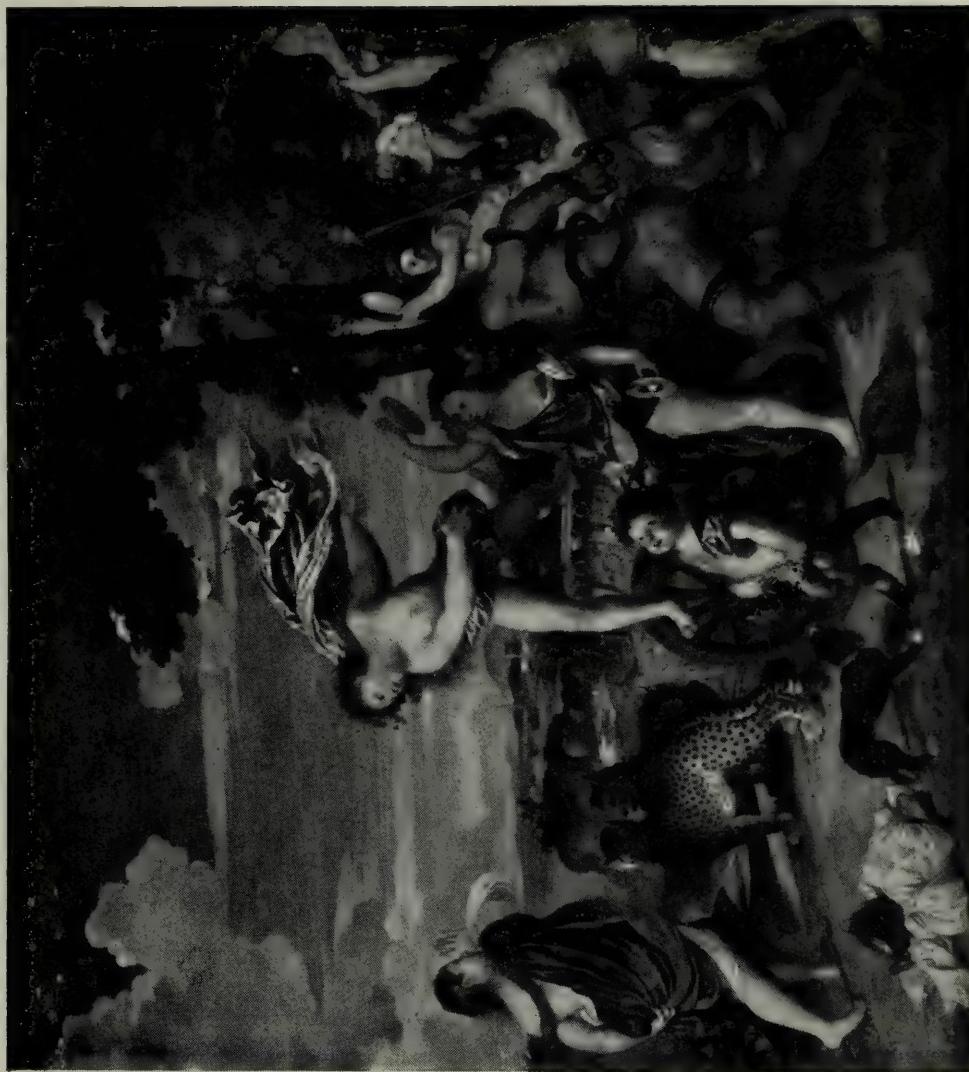
² The fine portrait of Isabella by Titian is at Vienna.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

one of the most wonderful pictures in existence.¹ As a painter of sacred pictures Titian shows no such religious convictions as those which actuated artists like Fra Angelico, but at times he reveals a deep sympathy with what Wordsworth calls the 'essential' feelings of human nature. In all art there is perhaps nothing more tender and delightful than Titian's *Presentation*, in which, amidst a scene of splendid architecture and rich apparel, the little Virgin, clad in a simple frock, ascends alone and with difficulty the great stairs leading up to the Temple. This picture (which was imitated by Veronese and others) would alone defend Venetian Cinquecento painting against the charge of being always merely gorgeously decorative.

It is true that one of the most easily recognized characteristics of Venetian Cinquecento painting is an overwhelmingly exuberant delight in colour and magnificence; and it is true that, in spite of the magical charm that Venetian art exercises on us—in spite, too, of such affirmations as that of Walter Pater, that the Venetians 'apprehended more unerringly than any others the essence of what is pictorial'—we are not always satisfied. We are sometimes inclined to believe that the later Venetian school made scarcely any earnest attempt at that revelation, or intimation, which may be regarded as the highest function of art—that it worked solely for the glorification of the rich and powerful, or of some saint or order, and that the superb display of colour and magnificence by which it appeals to our sensuous nature is eminently unspiritual; and this suspicion seems at times confirmed by such words as those of Michelangelo, that at Venice 'they did not pay attention to form,' and those of Mr Berenson, in which he asserts that it was the 'pure form' of the early Sienese painters which made them the most spiritual of Italian artists—indeed, of all artists except perhaps the Chinese. Surely, however, we may venture to trust the sensation of delight that many

¹ Possibly, if we can judge from copies and prints, the *Assassination of Peter Martyr*, burnt (in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice) in the year 1869, may have deserved its fame as the greatest of Titian's religious pictures. It dated from 1530, and was painted in competition with Palma and Pordenone. *The Martyrdom of St Lawrence* (Gesuiti, Venice), a late production (1558) in which he imitated unsuccessfully Michelangelo's dramatic style, can scarcely be classed with his great works.



49. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE

By Titian

London, National Gallery

Photo Anderson



50. DANAË

By Titian. Madrid, Prado
Photo Anderson

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

of us have experienced when entering the Venetian room after long wanderings through a picture-gallery, and, without accepting Ruskin's suggestion that the greatest colourist is probably the greatest painter,¹ we may surely permit ourselves unhesitatingly to rejoice with these Venetians in all that so richly satisfies our sense of beauty; for it cannot be doubted that art has means of revelation not dreamed of in the philosophy of our art criticism.

Nor was it only the splendours of gorgeous apparel and of architecture that appealed to the Venetian painters of Titian's era. The love of pure rich colour was doubtless fostered also by the splendours of sky and sea to which the Venetians are accustomed; and this love of the richer aspects of nature shows itself in not a few pictures, especially in some of Titian's, in which figures and buildings are hardly more than accessories to the landscape.²

In 1530 Titian met, and painted, the Emperor Charles V at the famous Council of Bologna, and henceforth was much occupied by work at the imperial court in Spain and in Germany, and in producing portraits of high-born and other illustrious personages. Some of these portraits, such as that of Ippolito de' Medici and that of the lady immortalized as *La Bella di Tiziano* (both in the Pitti Gallery), and those of Paul III and other members of the Farnese family (Naples), rival, if they do not excel, the finest portraits by Raphael and Rembrandt. By the way, it was for Ottavio Farnese that he painted the well-known nude *Venus* (with the little dog), now at Florence, in which, as also in the still more famous Dresden *Venus*, he has shown incomparable skill in depicting purely sensuous beauty. Of a somewhat higher type, and of a beauty far exceeding that of the similar picture (at Rome) by Correggio, is the *Danae*, a treasure of the Prado Gallery at Madrid.

Titian's vigour—his *gagliardezza*—and not a small portion of his higher artistic powers survived till nigh the end of his

¹ Meaning doubtless one who, like Titian, uses to the full all that colour can contribute to the perfection of a work of art. Ruskin would surely have scorned the idea that mere effects of colour, or of language, however rich, could produce anything artistic.

² Titian sometimes introduces features of the scenery amidst which he lived in early youth—that of Cadore, in the Dolomite region.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

very long life. Of one of his latest works—the *Flagellation*, now at Munich—Morelli says, ‘No painter has ever handled the brush with more firmness and mastery than did Titian in this picture, at ninety years of age.’ He died in 1576, of the plague. His tomb, in the Frari church, is a nineteenth-century monstrosity.

Of Titian’s earlier contemporaries (all long outlived by him) the following six are noticeable.

Sebastiano Luciani (1480–1547), better known as (Fra) Sebastiano del Piombo—because he was the official who provided the leaden seals for papal bulls, etc.—was, as painter, a wonderfully clever imitator and Eclectic. He received his first training in the Venetian school, and in his early work he shows clearly the influence of Giorgione, especially in his treatment of light and shade and in his landscapes. But he soon transferred his admiration to Raphael (whom later he vituperated), and produced paintings so Raphaelesque that some of them were long attributed to Raphael himself—one being, probably, the beautiful picture of a woman in the Uffizi Gallery which long passed as Raphael’s portrait of his supposed mistress, *La Fornarina (The Baker’s Daughter)* (Fig. 81). Then he betook himself to imitating Michelangelo, whose style he extolled at the expense of Raphael’s, and reproduced his manner and method so deftly that his *Raising of Lazarus* (in our National Gallery) was long believed to be the work of his great Florentine contemporary.¹ After his investment (1531) by Pope Clement VII with the office of seal-maker he seems to have led an indolent life, occupying himself with lute-playing and less innocent amusements. But a portrait of Clement in the Farnese Palace shows that his skill had not deserted him after several years of inactivity as painter, for other portraits—e.g., Vasari’s—confirm the statement that it was only shortly before his death in 1534 that this pope cultivated the beard which Sebastian has here depicted so realistically. During the fifteen years of the pontificate

¹ Still thought by some to have been designed, in part at least, by Michelangelo. Other Michelangelesque work by Sebastiano is to be seen in S. Pietro in Montorio at Rome—a *Flagellation* and an *Ascension*; and at Madrid are two fine pictures of his in similar style—viz., *Christ in Limbo* and *Christ on the Way to Calvary*.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

of the Farnese pope, Paul III, Sebastian seems to have produced scarcely anything.

Lorenzo Lotto, of Trevisan origin, was born (*c.* 1480) at Venice, where he became a pupil of Alvise Vivarini and a follower of Giorgione and Titian. Most of his works are of a religious character. Three great altar-pieces are at Bergamo and others in various towns of the region around Ancona (the Marche), in which part of Italy he worked all the later part of his life. He died in 1556, being at that time a lay-brother of the Sacred House at Loreto. A well-known work of his, of scarcely religious character, is the so-called *Triumph of Chastity* (Rospigliosi Palace, Rome), in which the Venus, who is being chased away by her stern and scandalized opponent, is so much the most attractive part of the picture that its title seems a misnomer. Lotto's portraits are of high excellence. Three of them are in a special room of the Brera Gallery. The well-known picture in the Pitti Gallery called *The Three Ages* (portraits of a father, son, and grandson) is now attributed to him.

Bonifazio de' Pitati, also called Bonifazio da Verona (1487-1533), was a follower of Palma Vecchio and worked at Venice, where many of his paintings are to be seen. Of these *The Judgment of Solomon* is especially notable. In the Pitti Gallery there are six of his works. He is one of the numerous Venetian artists of this period who, without possessing any strikingly original power, unquestionably succeeded in attaining very high rank as brilliant colourists, and produced works that for dignified composition are worthy of comparison with those of Titian himself. As 'Julia Cartwright' has well said, it seems as if in an age of superlative masters, such as that of Raphael and Titian, painters who in other eras would have been quite mediocre became inspired to produce really great works of art. It may be worth while to note, as a case of expert criticism overreaching itself, that Morelli believed—quite mistakenly, it seems—that there were at least three different Veronese or Venetian contemporary painters called Bonifazio and that their works were distinguishable only by highly trained persons endowed with a very keen *flair*.

With Bonifazio may be bracketed a painter of many

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

names but usually called Il Pordenone, from his native place (not far from Conegliano). After acquiring great skill in rivalling the splendid colouring of Titian he became his enemy and adopted a style that foreshadowed Rubens. Venice, Treviso, Cremona, and Piacenza possess frescos and easel-paintings by him.

Paris Bordone (1500-70), like Lotto, was a Trevisan. According to Vasari, he too was a pupil of Palma Vecchio. Having distinguished himself as a portrait-painter, he was summoned by Francis I, after that king's liberation from imprisonment at Madrid, in order to immortalize the *belles* of the French court. In the Pitti Gallery are some fine works of his. Among these I reckon *The Sibyl prophesying to Augustus the Advent of the Messiah*—a picture attributed by Morelli to 'Bonifazio II,' although the Sibyl shows a type very Bordonesque. At Milan are *The Lovers*—the woman in which shows a similar Palma-like, massive type of beauty—a *Baptism*, and a *Madonna with Saints*. Of a different, somewhat Titianesque, type is Bordone's masterpiece, the finely designed and dignified *Consignment of the Ring* (Fig. 54), in which is depicted the fisherman handing to the Doge, under a splendid portico, the gold ring given him by St Mark.¹

Still another Trevisan was Pennacchio (1497-1544), known also as Girolamo da Treviso. His best work, *The Miracles of S. Antonio*, painted in *grisaille*, is in the church of S. Petronio at Bologna.

We now come to a group of Venetian artists known as 'the Bassanos' from the name of their original home, Bassano, in Venetia. The earliest of them, whose real name was Francesco da Ponte, was a follower of Gian Bellini and Mantegna. His son Jacopo (1510-92) is regarded as the chief 'Bassano.' His two great pictures, in the museum of Bassano—a *Paradise* and a *Nativity*—prove that he became an imitator of Tintoretto (his junior by eight years), the former picture especially showing just such a wondrous perspective and such effects of dazzling light and of distance as are given us by the painter of the *Paradiso* in the Doges' Palace and the *Cena* in Lucca Cathedral. Also Jacopo's sons,

¹ For the legend see Okey's *Venice* ('Mediaeval Towns' series), p. 144.



51. ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL
Consort of Charles V. By Titian

Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson



52. AUGUSTUS AND THE SIBYL
Probably by Bordone. *Florence, Pitti Gallery*



53. CHRIST'S VISIT TO MARY AND MARTHA
By Francesco Bassano. *Florence, Pitti Gallery*
Photos Brogi

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

especially Francesco and Leandro, distinguished themselves as painters, and it seems that this younger Francesco—or was it perhaps Jacopo himself?—became influenced by Flemish naturalism and began to introduce ordinary household surroundings, ordinary costumes, domestic animals, etc., into pictures of sacred subjects.¹ He also painted many *genre* pictures and landscapes.

There is in the Pitti Gallery a large and fine specimen of the younger Francesco's early style, viz., *The Martyrdom of St Catharine*, and also some charming examples of his later, naturalistic, style, e.g., *Christ's Visit to Mary and Martha*, where the preoccupation of the latter, busied with her pots and dishes, offers a most effective background to the joyous and reverential welcome accorded by Mary to her beloved Master. This naturalism of the Bassanos—due perhaps mainly to their visits to Flanders—is a refreshing feature amidst the sometimes oppressive grandiosity and artificiality of late Venetian painters; and it had an influence perhaps scarcely less beneficial than that which Dürer had exercised in regard to landscapes and other naturalistic elements in the art of Titian. In the Doges' Palace there are some interesting *Scenes from the History of Venice* by Francesco and Leandro Bassano.

Besides the above-mentioned contemporaries of Titian and the younger Bassani there were other very gifted North Italian painters of this period. At Bergamo we find Previtali, pupil of Gian Bellini and friend of Cima, and Bernardino Lucinio (c. 1510–50), whose large picture representing himself amidst his numerous family is in the Borghese Gallery at Rome; and at Brescia lived and worked Alessandro Bonvicino, called Il Moretto di Brescia, many of whose paintings, most of them ruined by restoration, are to be seen in the gallery of Brescia and elsewhere. Some at least of them seem to have been originally of very high merit. He was a very gifted follower—perhaps actually a pupil—of Titian's. One of his finest pictures (Vienna) is

¹ *The Animals entering the Ark* (Louvre), attributed to Jacopo, seems to prove that he preceded his son in this naturalistic style. In the Uffizi and Pitti there are examples both of Jacopo's earlier style (e.g., *The Burning Bush*) and of the later, more naturalistic, style (e.g., *A Concert*, in which he is represented in the midst of his family).

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

that of St Justina and a unicorn (denoting chastity), with the repentant Roman proconsul at her feet. Moretto is said to have been (as was also Lorenzo Lotto) strangely unlike most Cinquecento artists in his habit of preparing himself for his work by prayer, after the fashion of Fra Angelico.

In the latter part of the Cinquecento, when in Rome and Florence great art was for a time non-existent, Venice produced two painters who, though they owed much to their predecessors, especially to Titian, belong indubitably to the class reserved for original genius, and may be regarded unhesitatingly as great artists—if not as such in the full sense of the words. They are Jacopo Robusti, known better as Tintoretto (1518–94), and Paolo Caliari, known better as Paolo Veronese (1528–88).

Over the door of Tintoretto's studio, they say, was written *Disegno di Michelangelo e colorito di Tiziano*. He felt the truth of Michelangelo's remark that the Venetians were weak in design, and reacted so strongly to the criticism that he may without exaggeration be called the Venetian Michelangelo—indeed, Vasari, the contemporary of both, asserted that he outvied Michelangelo himself in *terribilità*, while Ruskin, perhaps a better judge of art than Vasari, held that the Venetian excelled the Florentine in dramatic power. Most certainly in strong imagination, if not in the beauty of his conceptions, Tintoretto stands far above all other Venetians.¹ In colour his attempt to rival Titian was perhaps not very successful, but we should not forget that many of his works, such as the vast *Paradiso* in the Doges' Palace and the fifty-six great paintings in the Scuola di S. Rocco, are so deteriorated that one cannot tell whether the colouring may not have been originally as lovely as that of the *Ariadne and Bacchus* (Duges' Palace), which Mr Symonds perhaps rightly calls ‘the most beautiful oil-painting in the world.’ Tintoretto's character showed itself not only in such disdainful acts as making presents of pictures to would-be buyers who complained of his prices,

¹ In the Duomo of Lucca there is a *Last Supper* by Tintoretto, painted in rather subdued colours, which seems to me to be one of the most beautiful and poetical conceptions of the scene in all pictorial art.



54. CONSIGNMENT OF THE RING

By Bordone

Venice, Accademia

Photo Anderson

58



55. BACCHUS, ARIADNE, AND VENUS

By Tintoretto

Venice, Doge's Palace

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

but in the impetuous rapidity of his work, which earned him the name *il fulmine della pittura*. Immense must be the total area of his paintings. The *Paradiso* alone covers about 240 square yards; the *Crucifixion* and the *Last Judgment* are huge; in Venice there are at least 145 other works of his, many of great size; in Spain there are about thirty.

Of those in Venice nearly sixty, as we have seen, are in the so-called Scuola di S. Rocco (the House of the Fraternity of St Rochus), where Tintoretto worked for many years. In most of these he has depicted scenes from the life of Christ. Among them the above-mentioned *Crucifixion* rivals in size and in dramatic power Michelangelo's far more famous *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel. In the Venetian Academy have been collected about twenty-five of his works, among which there is what is regarded as his masterpiece, the *Miracle of St Mark*—unsurpassed in audacity and vigour of design. Besides the immense *Paradiso*, the Doges' Palace possesses a number of his historical and allegorical paintings. Especially notable of these is the afore-mentioned *Ariadne* picture, in which sea-born Aphrodite, floating in the air, places a coronal of stars on the head of the Sea-king's daughter and offers her what surely is the famous golden apple, while Dionysus (Bacchus) offers her a ring—a finely conceived adaptation of old myths in honour of Venice, with allusion to the ring with which the Doge used to wed her to the Adriatic.

Tintoretto's *Last Judgment*—a painting in the outlying and tranquil church of the Madonna dell' Orto at Venice, which contains others of his works and his tomb—is lauded by Ruskin, but in the case of many who can admire, and even enjoy, the wondrous audacity and mastery displayed by the greater Michelangelesque painters of this period the *terribilità*, or whatever else one may call it, of such paintings as this (and the same may surely be said of Michelangelo's mighty fresco in the Sistine Chapel) acts repellently and obstructs, if it does not wholly prevent, such feelings as must necessarily be aroused if we are to gain from art the best that it can offer us.

Paolo Veronese was ten years younger than Tintoretto.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

His life was sixteen years shorter, and he acquired no such lightning speed in the use of the brush, but the number of his paintings is very considerable and the size of some of them is prodigious. At Venice there are more than fifty, including about twenty fine works that adorn the Doges' Palace ; at Madrid there are about twenty. In the Louvre there are sixteen, the chief of which is the vast *Marriage at Cana*. Our National Gallery has about half a dozen, which include the very fine picture representing the family of Darius doing obeisance to Alexander the Great after the battle of Issus.

That Paolo Veronese was a great artist in the full sense of the words would, I imagine, be asserted by nobody. But he was a very great designer of splendid decorative pictures, and marvellous as draughtsman and colourist. Under the guise of magnificent Venetian festivities, o'ercanopied by palatial architecture, he brings, wondrously transfigured, before our astonished eyes the simple scenes described by the Evangelists. Thus, among the banqueters in the *Marriage at Cana* are depicted our Queen Mary, Francis I of France, the Emperor Charles V, Suleiman, the conqueror of Rhodes, Vittoria Colonna, and many other celebrities. Among the musicians are Veronese himself and Tintoretto. Of like nature is the *Supper at the House of Levi* (Venice, Academy). It is scarcely surprising that the Inquisition condemned the painter, on a charge of profanity, to seclusion in a monastery.

Still grander in conception and more gorgeous in colour are the many and magnificent historical and allegorical paintings of Paolo Veronese which decorate the ceilings and walls of the Doges' Palace—such as the *Trionfi di Venezia* in the Sala del Gran Consiglio.

* * * * *

The following accounts of Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Bartolomeo, Michelangelo (as painter), and Raphael are given here in order to avoid too long interpolations in the above description of the seven principal schools of Cinquecento painting.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Although as artist Leonardo must be classed among the painters of the High Renaissance, the greater part of his life belonged to the Quattrocento. He was born at Castello Vinci, not far north-east from Empoli, between Florence and Pisa. In 1470 he entered Verrocchio's studio, and before he left it (about 1476) he painted, it is said, that angel in Verrocchio's *Baptism*—perhaps his only extant painting—which has made that picture specially interesting. At Florence Lorenzo de' Medici was at this period at the summit of his magnificence, Poliziano was composing his famous *Stanze*, and Botticelli painting his *Birth of Venus* and his *Primavera*. Leonardo seems to have received commissions from the Magnifico, and perhaps the unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi) was intended for the chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio, seeing that Lorenzo ordered an altar-piece in 1478, the year of the Pazzi conspiracy and the murder of Giuliano; and it is, I think, possible that the picture was left unfinished for reasons similar to those which prevented the completion of Poliziano's beautiful poem. About 1483 Leonardo seems to have settled at Milan,¹ where Lodovico il Moro had lately usurped supreme power. Some say he was sent thither by Lorenzo de' Medici as a skilful musician who wished to present the Moro with a silver lute of his own invention, fashioned like a horse's head. But there is extant a letter written by Leonardo himself in which he recommends himself as skilful in devising military and other engines, and able to execute any work in architecture, painting, or sculpture, whether in marble or bronze, as well as any man whatsoever. This seems to indicate that he came to Milan for the purpose of undertaking the colossal bronze equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza that the Moro had determined to erect—an undertaking possibly suggested to Leonardo by his having helped Verrocchio with the statue of the *condottiere* Colleoni. On the clay model of the horse

¹ There is no actual proof of his residence at Milan till 1487, and a wild conjecture has been made that between 1481 and 1487 he travelled in the Far East, and even became a Moslem. His habit of writing from right to left has been explained as due to his Eastern experiences.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

he spent some of the sixteen years of his residence at Milan. Here, high in favour with the Duke and, till her early death, with his wife, Beatrice d'Este, he was engaged with all manner of work—more first-class work, perhaps, in a great variety of subjects than has ever been successfully undertaken by any other human being¹—of which work, alas! the results are few; they include the incomparable *Cenacolo*, but do not include the great equestrian statue, the clay horse having been destroyed by the French, either when Duke Lodovico was deported to France in 1500 or shortly before the capture of King Francis at Pavia in 1525.

On the fall of the Moro Leonardo went to Venice, where he perhaps met the two old Bellini, and Cima, and Carpaccio, and the young Giorgione, and Titian, and Palma; and on his way to Venice he visited Isabella d'Este at Mantua and doubtless saw old Mantegna. In 1502 he began his service with Cesare Borgia as engineer—a rather deplorable abuse of his great gifts. In 1503 he was at Florence designing his grand *Cartoon*² in friendly rivalry with Michelangelo. Then during the next thirteen years he spent much time in visiting various cities, among them Rome (for the coronation of Leo X, who failed to recognize his great gifts), and travelling in North Italy with the French king, Francis I, who in 1516 took him to France; and with him went the *Mona Lisa* (the portrait of the wife of the Florentine Zanobi del Giocondo), which he had begun about four years previously. In 1519 he died, at the Château de Cloux, close to the great castle of Amboise—not, as sometimes stated, in the arms

¹ Among his inventions, or suggestions, may be mentioned 'cannon discharging incendiary matter and terrible smoke,' something somewhat like a 'tank,' a sort of submarine, and a mechanical device for flying, which he later wished to try from the summit of Monte Ceceri, near Fiesole. Some assert that he 'discovered the use of steam as a motive power.' Humboldt is said to have called him the greatest physicist of his age. In our days he has sometimes been called a dabbler and a painter with a very fictitious renown. That he was a great, if not an imaginative, painter can surely not be doubted. The contemporary Milanese novelist, Bandello, gives a vivid picture of Leonardo working at the great horse, and coming thence to S. Maria delle Grazie to work at the *Cenacolo*.

² The (unfinished) painting has vanished, and the *Cartoon* is known only from sketches and copies of portions, one of the best being a copy of the central group by Rubens (Louvre). The subject was the battle of Anghiari—in which, by the way, Machiavelli tells us, nobody was killed but a man who fell from his horse. See pp. 31, 69 n.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

of Francis I, but perhaps in those of his Milanese pupil Melzi.¹

About twenty of Leonardo's pictures mentioned by old writers are lost, and many that were once attributed to him are by Luini or others of his pupils. Of the dozen or so that are certainly authentic, or ancient copies, the best known are the above-mentioned *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Cenacolo*, the *Mona Lisa*, the *Madonna and Child with St Anne*, and the *Vierge aux Rochers*—of which the replica in our National Gallery, attributed by some to the hand of Ambrogio de Predis, has an undeniable improvement in the altered position of the angel's hand, which in the Louvre picture interferes with the Madonna's act of benediction.²

Here may be mentioned Leonardo's very extensive and very interesting *Trattato della Pittura*, the larger edition of which has 912 and the shorter 365 chapters. Together with his very numerous drawings and MS. notes (at Windsor and elsewhere) this forms doubtless the finest treatise on designing and colouring that exists. Almost every possible attitude, action of muscles, facial expression, outline and character of features and limbs, fall and fold of drapery, variety of light, shade, reflexion, colour, etc., is carefully described. His observation of nature and analysis of physical causes are wonderful, and many striking thoughts are interwoven on very various subjects. He insists on minute and reverent study of natural objects—such, for instance, as plants and lichens³—and denounces imitation of the work of other artists as a fatal error. Painting he regards as the supreme art; second he places sculpture, then music, and poetry lowest, as being merely 'painting with words'—the difference between painting and poetry being the same as that between deeds and words.

Leonardo is perhaps of the multifarious geniuses pro-

¹ The cloister of the little Saint-Hubert chapel, on the terrace of the castle of Amboise, in which he was probably buried was wantonly destroyed in 1808, and the only possible relics found of the great painter are two stones inscribed with LEO . . . INC . . ., discovered amidst the ruins of the chapel.

² One may surely add the very beautiful portrait which is believed by many to be that of Beatrice d'Este, about which, and the so-called *fantasia di vinci* embroidered on the dress of the young Duchess, I have given some facts and theories in *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, pp. xv–xvi.

³ He even advises artists to study, and to note for use, the curious and grotesque forms of damp-stains, etc., to quicken their imagination.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

duced by Italy the one who has aroused the greatest admiration and the greatest dubitancy. How far his many and seemingly marvellous accomplishments and his interesting theories contributed to the advancement of art and science it is not easy to determine, and to endeavour to answer the question would lead us too far afield; so we will accept *ignotum pro magnifico* and limit ourselves to his transcendent qualities as painter.

He produced, in comparison with Raphael (not to mention such a *fa presto* as Luca Giordano, or even Tintoretto), very few finished pictures.¹ The *Mona Lisa*, begun about 1512, accompanied him, as we have seen, to France in 1516 and was probably not regarded by him as finished until shortly before his death at the Château de Cloux in 1519. Doubtless he often stood before it as Bandello tells us, he used to stand for hours before his *Cenacolo* at Milan 'with crossed arms, not adding a touch.'

His portraits, besides their wondrous detail, show other characteristics far more wonderful. A great deal has been written about the inscrutable smile of the *Mona Lisa*, a somewhat wan repetition of which is discernible in others of his later pictures,² and which became intolerably affected in the paintings of some of his and of Luini's followers. But in spite of inimitable smiles and most beautifully designed faces and hands and feet, and wondrous scenery in the background, we turn away, I think, a little wearied and dissatisfied from pictures such as *La Belle Ferronière*, and even from the *Mona Lisa*; nor do Leonardo's two famous Madonna pictures arouse in many of us those feelings of which we are conscious when a work of art touches deep chords within us.

But on almost everybody who is capable of being affected by great art the *Cenacolo*, although a mere shadow of what it once was, exercises a magical fascination, due doubtless not only to the nobility of many of the forms and faces—

¹ The number of sketches and studies attributed to him is very large. Among them is the exquisitely beautiful head of Christ in the Brera Gallery—perhaps a study for the Christ of the *Last Supper*.

² It is discernible also in the *Madonna and Child with St Anne*—the famous Louvre picture where the Child is playing with a lamb. This was ordered about 1501, at Florence, by the brotherhood of the Servi di S. Maria (Annunziata), but was never completely finished.



56. LA VIERGE AUX ROCHERS

By Leonardo da Vinci

Louvre

Photo Alinari



58. THE VISITATION

By Albertinelli

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Brogi



57. MONA LISA

By Leonardo da Vinci

Louvre

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

especially the form and face of the Christ—but still more to the fact that all the Twelve, so wonderfully diverse and individualized, direct attention (as it is also directed by the perspective of the picture) to that majestic central figure, which, set against a lovely background of hills o'erhung by the cloudless sky, is perhaps the most satisfying of all visions of the Saviour ever revealed by art. This work of Leonardo's (finished as early as 1498) may be regarded as the first, as it is also one of the greatest, of pictorial works produced by the High Renaissance. It is certainly the greatest early example (though seventy years later than Masaccio's Carmine frescos) of that new art of design which we noted at the beginning of this chapter—the art of so presenting persons that they have a vital relation with each other and with their surroundings.

And as regards that 'facile mastery'—that *gagliardezza nel disegno*—which was, as we have seen, another characteristic, and vaunt, of Cinquecento painting, is it not possible that if Leonardo's influence had overborne that of Michelangelo the art of the High Renaissance, and that of a later age, might have given us something even better than what we possess?

Fra Bartolomeo (1475-1517)

Baccio della Porta—so called because his father, a retired mule-driver, lived near the Porta di S. Pier Gattolini, outside Florence—at the age of nine entered the studio of Cosimo Rosselli, where in course of time he became a zealous student of Masaccio and Leonardo da Vinci, while his great friend Albertinelli devoted himself to a study of ancient sculpture. In 1492, in which year his father and also Lorenzo de' Medici died, he and Albertinelli set up a *bottega* (studio) together.

Albertinelli, whose wonderfully beautiful picture of the *Visitation* is known to all who know the Uffizi Gallery,¹ soon confessed the superiority of his friend's genius, and became his imitator. He must have offered a great contrast to the

¹ It is in reference to this *Visitation* that the writer of the *Painters of Florence* makes the remark cited on p. 55.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

serious Baccio, being vivacious almost to ribaldry. He joined the *Arrabbiati* and was a great mocker of the pious *Piagnoni*, while Baccio soon came under the influence of Savonarola, whose faithful disciple he remained all his life.

In 1497, when Savonarola, after the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, was supreme in the new republic, Baccio was one of the *Piagnoni* artists who burnt their paintings of the nude on the great Carnival pyre. He was twenty-three years old when the great Friar met his tragic fate, an event which so affected him that in 1500 he took vows in the Dominican convent at Prato and was henceforth known as Fra Bartolomeo. From Prato he was transferred to S. Marco at Florence, where for four years he entirely laid aside his painting; but finally the Prior broke through his determination, doubtless by pointing out that Savonarola himself had advised the brothers who had no call for theology to work at art.

In 1504 Raphael came to Florence. He not only studied Bartolomeo's methods of using oil-colours but was deeply impressed by the grandeur of his *Last Judgment*; and, as we shall see, Raphael's *dolce stil nuovo*—that Umbrian grace wedded to the power of Masaccio—began to be discernible in the works of the Frate. On Raphael's departure for Rome in 1508 Fra Bartolomeo obtained leave from the Prior to visit Venice. Here, as Leonardo had done some eight years before, he became intimately acquainted, as is proved by his later pictures, with the works of the Bellini, Carpaccio, and Cima, and of younger painters, such as Giorgione and Titian. After his return he and his friend Albertinelli for three years worked in partnership, and many fine pictures were produced.¹

In 1514 he yielded to Raphael's entreaties and visited Rome; but his health suffered severely from malaria, and after two months he was again in Florence, where, although constantly suffering from attacks of malarial fever, which compelled periods of rest at a Dominican hospital near Fiesole, he painted many of his grandest pictures—the last and finest of which was the *Deposition (Pieta)*, now one of

¹ Those on which they both worked are marked by a cross between two rings.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

the treasures of the Pitti Gallery. In October 1517 he died of a severe renewal of the malarial fever, perhaps occasioned, as Vasari asserts, by too free indulgence in figs.

It is impossible for me to describe at any length the paintings of Fra Bartolomeo, or to discuss his greatness as an artist; but irrespective of their artistic value two at least of his works are of supreme interest as marking the transition from the conceptions and methods of older painters to those of the new era—initiated by Leonardo and perfected by Raphael. The two of his works that are specially important in this respect are his fresco of the *Last Judgment* and the very beautiful altar-piece in the Cappella del Santuario of the Lucca Cathedral representing the Madonna with St Stephen and the Baptist.

The first of these works was begun in the year of Savonarola's martyrdom (1498), and when Bartolomeo took vows as *frate* he left the fresco to be finished by Albertinelli. For four centuries it was allowed to decay on the damp wall of the Campo Santo of the hospital (S. Maria Nuova) where it was painted, and now its faded and discoloured relics, transferred to canvas, lend great interest to one of the important rooms in the Uffizi Gallery. Enough remains to allow us to see that in general conception it is, one might say, almost medieval, reminding one of the Pisan Campo Santo,¹ although many of the figures, both terrestrial and celestial, display an art not inferior to that of Masaccio. It offers a very striking contrast to the other work of Bartolomeo's that I have mentioned—the altar-piece in the Duomo of Lucca²—which was painted on his return from Venice. This picture is perhaps the first fully developed specimen of what Vasari calls the modern style. The influence of Leonardo da Vinci is evident in the modelling and management of masses of light and shade, while that of the 'sweet new style' of Raphael is discernible in the grace of the hovering angels and in the new dramatic method

¹ Especially the upper part, which alone seems to be by Bartolomeo. The arrangement of this part may possibly have influenced Raphael in his celebrated *Disputa*. Fra Angelico, says Vasari, is among the Blessed in this *Last Judgment*.

² Of about the same date and much in the same style is the very fine *St Catharine of Siena and the Magdalene* painted for the monks of Murano (Venice), but never consigned, and now in the Lucca Gallery.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

of composition ; and in the colouring, and in the boy-angel in the foreground playing a musical instrument (a device of the Bellini and Carpaccio), we see the influence of Venice.

Had Bartolomeo remained faithful to this style he would doubtless have produced other and finer works of a similar character, which would have won him a foremost place in the ranks of great if not sublimely creative artists. Unluckily his visit to Rome brought him in contact with the apparently irresistible influence of Michelangelo, and among his later works (such as the huge *St Mark*, in the Pitti) there are too many which show a futile ambition to vie with the grandeur of the Sistine Chapel Prophets and Sibyls. And unfortunately Fra Bartolomeo's name is apt to call to mind these later, heavily draped, somewhat ungainly figures. Toward the end of his life, however, he seems to have gone back to his less ambitious and far more beautiful style, as is proved by the *Pietà* which was his last important work.

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

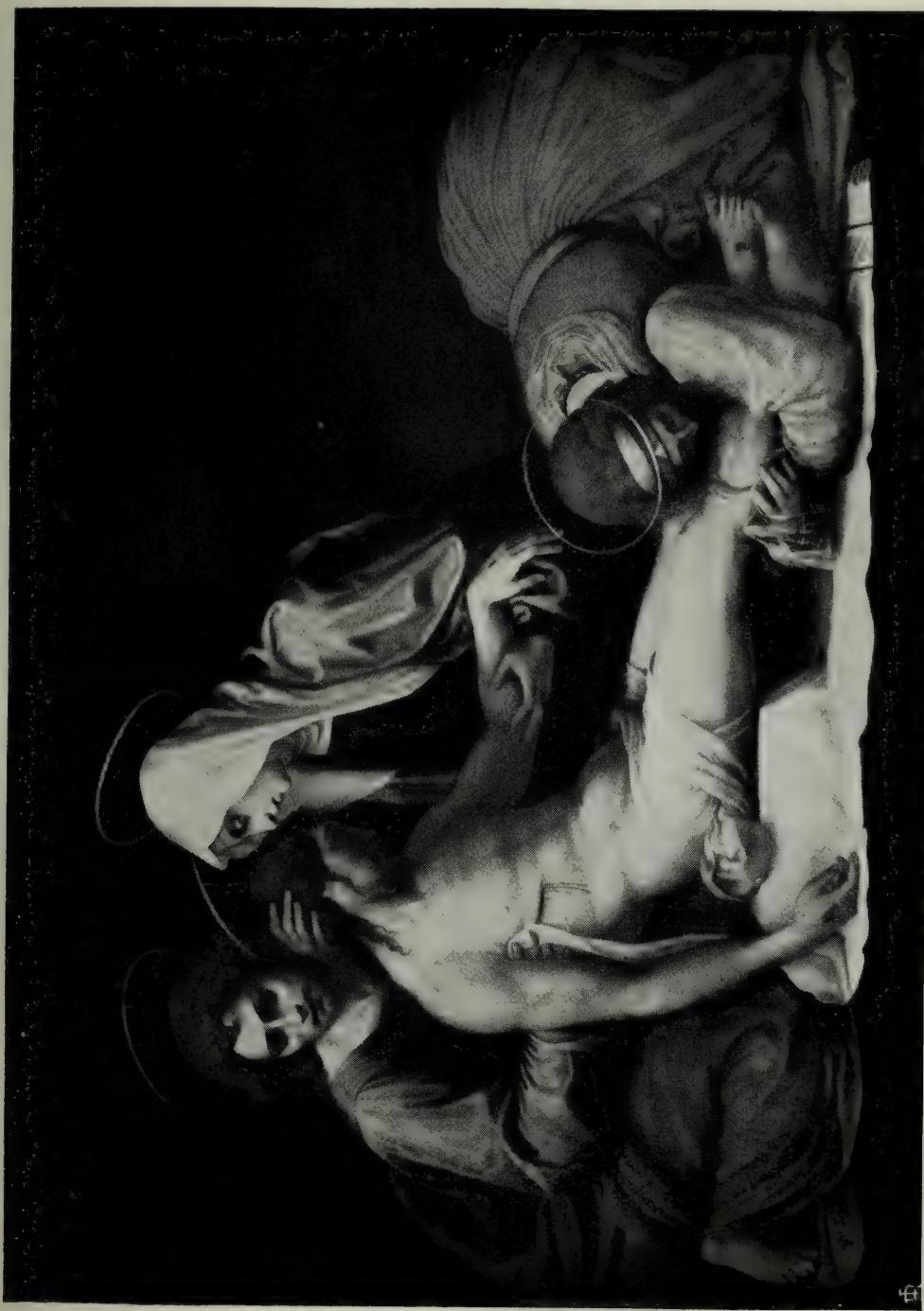
Much has been said in other chapters about Michelangelo as sculptor and as architect, and much might also be said about the nobility of his character and about his poetry,¹ but we must limit ourselves here to his paintings—a theme of great importance, for even those who lament the influence of these paintings must allow that it has affected profoundly European pictorial art.

First let us note some of his characteristics as painter.

In a sonnet written while he was occupied with his Sistine Chapel frescos Michelangelo declared (as he did often and emphatically to Pope Julius) that he was no painter.² He was no doubt aware that the vast plastic power which he possessed, and which (to use his own expression) made

¹ I may perhaps refer those interested in the subject to an account of Michelangelo's poems given in my *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 571 sq.

² The lines were addressed to Giovanni di Pistoia. 'Defend, Giovanni,' he says, 'my dead painting and my honour, for else it hath no defence ; nor am I a painter.' Much later in life he wrote the celebrated sonnet in which he confessed that neither painting nor sculpture could bring peace to his soul. But this was religious sentiment, and I do not remember that he ever expressed any doubt of his greatness as sculptor. In all his letters from Rome, we are told, his signature was followed by the word *scultore*.



59. PIETÀ

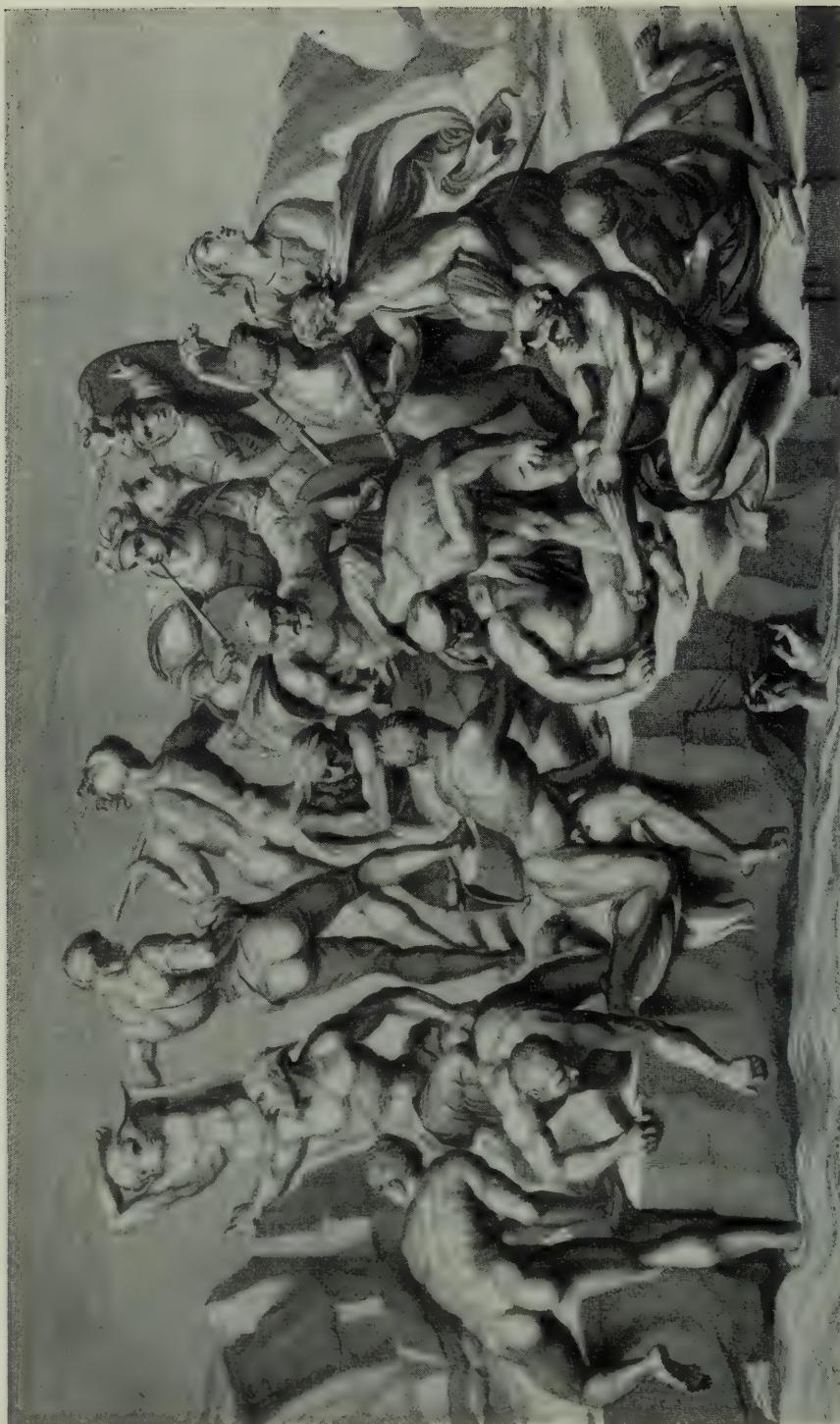
By Fra Bartolomeo

Florence, Pitti Gallery

Photo Brogi

6c. FLORENTINE SOLDIERS SURPRISED BY PISAN TROOPS
Copy of the Cartoon. By Michelangelo

Holkham Hall
Photo Alinari



CINQUECENTO PAINTING

his hand obey his brain, was a gift essentially different from that of a supreme painter. Nevertheless, when compelled by the imperious and capricious Julius II to abandon the mighty tomb that he was making for that pontiff (of which the *Moses* was the only important figure completed) and to undertake the almost mightier task of covering the ceiling and upper walls of the Sistine Chapel with frescos he scorned to be false to his natural instincts and to imitate the conceptions and methods of famous painters ; indeed, he openly defended his plastic style both in drawing and in composition, asserting that ‘the nearer painting was to relief the better it was.’ He disdained to paint animals, plants, flowers, and other natural objects, and neglected the beauty of colour and the play of light. He affirmed that the Deity revealed himself by far the most clearly in the human body, and that this human body, the index of all human character, was the one study for the artist. However mistaken we may consider such principles to be (and they certainly are in contradiction to the teaching and practice of many other great painters), it must be allowed that in the Sistine Chapel frescos Michelangelo has given marvellous proof of what painting can effect by sculpturesque methods, for, although here and there (as in the scenes of the creation of man) he has used imaginative conceptions impossible for the sculptor, most of these frescos, especially the *Last Judgment*, may be regarded as consisting either of single figures or of groups of figures which might, perhaps even better, exist independently as finely conceived sculptures. Here we have methods essentially different from those of Leonardo da Vinci, who insisted on a loving and patient study of Nature even in her most inconspicuous manifestations, and whose *Cenacolo* is, as we have seen, an early and most striking example of one of the most remarkable characteristics of the best Cinquecento painting, namely ‘the art of so presenting persons that they seem to have a vital and natural relation with each other and with their surroundings.’¹

¹ If one compares carefully Michelangelo’s *Holy Family* (Uffizi) with Leonardo’s *Madonna and Child with St Anne* (Louvre), and also the *Florentine Soldiers surprised by Pisan Troops* with the wonderful mêlée of the *Battle of Anghiari* (*Battle of the Standard*), the same difference will be noted. In Michelangelo’s pictures the relation between the figures is somewhat forced ; in Leonardo’s it is natural and apparent.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

An inevitable result of adopting in painting such sculptur-esque methods as those of Michelangelo was the attempt to denote all kinds of emotion and character solely by means of the human body—not only by exaggerated facial expression, but still more by attitudes and gestures of the naked form ;¹ and this again resulted in emphasizing bodily characteristics to an unnatural degree—in an exaggerated development of muscularity and in a fleshy exuberance that not only displayed violent protest against the emaciated forms of ascetic medievalism but showed a marked disdain for such meagreness as we have noted in the work of Verrocchio and other *quattrocentisti*, who in their day had disdained the superfluous, not for ascetic reasons, nor in order to give the impress of ‘spirituality,’ but simply because they regarded excrescence as inartistic. It is easy to understand how such tendencies, which seduced even the sublime genius of Michelangelo into grandiosity, led to such pictorial results as those we see in the Sala dei Giganti at Mantua and ended also in producing in sculpture and in architecture the monstrosities of the barocco era.

The main facts of Michelangelo’s life have been already given in the section of Chapter II in which his work as sculptor has been considered. It was there noted that when a mere lad he learnt the technique of painting in the *bottega* of Ghirlandaio. But there is in Michelangelo as a painter no trace of any real affinity to Ghirlandaio. If he were indebted to any painter for anything essential in his later style it would be, perhaps, to Signorelli (*d. 1521*), whose frescos in the cathedral of Orvieto (*History of Antichrist* and scenes of the *Resurrection*, of *Paradise*, and *Hell*) were doubtless known to him. In these we see the same subordination of all else to the significance of the nude human body, and an audacity in the presentation of attitudes and in foreshortenings truly Michelangelesque, although no such grandeur is attained as is often to be seen in the work of the younger artist. Masaccio also, whose short life (1400–28) was ended some dozen years before Signorelli was born,

¹ Vasari remarks with some truth in regard to the *Last Judgment* that ‘every intelligent observer can recognize the proud, the envious, the avaricious, the luxurious, and all other such, merely by their mien and gestures.’

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

and whose famous frescos in the Florentine church of S. Maria del Carmine were the early precursors of the new grand style, is known to have exercised strong attraction on Michelangelo, as on Raphael and other great artists.

The only extant easel-picture attributed by most modern experts to Michelangelo (for the *Lazarus* of our National Gallery, now regarded as the *chef-d'œuvre* of Sebastiano del Piombo, though perhaps designed by Michelangelo, contains only one or two figures possibly painted by him) is the *Holy Family* in the Uffizi Gallery—a *tondo* painted in distemper. As a sacred picture it cannot be said to be satisfying. The main effect produced is astonishment at the wonderful skill with which is presented to us the strained and ungraceful attitude of the Virgin, who, sitting on the ground, is leaning sideways and backward to receive the Child from St Joseph, seated behind her. In the background, seated on or leaning against a stone parapet, are five nude youths—admirable as statuesque studies, but having no discernible relation, artistic or other, to the group in the foreground. (Possibly the young St John (the Baptist), the lower half of whose body is hidden by another parapet in the middle distance, may be intended to form some sort of link between the nude figures and the Holy Family.) This picture dates from about the same period as Michelangelo's *David* and the *Cartoon* which he prepared (1503-4) for the painting that, in competition with Leonardo da Vinci, he undertook for the adornment of the great Council Hall of the Five Hundred in the Palazzo Vecchio. A part of Leonardo's picture seems to have been painted by him on the wall of the great hall, but Michelangelo never began his picture, and the *Cartoon*, which measured about 22 feet by 13 feet, after having been exhibited for some time either in the Medici Palace or the Popes' Hall near S. Maria Novella, disappeared—perhaps destroyed, as tradition asserts, by the artist's implacable enemy, Bandinelli. The subject of Michelangelo's *Cartoon* was a group of Florentine soldiers surprised while bathing in the Arno by the approach of Pisan troops. A copy in *grisaille* of a portion of the work is at Holkham Hall, in Norfolk. (See Fig. 60.) There exist also prints of several of the figures by the famous engraver Marc

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

Antonio Raimondi, who studied under Raphael; also one of the main group by Schiavonetti, and a badly drawn imitation by Agostino Veneziano.

Although Michelangelo left scarcely any easel-pictures painted entirely by his own hand there exist a few more or less certainly designed and perhaps partly executed by him. Of these the above-mentioned *Lazarus* (National Gallery) is the most important. There is also in the National Gallery (see p. 22) an unfinished *Deposition*¹ which was assuredly designed by him and may be entirely his work, seeing that some of the figures are evidently painted in Ghirlandaio's manner and that the Christ has some faint resemblance to the sculptured Christ of Michelangelo's celebrated *Pietà* in St Peter's. Another picture, of which several copies exist, is undoubtedly from his design, seeing that his design is preserved—in the possession of the Queen of Holland. The subject is the Holy Family, with the little St John clothed in a leopard's skin. Besides these we have (in the Liverpool Gallery) a *Woman of Samaria* and (in the National Gallery) *The Dream*—both probably designed by Michelangelo. In *The Dream* a nude male figure surrounded by symbols of human passions and ambitions listens to the blast of the trumpet of the Genius of Life. There is moreover a painting, with two scenes, of Christ on Olivet, several copies of which exist (Rome, Munich, Vienna), and the original design of which is among Michelangelo's drawings at Florence.²

Incomparably the greatest works of Michelangelo as painter are his frescos in the Sistine Chapel—the chapel of the Vatican Palace built (about 1475) by Pope Sixtus IV, famous as patron of art and as a ringleader in the infamous Pazzi conspiracy. As has been mentioned on former occasions, the side-walls of this chapel had been already richly adorned with frescos by a number of great artists, such as Pinturicchio, Botticelli, Perugino, and Signorelli. After

¹ Discovered some seventy-five years ago in a Roman picture-dealer's shop.

² The *Three Fates* of the Pitti Gallery, formerly attributed to Michelangelo (and not unworthy of such attribution), is now given to Giovanbattista of Florence, surnamed 'il Rosso' on account of his tendency to reddish colouring. This is very apparent in his delightful little *Angel playing on a Guitar*. At the court of Francis I of France this *penchant* procured him the sobriquet *le Maitre Roux*. Several frescos by him are in Florentine churches.



61. CREATION OF MAN

By Michelangelo

Rome, Sistine Chapel

Photo Brogi



62. FALL AND EXPULSION OF MAN

By Michelangelo

Rome, Sistine Chapel

Photo Brogi



63. DELPHIC SIBYL

By Michelangelo

Rome, Sistine Chapel

Photo Brogi

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

his reconciliation with Pope Julius at Bologna, and almost directly after his return to Rome, the great sculptor was persuaded, apparently much against his will (though he must have been often mightily wearied by what he used to call the ‘tragedy’ of his life), to give up working at the gigantic monument for his imperious and capricious patron and to undertake the decoration with frescos of the upper portion of the interior of this great chapel. Not only the whole expanse of the oblong ceiling, but its pendentive supports and the arches, spandrels, and lunettes of the upper walls (broken by the round-headed windows) are covered by these paintings of Michelangelo. They are divided from each other and framed by grand architectural and sculpturesque designs (also in fresco) wonderfully in harmony with the main features of the actual edifice. There are in this mighty work, which occupied him for four and a half years,¹ about two hundred human figures, many of great size.

The chief subjects of these paintings are (on the ceiling) the creation of light, of the sun and moon, of land and waters, and of man and woman, the Temptation, the Fall, and the Expulsion, the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, the Deluge, etc.; then (in the spandrels) the great series of Prophets and Sibyls; then (in the lunettes and on the soffits of the arches) the brazen serpent, and the story of Esther, of David and Goliath, of Judith, and of other ancestors, Biblical and imaginative, of Christ, and other Old Testament subjects ordained by the Church, and handed down by illuminated MSS. and old Byzantine frescos as types.² The vast fresco of the *Last Judgment* (*Giudizio Universale*) fills the end wall. It is 66 feet high and 33 broad. It was begun twenty-two years after the completion of the ceiling-frescos. In this interval four pontiffs had died, and now (1534) the Farnese pope, Paul III, declaring that the *Moses* was quite enough

¹ From May 1508 to October 1512.

² Michelangelo followed apparently the series (compendium) called *Speculum Salvationis*, of which a medieval copy exists in the British Museum. Here we should also note that there exists in London a rough pen-and-ink sketch which shows the original design as desired by the Pope. In the spaces of the spandrels now occupied by the Prophets and Sibyls are enthroned the twelve Apostles, and the whole of the actual ceiling is decorated merely with geometrical figures (squares). ‘It was not until 1509 that Julius sanctioned the idea of having Prophets and Sibyls instead of Apostles and scenes of the Creation on the ceiling’ (Sauerlandt’s *Michelangelo*).

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

of a monument for Julius, forced Michelangelo, as Julius himself had done, to exchange the chisel for the brush, and imposed upon him this immense task, which occupied him for seven years.¹

This *Last Judgment*, like almost every other, has Christ as its central figure. Michelangelo has here produced a form which is impressive by reason of its Herculean build and threatening attitude, but which fails entirely to represent any worthy conception of superhuman grandeur or divine justice. With the Virgin Mother crouching at his side in an attitude of anguish and compassion, surrounded by celestial hosts of angels and prophets and Apostles and martyrs, with uplifted right arm the Judge proclaims the sentence of eternal damnation to the wretched sinners who, below him on the left, in writhing masses endeavour impotently to scale the heights of heaven and are hurled down in hideous ruin on to the shore of the River of Death, where a group of corpulent archangels are blowing the trumpet-blast of Doom, while on his right multitudes of the saved, new risen from their tombs, float heavenward, much encumbered by their excessive burdens of flesh.² We thus have, on this side and on that, two contrary movements—upward and downward—heavenward and hellward—toward life eternal and death eternal. The lower part of this huge picture is divided from the higher portion by the River of Death—the Acheron of Dante.³ And there is a very noticeable fact to be marked in this connexion. On the shore nearer the spectator and to his left (to the Judge's right), in the region of Death (Hades), we have the usual scenes of resurrection—the dead

¹ Some (Kugler, for instance) assert that it was the Medicean pope, Clement VII, at whose desire the *Last Judgment* was painted. This is possible; but Clement died two days after the return of Michelangelo to Rome in 1534. In 1539 the artist was seriously lamed by a fall from the scaffolding.

² The attitude of the Christ—which has been likened to that of a man about to hurl a spear, but is surely rather that of Zeus launching his thunderbolts against the heaven-storming Giants, or merely of one raising his hand in denunciation—was probably suggested by that of the very dignified, kingly Judge in the *Last Judgment* (by Orcagna? or Traini?) in the Pisan Campo Santo. The veiled Virgin too, in her attitude of anguish and compassion, may have been suggested by the same fresco. Christ is apparently issuing forth as if from a cavern whose portal affords a vision of glory—possibly the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, which in Dante's poem is a symbol of the Logos.

³ Virgil seems to use the names Styx and Acheron indifferently, as if the two rivers formed a complex of streams and marshes. See *Aen.* vi, 295, 385, and compare Homer, *Od.* x, 513.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

struggling forth from their tombs ; but here the artist gives us also a grandly imaginative idea not to be found, I think, in any other *Last Judgment* ; for the newly-risen are *recrossing the River of Death* to the upper shore before they begin to soar heavenward.

On the lower shore, to the right of the spectator (but to the Judge's left), a company of the damned, just ferried across from the farther bank, are being violently ejected from the boat by Charon, 'the demon with eyes of glowing coal'—as Dante, copying Virgil, describes him—'who striketh with his oar whoever lags.' Other scenes and personages from the *Inferno* are introduced by the artist. Of the latter the most conspicuous perhaps is Minos, the Judge of Homer's Hades, conceived by Dante as a half-human monster with a serpent's tail that he coils around him when giving judgment.¹

Except in very bright weather the impression made on the spectator by the vast painting, with its tangled mass of some two hundred figures, is generally rather disconcerting, and photographs of the original are unavoidably dark and indistinct, for, like the ceiling-frescos, it has become badly faded and discoloured, and has suffered much from restoration as well as from considerable additions. The latter consist mainly of numerous and voluminous cloaks and wraps with which Daniele da Volterra, one of Michelangelo's pupils, was persuaded to veil nudities offensive to papal eyes—a job that earned him the nickname of 'Il Braghettone.'² It is interesting to note that, although Biagio, according to Vasari, seems to have first criticized the fresco to the Pope as indecent and suitable only for a *bagno*, the first to direct public attention to these offending nudities (advocated, by the way, by some authorities, as a logically *necessary* feature in pictures of the Last Judgment!) was perhaps the most scandalously indecent and immoral writer that ever existed, namely Pietro Aretino, son of a cobbler of Arezzo. What

¹ The face of Michelangelo's Minos was a portrait of a Vatican official, Biagio of Cesena, whose criticisms, as judge of art, annoyed the painter. On complaining to the pontiff, Paul III, the man was told that nothing could be done, for no pope could liberate a soul once condemned to hell.

² Pope Paul IV is said to have wished to destroy the painting ; so one should feel some gratitude to 'the big breeches-maker.' The process was continued under later popes.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

style of man this Pietro was may be seen in a portrait of him in the Pitti Gallery, where the big, coarse, full-lipped and black-bearded face undoubtedly reflects accurately his character—for it was painted by Titian—and enables us to estimate the value of his personal attacks on Michelangelo as an ‘obscene Lutheran.’

In spite of what much more reputable hostile critics opine on the subject, Michelangelo’s mighty effort to disprove his own words *nè io pittore* is a wondrous composition and reveals very high imaginative power. At the same time perhaps the observation is apt which I noted above, namely that the vast picture shows a very skilfully effected combination of statuesque groups and single figures rather than an organic unity such as one expects in a work of pictorial art. Many of these figures, or groups, are of exceeding beauty—beauty such as is found in great sculpture. Perhaps the finest example of this is to be seen in a very grandly conceived figure of what seems to be a female saint—a celestial of queenly, Olympian dignity and beauty, ‘divinely tall, and most divinely fair’—who is welcoming to heaven a woman, one of the new-risen, prostrate before her—possibly some once sinful but forgiven daughter.

Within the two arches of the highest part of the fresco are depicted scenes connected with the legends of the Cross and the Column (Pillar) and other instruments of the Passion.

One turns unwillingly from this great work of genius to Michelangelo’s last important painting—namely two frescos in the Cappella Paolina (Vatican). This chapel had been built, in 1540, by Antonio da Sangallo for Pope Paul III, after whom, and his patron saint, it was named. Soon after the building was completed the pontiff commissioned Michelangelo to adorn it with paintings, the subjects of which were, very naturally, to be the martyrdom of St Peter, regarded as the first Bishop of Rome, and the conversion of St Paul. The great artist was wearied out by his seven years’ work at the *Last Judgment*.¹ He was feeling more and

¹ Some assign these frescos to the end of Paul’s pontificate (*d. 1550*), but they seem anyhow to have been begun in 1542, a short time after the *Last Judgment* was finished.

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

more that—as he often used to say—fresco-painting was not an occupation for an old man (he was already nearly seventy years of age) and that his genius was given him for sculptural rather than for pictorial art; and this new task imposed upon him was doubtless undertaken in a spirit of dissatisfaction and despondency—a despondency which became ever more profound as he grew older, and to which he gave frequent expression, as for instance in his celebrated sonnet (see p. 68 n.) and in a letter which contains these words: ‘It would have been better for me to have been brought up to the trade of making matches. At least I should not now suffer such distress of mind.’ Both of the frescos of the Cappella Paolina are much discoloured and otherwise damaged by the effects of time and of a conflagration. The *Crucifixion of St Peter* can, indeed, scarcely be said to exist any more as a recognizable composition, but it seems to have been much admired for the grandeur of its design, and what remains gives one the impression that there may have been good reasons for such admiration. The *Conversion of St Paul*, however, which is less damaged, can scarcely have ever been very attractive. It displays, nevertheless, Michelangelo’s well-known skill in the delineation of powerful human frames; and here we have also what is elsewhere, I think, unknown in his work, a horse—an animal of gigantic proportions and massive structure. But the conception of the scene is very theatrical, and one feels repelled by the grossly developed muscularity of the mid-air floating celestial figures, some of them violently foreshortened.

Fu un grande scultore, anche nella pittura: ecco tutto! So say Natali and Vitelli of Michelangelo in their *History of Art*. Such paradoxical epigrams are not very helpful, and certainly these words do not assist us to form any true valuation of Michelangelo’s work as painter, for it possesses indubitably some very noble characteristics that are to be found in no sculpture, not even the greatest. But, on the other hand, it is true that in his painting he limited himself almost entirely to the delineation of the human form, in which, as he said, Deity manifests itself most visibly, and avoided for the most part—perhaps from conscious want of

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

skill¹—the representation of animals, trees, plants, and other natural objects.

In the Sistine Chapel we have, it is true, a (rather queer) Jonah's whale and a head with an ass's ears (reminding one of Bottom and Midas) and a stolid cow in *Abel's Sacrifice* and a half-woman serpent, whose coils hide the trunk of a somewhat curious Tree of Life, but, amidst some five hundred human figures, there is, I think, besides these, and besides a very conventional river and rocky foreground in the *Last Judgment* and a scraggy tree in the *Deluge*, no attempt to depict animal or vegetable life or inanimate nature. In the foreground of the *Holy Family* (Uffizi) there are a few blades of grass and a small flowering plant of uncertain genus. In the *Cartoon* there are in the background some mountains (probably the Monti Pisani) of strange geological character, and in the foreground the Arno has an abrupt bank which, if it were of damp clay and not rock, would surely break away under the weight of the stalwart 'climbers'—as the surprised bathers are popularly called. In the Cappella Paolina, as we have seen, there is a gigantic and awkwardly prancing steed; and, finally, in some of his many drawings we have a *Leda with the Swan* and a *Ganymede with the Eagle*. But, considering the very large number of human figures—most of them nude or partially nude—and the very small number of animals and other 'natural objects' depicted by Michelangelo, we must allow that he followed principles very different from those advocated by Leonardo da Vinci in his *Trattato della Pittura*.

This divergence of principle in two such famous painters (and the divergence would be vastly greater if one compared Michelangelo with such a painter as Turner) might afford a text for a long disquisition on the *τέλος* of the *ars picturae*—namely whether in the highest kind of painting no less than in the highest kind of sculpture we should or should not be guided by Pope's rather sweeping aphorism: 'The proper study of mankind is man.' Such a disquisition I shall not attempt. It must suffice me to have given a few facts

¹ Also in sculpture he has given us nothing such as the horses of Pheidias (frieze and pediment of the Parthenon), or of Donatello, or Verrocchio, or the horses of St Mark's at Venice, or those of Monte Cavallo at Rome, or that of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol—or many other fine statues of animals.



64. THE LAST JUDGMENT

By Michelangelo

Rome, Sistine Chapel



65. Lo Sposalizio

By Raphael. Milan, Brera

Photo Brogi

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

and hints for those who feel a desire to work out for themselves some theory of their own on the subject.

Raphael¹ (1483-1520)

In the following slight sketch I attempt only to indicate the three chief periods of Raphael's artistic activity and to give a few facts in connexion with the most important of his paintings.

(1) **First Period:** Urbino and Perugia (1483-1504). Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, was himself a painter, as well as a considerable poet, and perhaps was his son's first teacher.² But he died in 1494, and the boy then became (as Morelli has lately discovered) the pupil of a young Urbino painter, Timoteo Viti, who had studied under Francia at Bologna.³ Raphael's paintings produced while still at Urbino have a great similarity to works by Viti. Among these paintings the best known are perhaps two small works, one (a picture of exquisite beauty) in our National Gallery called *A Vision of a Knight* (perhaps a medieval conception of Hercules *ad bivium*), and the other a somewhat grotesquely Dantesque *St Michael* (not, of course, the large painting) in the Louvre. Also a picture of the Three Graces (Chantilly), exquisitely modelled, copied probably from the Greek sculpture in Siena Cathedral, and an altar-piece, of which only the predella panels exist, belong to this period. The latter have in their background, as has the *Vision of a Knight*, landscape most beautiful, but certainly not Peruginesque.

In 1500, when about sixteen years old, Raphael joined the band of assistants attached to Perugino's *bottega* in Perugia, and very soon assimilated this master's style so entirely that, says Vasari, a *Crucifixion* and a *Coronation of the Virgin* would have passed for Perugino's had they not

¹ The Apocryphal form 'Raphael' was frequently used by the painter himself, instead of 'Raffaello,' and occurs in the well-known Latin epitaph by Cardinal Bembo.

² His portraits (as that of Boëthius, given in *Medieval Italy*) are fine. In one of his sacred pictures (at Cagli) a boy-angel probably is a portrait of the child Raphael. Giovanni's *Chronicle of Duke Frederic of Urbino* is a poem of about 23,000 lines in *terza rima*. It gives many interesting notices of contemporary artists and other persons.

³ Viti later became a follower of Raphael, and painted, as well as other fine works, the Prophets above Raphael's Sibyls in S. Maria della Pace (Rome).

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

borne the signature ‘Raphael Urbinas.’ This *Crucifixion* may be the one (formerly in the collection of the Earl of Dudley) lately acquired by our National Gallery through the Mond bequest. If so, it was painted for the church of S. Domenico at Città di Castello, a town on the upper Tiber half-way between Urbino and Perugia by the *strada maestra* that runs up the valley of the famous river Metaurus and crosses the Apennines near S. Sepolcro. In Città di Castello Raphael seems to have made friends named Vitelli (perhaps on his journeyings between his home and Perugia), and through these friends he had received a still earlier commission to paint an altar-piece (a *S. Nicola di Tolentino*) for the church of S. Agostino. Of this, probably his earliest large canvas, there exists (at Oxford) only an imperfect sketch, the original having mysteriously vanished from the church at Città di Castello.

In 1502 Perugino, who possessed thriving art shops at Perugia and Florence, went for a time to the latter city, and Raphael attached himself to the master-painter Pinturicchio, lately returned from Rome. It was during 1502 to 1506 that Pinturicchio was engaged on his fine frescos in the Biblioteca Piccolomini at Siena, and, in spite of experts, it seems to me very probable that, though by thirty years Raphael’s senior, he was indebted to him at least as regards the designs of these paintings.¹ And evidently the influence was mutual; for some of Raphael’s earliest Madonna pictures, painted about this time, seem inspired by Pinturicchio’s work.

The first work of Raphael that shows real independence is the very beautiful and celebrated *Sposalizio* (Brera). The general design, however, was indubitably derived from Perugino.² After this was finished (1504) he revisited Urbino. Here the gentle, gout-afflicted Duke Guidobaldo, who had been expelled by the rapacious Cesare Borgia, had

¹ A Sienese priest’s list of Pinturicchio’s assistants does not include Raphael. He probably contributed only designs; but he was about this time at Siena, if he copied his *Graces* from the Siena sculpture. See Vol. I, p. 405.

² The ‘Caen Perugino,’ of like design, is now said to be by a pupil of Perugino’s and imitated from Raphael. But surely Perugino’s Sistine Chapel fresco (c. 1482) of St Peter receiving the keys reminds one at once of the *Sposalizio*. Raphael’s temple is later Renaissance—perhaps designed by his fellow-townsman and relative Bramante; Perugino’s reminds one of Brunelleschi. The *Sposalizio* was painted for another church (S. Francesco) in Città di Castello.

66. LA MADONNA DEL GRAN DUCA

By Raphael

Florence, Pitti Gallery
Photo Alinari



67. THE 'CASA TEMPI MADONNA'

By Raphael

Munich
Photo Hanfstaengl





69. MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO

By Raphael

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Brogi



68. 'LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE'

By Raphael

Louvre

Photo Alinari

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

lately returned, warmly welcomed by his people, and had begun once more to attract artists and scholars to his court, of which we have such a vivid description in the *Cortegiano*, written (c. 1503-8) by Raphael's friend, Castiglione. By the sister of Guidobaldo (mother of the next duke) Raphael was given a letter of introduction to Piero Soderini, who in 1502, as may be remembered, had been elected perpetual supreme magistrate (*Gonfaloniere*) of Florence.

(2) **Second Period.** At Florence, where he arrived toward the end of 1504, Raphael found a group of famous older artists—Botticelli, Perugino, Andrea della Robbia, and Leonardo da Vinci. Besides these there were Fra Bartolomeo (now about thirty years of age and just resuming his painting) and his coeval, Michelangelo, and the youth Andrea del Sarto, still a pupil in the studio of Piero di Cosimo. Only a few months before his arrival the famous meeting of artists had taken place to choose a site for Michelangelo's *David*, and now both Michelangelo and Leonardo were designing the cartoons of the frescos which were to adorn the great Sala of the Palazzo Vecchio. To Leonardo's new methods in painting and to Michelangelo's wondrous plastic genius Raphael was strongly attracted. But besides eagerly studying Leonardo's *Magi* and his *Cartoon*¹ and Michelangelo's *David* he spent much time in copying the old frescos of Masaccio in the Carmine church.

During the first part of this Florentine period Raphael began the continuous production of those masterpieces of incomparable beauty or grandeur the great number of which, considering his short life, is so astonishing. Among these masterpieces the portraits have an important place. He had already painted a most wonderfully vivid portrait of his master Perugino (Borghese Gallery, Rome), and he now produced the justly celebrated portraits of the Florentine Angelo Doni and his wife (Pitti), and, perhaps rather later, the still more famous one of himself (Uffizi). Of his other well-known paintings of this period I can mention only

¹ In the Louvre is a beautiful pen-and-ink copy by Raphael of the *Mona Lisa*. It seems to prove that the picture was practically complete before Leonardo went to France in 1516.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

the indescribably beautiful *Madonna del Gran Duca* (Pitti) and the *Casa Tempi Madonna* (Munich), and the *Ansidei Madonna*, that glory of our National Gallery which was bought, from Blenheim, for £72,000. This picture represents the Virgin enthroned under a lofty canopy in the Umbrian fashion, and it was probably painted at Perugia, which Raphael revisited in 1505–6. From Perugia he went to his home in Urbino, where, besides other works, he painted a fine picture of St George and the dragon, which his friend Castiglione was commissioned by Duke Guidobaldo to take as a present to our Henry VII, seeing that Guidobaldo had lately received the Order of the Garter.¹ On his return to Florence, as both Leonardo and Michelangelo had left, he was drawn into closer intimacy with Fra Bartolomeo, whose influence is very perceptible in the *Madonna del Baldacchino* (Pitti) and the *St Catharine* of our National Gallery. Among other master-works of this period are the *Belle Jardinière* (Louvre), the *Madonna del Cardellino* (Uffizi), and that rather unattractive attempt in the grand style, the *Entombment* (Rome).

If Raphael was still at Urbino in September 1506 he probably saw Julius II, who visited that city on his way north to attack Bologna, and possibly the Pope talked to him about his kinsman Bramante, and about Michelangelo, both of whom were now at Rome; possibly also the visit to Rome of Francesco della Rovere, nephew to Julius, on his succession to the Urbino duchy in 1508 reminded the pontiff of the talented and attractive young Urbinate painter. However that may be, in 1508 Raphael received an invitation from Julius II, forwarded by Bramante, and betook himself to Rome, where he spent the last twelve years of his life.

(3) **The Roman Period.** In November of 1507 Pope Julius, irritated at being constantly reminded of Alexander VI, had abandoned the Borgia Apartments, richly decorated for that detested pontiff by Pinturicchio, and had chosen as his residence the suite of four large rooms (Stanze),

¹ The smaller *St George* (Louvre) was evidently earlier. The one taken to England was sold after the execution of Charles I and returned to Italy, and thence went to Russia.



70, 71. ANGELS FROM THE 'DISPUTA'

By Raphael

Rome, Stanze, Vatican

Photo Brogi



72. 'SCHOOL OF ATHENS'

By Raphael

Rome, Stanze del Vaticano

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

built by Nicholas V, looking out on the Belvedere Court.¹ To decorate these rooms he had commissioned Perugino, Pinturicchio, Signorelli, Sodoma, the Venetian Lotto, and others. Raphael was enjoined to paint the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura,² and his wonderfully beautiful symbolical figures of Theology (or Religion), Philosophy (or Knowledge), Poetry (or Imagination), and Law (or Morals)—symbols at once of the four divisions of Literature and of the four methods of communion between the human mind and the world of Ideal Truth—so enchanted the Pope that he commissioned the young artist to cover the walls of the Stanza with frescos.

These frescos are large historical and mythological illustrations of the subjects presented by the symbolical figures in the medallions of the ceiling.³ The main subject of what was later named *La Disputa del Sacramento* was perhaps not meant to be the dispute which is apparently going on about transubstantiation, but the Sacrament itself regarded as the special means of spiritual communion between earth and heaven—the world of spirit and that of earthly existence being most wondrously indicated in the two parts of the picture. In choosing his saints and theologians Raphael was guided, it is said, by the advice of such authorities as his friends Cardinals Bembo and Bibbiena (Dovizi), and, as in the case of other frescos, besides studying Dante and the Platonists, he consulted famous scholars and literary men, such as Castiglione and Ariosto. Among the doctors we may be surprised to find one who had lately been hanged and burnt as a heretic, namely Savonarola; but the victim of the atrocious Borgia doubtless found favour with Pope Julius II. Near to Savonarola stands Dante—as theologian—although he had dared to condemn more than one pope to hell-fire. Among the divines on the left is Fra Angelico.

¹ For the 'Studio' of Nicholas V, painted by Fra Angelico, see Vol. I, pp. 394, 395.

² See p. 37 for the work of Sodoma in this Stanza. The scenes (*Fall, Apollo and Marsyas, Judgment of Solomon*, etc.) on the pendentives are also by Raphael.

³ Vasari states—probably falsely—that frescos newly painted by other artists were obliterated for this purpose, and that Raphael's respect for his old master saved Perugino's work.

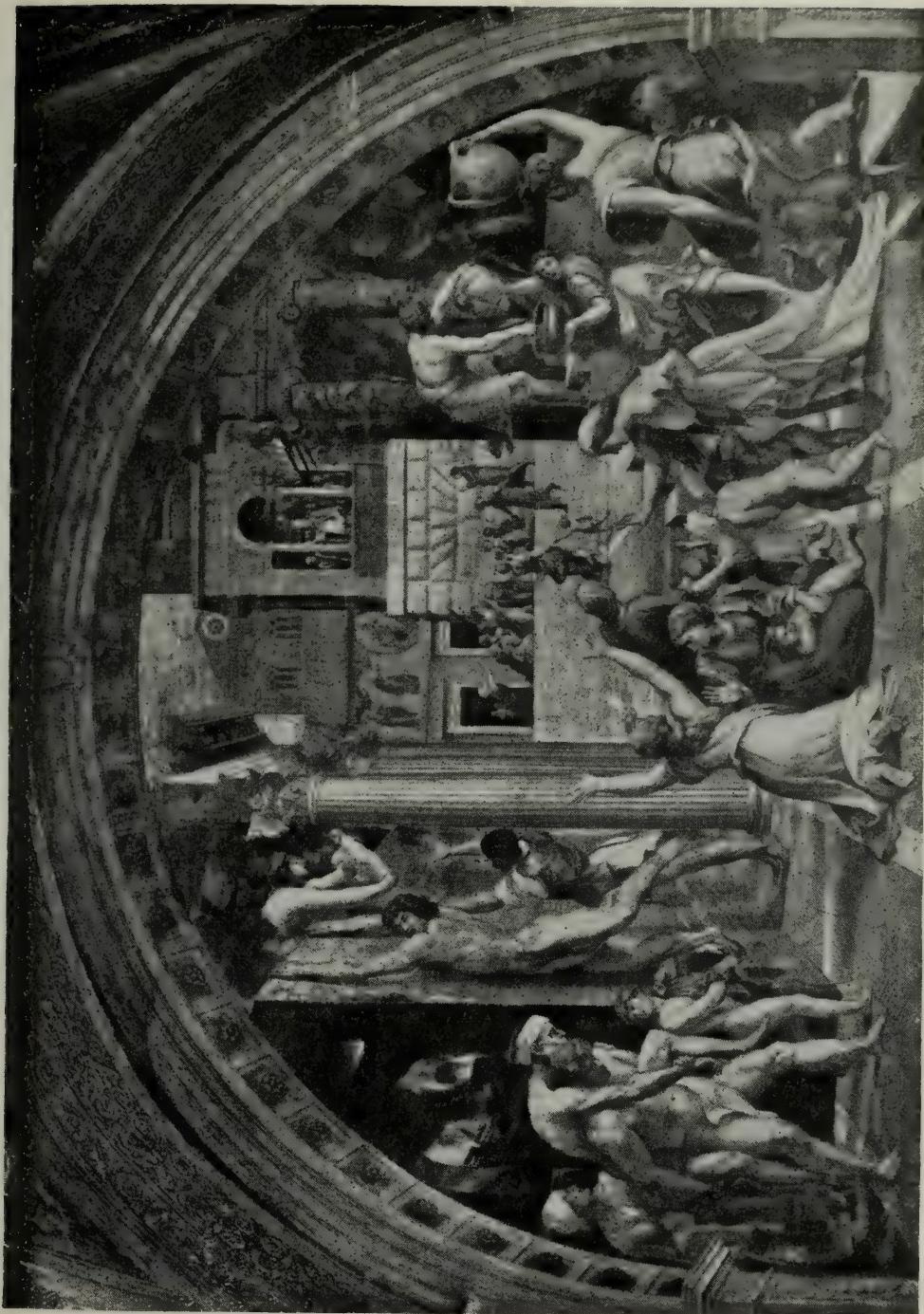
ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

The so-called *School of Athens* (a misleading designation of the seventeenth century) intimates the triumph of human reason. It shows a vast hall, perhaps imitated from Bramante's design for the new St Peter's, filled with groups of great philosophers and men of science. In the central and dominating figures of Plato and Aristotle are finely characterized and contrasted the two great schools of human thought—as different from and as indispensable to each other as the convex and concave of the arc. There are many portraits—among them those of Raphael himself, with his friends Sodoma, the Sienese painter, and Castiglione, the author of the *Cortegiano* (in the guise of Zoroaster), and Bramante (in that of Euclid or Archimedes).

The other two walls are each broken by a great window, and here Raphael showed his wonderful skill in fitting the most beautiful and natural compositions into difficult spaces. In the fresco of *Parnassus* the central figure, Apollo, is said to have been a portrait of a famous violinist (Sanseconde) of the Moro's court. Among the greatest singers we find again the well-known face of Dante. Ariosto (perhaps) is seen eagerly listening to the recitation of the blind Homer. Petrarca is to be seen not far from Sappho. Doubtless there are many portraits of contemporaries which we fail to recognize. One of the Muses is sometimes thought to represent Vittoria Colonna.

In the fourth fresco, of which the subject is jurisprudence (and the sense of right), we have the cardinal virtues and figures of great lawgivers, Moses, Solon, Justinian, and Pope Gregory IX, whose face is a portrait of Julius II.

In the frescos of the second and third Stanze Raphael no longer follows freely his poetic imagination. His genius is employed for the glorification of the Papacy. In the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple of Jerusalem*—a symbol of the expulsion of the French from Northern Italy after the battle of Ravenna (1512)—we have Pope Julius gazing joyously at the scene while seated in a litter, the foremost bearer of which is said to be a portrait of the celebrated engraver Marc Antonio Raimondi. Also in *The Mass of Bolsena* the kneeling priest is Julius. And after the



73. L'INCENDIO DEL BORGO

By Raphael

Rome : Stanze, Vatican
Photo Alinari



74. THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES
Tapestry designed by Raphael. *Rome, Vatican*



75. 'FEED MY SHEEP'
Tapestry designed by Raphael. *Rome, Vatican*
Photos Alinari

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

death of this pope in 1513 Raphael and his assistants produced a series of frescos in which Leo X figures, now as Leo I confronting Attila,¹ now as Leo III crowning Charles the Great (whose face is a portrait of Francis I of France), now as Leo IV conquering Saracens at Ostia and extinguishing with the sign of the Cross the conflagration in the Borgo.

Raphael continued to produce designs for the remaining frescos of the Stanze, but these were to a considerable extent executed by his pupils, for during the last period of his short life of scarce thirty-seven years he had an immense amount of work on his hands. On the death of Bramante, in 1514, he was made the chief architect of the new St Peter's, in association with the aged Fra Giocondo. At this time he was still painting the Stanza d'Eliodoro. In 1515 he was made by Pope Leo the chief Inspector of Antiquities and spent much time and energy in publishing, with the assistance of the antiquarian Fulvius, a very voluminous description (now lost) of all the ancient monuments in Rome. In this very year he was also engaged on one of his greatest works—the cartoons for the tapestries.² The subject given the artist was the life of Christ and the acts of the Apostles. His marvellously beautiful and dignified designs need no description, as they are perhaps the best known of all his creations.

During 1518–19 the lovely decorations of the Loggie, including the series of Biblical scenes ('Raphael's Bible') that adorns the ceilings, were designed and some doubtless painted by Raphael's own hand; and about the same time he furnished the designs for the well-known and still exceedingly beautiful—though at a later epoch crudely bedaubed—frescos of *Cupid and Psyche* in the Villa Chigi

¹ The Pope's white horse (some call it a mule) is traditionally the charger which Leo X rode at the battle of Ravenna, where he was made prisoner, just a year before his election as pope. Raphael's *Liberation of St Peter from Prison* evidently symbolizes the escape from captivity of Cardinal Giovanni (Leo X).

² Ordered by Leo X as a further adornment for the Cappella Sistina. They were woven, it seems, not at Arras, but at Brussels, although their Italian name is *arazzi*. The originals, twice carried away by 'barbarians,' are still in the Vatican. Old copies are to be seen in Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, and Paris. The cartoons of seven are extant—in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

(now Farnesina),¹ which were perhaps mainly executed by Giulio Romano. It was while he was occupied so intensely with the Stanze frescos and with these other activities that Raphael also produced many of the finest specimens of that later style of his which for some persons has not the same charm as that of his Florentine period, but which offers a most wonderful combination of power and beauty. Of these the chief are the *Madonna del Pesce*, the *Madonna della Rosa*, the *Perla*, and *Lo Spasimo* (all in Spain); the *Vierge au Diadème* (Louvre); the *Madonna di Casa d'Alba* (Petrograd); the *Madonna della Sedia* (Pitti); the Bridge-water Gallery *Madonna*; the *Madonna di Foligno* (once in Aracaeli, now in the Vatican); the *St Cecilia* (Bologna); and the *Madonna di S. Sisto* (Dresden)—in which the Virgin with her Child is a vision of celestial beauty and dignity.

Besides these works Raphael at this time painted some of his finest portraits, such as that of Julius II (see frontispiece); of Leo X and cardinals (Pitti); of Inghirami (America; copy in Pitti); of Castiglione; of Cardinal Bibbiena (Dovizi of Bibbiena, Raphael's friend), of which the Pitti version, representing him as much older than he seems in the Madrid original, is perhaps by a pupil of Raphael's.

Lastly, we have the very beautifully painted *Donna Velata* of the Pitti Gallery, which is evidently the portrait of a Roman lady of rank and refinement—possibly one loved by Raphael; for this same face, wondrously idealized, we recognize in the Sistine *Madonna*. The story, by the by, of the baker's daughter is nowadays discredited. The rather coarse portrait called *La Fornarina* in the Barberini Gallery is probably by Giulio Romano, and the splendidly painted picture in the Uffizi which used to be labelled with the names of Raphael and the Fornarina is now attributed to Michelangelo's friend and Raphael's gifted but ungenerous detractor, Sebastiano del Piombo.

Raphael's last work was the *Transfiguration* (Vatican), or perhaps—as one would gladly believe—only the upper part of this world-famous but somewhat disconcerting

¹ Raphael had already (1514) painted in the hall of this villa the splendidly vigorous fresco of Galatea, and at the entreaty of the delighted owner, the rich banker Agostino Chigi, he had in the same year painted in S. Maria della Pace his celebrated Sibyls.



77. 'LA PERLA'

By Raphael. Madrid
Photo Anderson

76. 'LO SPASIMO'

By Raphael. Madrid
Photo Anderson





78. ST CECILIA

By Raphael. *Bologna*
Photo Brogi

CINQUECENTO PAINTING

picture.¹ It is said to have been hung—or perhaps only the upper half—at the head of the bed on which his body lay, and to have been carried in the funeral procession. He lies buried in the Pantheon, and on his tomb is engraved the Latin couplet composed by his friend Cardinal Bembo :

*Ille est hic Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.*

* * * * *

Of all Raphael's many and devoted pupils one alone, the only Roman among them—Giulio Pippi, better known as Giulio Romano—attained eminence. He had a large share in the execution of Raphael's designs for some of the Stanze frescos, especially of the great battle-scene in the Sala di Costantino, and (some think) of the *Cupid and Psyche* frescos in the Villa Chigi. In the Villa Madama (Rome) he adorned, about the year 1525, with the help of Giovanni da Udine, a loggia with frescos, now almost entirely obliterated, which show how strong his master's influence still was with him ; but like many other followers of Raphael he succumbed to the prevalent craze for imitating, and outdoing, Michelangelo's powerful plastic style—an ambition that even in artists of real genius, such as Giulio, ended in futile vehemence and an attainment of the merely gigantic instead of the sublime.

At Mantua, whither he was summoned by Frederic Gonzaga in 1525 (five years before that prince was created Duke of Mantua by the Emperor Charles V), he built the famous Palazzo del Te and designed for its decoration a great number of frescos, mostly executed by his assistants, Primaticcio and others, of which the finest is the *Story of Psyche* ;² and a most striking and repulsively extravagant

¹ The lower part was doubtless designed by Raphael, but may have been executed after his death. The work was for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (Clement VII), and was intended to compete with Sebastiano del Piombo's *Raising of Lazarus*. Even the upper portion is surely disconcertingly theatrical and verging on painful grandiosity in attitude and drapery.

² As told by Apuleius in his *Asinus Aureus*. Giulio Romano and his pupils also decorated various rooms of the old Gonzaga Palace (Corte Reale) with frescos of scenes from the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, etc., many of which have disappeared, or are badly restored.

ITALY: IL CINQUECENTO

example of the results of Michelangelesque influence is the *Battle of the Giants against the Gods*, with monstrous figures, some of them 14 feet high, adapted to the architecture of the great Sala.

Fellow-workers with Giulio Romano at executing Raphael's designs for the frescos of the Stanze and Loggie, and for those of the Villa Farnesina, were Gian Francesco Penni and Perino del Vaga (both Florentines), Giovanni da Udine, Raffaello da Colle, and Polidoro da Caravaggio—not to be confounded with the later Caravaggio. Of these artists there are to be found here and there, in galleries and churches, pictures that are interesting sometimes as direct reflexions of Raphael's influence and sometimes as proofs of the rapidity with which all that was so great and beautiful in his work gave place in his followers to feeble gracefulness or to impotent imitations of the grand style of Michelangelo.



79. LA MADONNA DI S. SISTO

By Raphael

Dresden

Photo Alinari

81. PORTRAIT OF A LADY
Now attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo

Florence, Uffizi
Photo Brogi



80. 'LA DONNA VELATA'
By Raphael
Florence, Pitti Gallery
Photo Brogi



PART II

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

CHAPTER I

SEICENTO AND LATER ARCHITECTURE

AT the end of the chapter on Cinquecento architecture it was shown how toward the close of the century a decline set in of that earlier and nobler style of the High Renaissance which is seen in the work of Bramante and Michelangelo; and the character of the new barocco, or rococo,¹ architecture was described. It was also pointed out how the Counter-Reformation, reinforced and marshalled by the Council of Trent and the institution of the Order of Jesuits, caused a great multiplication of churches, and how the Jesuitic style—that of the most ambitious, extravagant, and vulgar over-decoration, in which all beauty and nobility of constructive form were lost—became popular in Rome, mainly through the influence of the great metropolitan church of the Jesuits, the burial-place of Ignatius Loyola. This church, called Il Gesù, was erected in 1568 by Della Porta and Vignola, the architects who built the dome of St Peter's after the wooden model made by Michelangelo, but who seem to have been suddenly carried off their feet, as it were, by the new barocco vogue. The interior of the church, as seen in Fig. 13, affords a typical example of that senseless extravagance in ornamentation which characterizes countless Italian churches built during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or transformed from original Early Renaissance, or even Romanesque, buildings in order to suit the taste of a degenerate age.

Of the three chief arts which form the subject of this book it is architecture that shows most clearly and surely

¹ See footnote on p. 14.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

the character of an age—a fact that is intelligible when we consider that the architect is necessarily influenced by practical and utilitarian motives much more than the painter or sculptor, it being far more difficult to impose unsuitable architecture on public convenience and public taste than to risk criticism by some audaciously original painting or sculpture. Accordingly we find that it is in the architecture of the Seicento that the moral degeneracy of this Jesuitical age is most easily recognizable. Although, as we shall see, a few buildings of considerable nobility were erected, most of them show the characteristics that were to be found commonly at the courts of those pontiffs, despots, and viceroys who then ruled, and pretended to represent, the enslaved Italian people—hypocritical insincerity, a love of braggart and meretricious display, and a restless craving for excesses of every kind.

In Late Renaissance architecture, such as that of Scamozzi at Venice—nay, even in some of the later work of Michelangelo—is noticeable a dislike of bare space and of the simple outline of constructive form. We find such outline broken or diverted, and spaces filled up more and more by superfluous decoration; we find the merely decorative use of columns, which is a feature of even the best Renaissance architecture, supplemented by sham windows, objectless dripstones, meaningless niches and balconies, absurdly located statues, etc., all used only in order to fill up an abhorred vacuity. But in spite of all this the architecture of the Late Renaissance retained for some time—except in the Jesuitic style—a certain structural vigour that proved its vitality and lent it some dignity and impressiveness. Finally however all organism and vitality—and with these all nobility and beauty—disappeared. Mere ornament became the sole object of the architect; he built in order to display his skill in decoration. The Socratic maxim ‘To be and not to seem’ was reversed.

It is especially in Rome—in its many churches of this era, and in others that have suffered ‘improvement’—that one can best study the development and the extravagant luxuriance of Italian barocco; but over most of Italy and in many other Roman Catholic, and even in pagan, countries

ARCHITECTURE

this disgrace to European art has been disseminated, and has proved difficult to extirpate, favoured as it is by long association with religious ceremonies.

The convulsive extravagances of barocco remind one of the queer distortions caused by the effort of the living bud to liberate itself from its dry husk. And assuredly within this persistent husk there *was* something living—something that was yet to blossom forth and take the place of that which for so long had been the glory of Italy. By the beginning of the Seicento the great architecture, no less than the great sculpture and painting and literature, of the Renaissance was rapidly withering, doomed if not yet quite dead. Tintoretto and Tasso had died within a year of each other, and Michelangelo, the one pre-eminently great Renaissance sculptor, had died thirty years before ; but in that same year (1564) was born Galileo. Italy was to lose her place as foremost leader in European art, but she became one of the foremost in European science.

The fact has been noted that Vignola began almost at the same time the Gesù at Rome and the S. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi. The first is the earliest important example of the worst type (the Jesuitic) of barocco, and the other is a remarkably unadorned and really dignified church of somewhat the same class as Michelangelo's S. Maria degli Angeli at Rome.¹ It is evident that those few who had any true artistic instincts—any right appreciation of the past—were making a desperate struggle against the rising tide of vulgar grandiosity and ostentatious ornamentation. It was certainly so in the case of the pre-eminent architect and sculptor of the Seicento, Lorenzo Bernini ; and however we may vituperate the absurdities and lament the doleful effects of the age of barocco, no person capable of forming a just judgment on such questions will be likely to deny that Rome owes many of its fine, and not a few of its impressive, buildings to the popes of the seventeenth century, some of whom were worthy followers of Sixtus V, noted

¹ Also the Gesù is, in regard to plan, Michelangelesque, with a reminiscence of the basilica type. The façade, moreover, shows imitation of Alberti's style. It is the interior that displays the evil features of barocco so conspicuously in its extravagant and disfiguring ornamentation. The great ceiling-fresco by Baciccio is almost as terrible as anything by Luca *fa presto*.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

by us in an earlier chapter as a great builder. Most of these pontiffs were Roman nobles—Roman by descent or adoption : Borghesi, Barberini, Chigi, Rospigliosi, Odescalchi, and Corsini—and they felt a natural pride in adorning their city and glorifying their families by the erection of great churches and palaces and fountains and monuments.¹

The first noteworthy architect of the Seicento at Rome was Carlo Maderna (1556–1629), a nephew of that Domenico Fontana who, with his brother Giovanni, worked for Pope Sixtus V. A really fine work of his, in good Renaissance style, the Palazzo Mattei, dates from 1616, some years later than the somewhat unfortunate east façade of St Peter's which (as we noted in a former chapter) he erected for Pope Paul V. Another well-proportioned and dignified building, the Palazzo Barberini—far more favoured by its site than are many Roman palaces—was designed by him and completed by Bernini. It was the model on which several other palaces were built.

But more conspicuous than Maderna—eminent as architect and pre-eminent as sculptor—was Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), whose supremacy in the Roman school of barocco was almost undisputed during the greater part of the Seicento. For about fifty years he was the architect chiefly employed by eight successive popes, among whom were Paul V, Urban VIII, and Clement IX. Besides numerous palaces, such as the Barberini and the Quirinal, which he helped to complete, he began the present House of Parliament (*Camera dei Deputati*), originally called the Palazzo di Monte Citorio, and built the Palazzo Chigi and the Arsenal at Civitavecchia and the Palazzo Rospigliosi at Pistoia, as well as various churches. But his fame as architect is founded mainly on an immense work first designed in the pontificate of Paul V, when he was still quite a young man, and finished by him under Alexander VII (1655–67).

¹ Many of the best-known Roman palaces date from the Seicento and the late Cinquecento. Among these are the Palazzi Albani, Altieri, Barberini, Bonaparte (Rinuccini), Caffarelli (in which, it is reported, the Kaiser erected his throne in anticipation of assuming the imperial tiara at Rome), Colonna (partly), Doria (partly), Mattei, Rospigliosi, Sciarra, and Quirinale, which last was completed by Fontana, Bernini, and other seventeenth-century architects.

ARCHITECTURE

This work was the mighty colonnade which with its two arcs encloses on two sides the elliptical Piazza of St Peter's—a structure that both as a foreground to the mighty edifice and also by its gigantic size rivals the sphinx avenues and hypostyle halls of ancient Egyptian temples. The curved colonnade (about a quarter of a mile long) consists of 284 enormous Doric columns and 88 piers that form a broad central nave and two aisles. In addition to all this he designed, or supervised, and placed on the top of his colonnade 162 statues, and others (probably) on the top of the façade of St Peter's, as well as various bell-towers, some of which proved unstable and were removed. In the Vatican he undertook, at the request of Alexander VII, various architectural improvements, of which the magnificent Scala Regia (Royal Stair) is a striking specimen. His last work as architect was the church of S. Andrea on the Quirinal, built by him when he was over seventy years old for Prince Camillo Pamphili, the owner of the splendid Villa Pamphili, constructed for him by Algardi some twenty years earlier. The church is of uncommon form, being elliptical. It was, as is often the case with late-born progeny, Bernini's own favourite of all his works.

A talented rival of Bernini, Francesco Borromini (1599–1667), seems to have taken to heart so grievously his own ill-success that he killed himself. His work shows at times much that is fantastic and eccentric. Of this nature are the church of S. Carlo (known as S. Carlino) near the Quattro Fontane at Rome and the curious spiral campaniles of S. Andrea delle Fratte and of the University church (S. Ivo della Sapienza), the plan of which church he made to imitate the form of a bee in honour of the Barberini pope, Urban VIII, whose coat of arms, familiar to those who know Rome well, shows three bees.¹ The largest work of Borromini, and perhaps the sanest and best, is the not undignified façade of S. Agnese in the great Piazza Navona²—the ancient Circus of Domitian, where St Agnes suffered martyrdom. Perhaps poor Borromini's existence may have been embittered by

¹ See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 254.

² The name 'Navona' is said to be a corruption of the Greek word ἀγῶνες, which means 'contests' or 'games.'

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

such comment on his work as is expressed by the joke, possibly dating from his days, that the river Nile—one of the four rivers personified by Bernini's statues in the great fountain that he erected in the Piazza—is veiling his head in order to hide from sight the horrors of the façade—horrors that for anyone fresh from such an interior as that of S. Ignazio, or the Gesù, are not easily discernible.

It is interesting that both Borromini and the elder Fontana (Domenico) are said to have come from the region of Lugano. It seems likely that, as in the Middle Ages the 'Comacine masters' founded schools and guilds (like Freemason lodges) in Rome and other Italian cities, and as North Italian architects were numerous at Naples during the fourteenth century, and Lombard artists formed themselves into societies at Venice during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, so also now at Rome there was a numerous 'Lombard' (or North Italian) colony which exercised very considerable influence in matters architectural. Besides Domenico, whom we know already as the master-builder of Sixtus V, we meet another Lombard in his brother Giovanni;¹ and later in the Seicento we find an architect of the same *soprannome*, Carlo Fontana (1634–1714). This man—a barocco zealot, inspired with all the dangerous enthusiasm of second-class talent—might have exercised a far more malign influence than he seems to have done. A highly praised work of his was the now vanished Palazzo Torlonia. To him some attribute also the great fountains of the Piazza di S. Pietro.

Among the few native Roman architects contemporary with Maderna and Bernini the two Rainaldi, father and son, are alone noteworthy. The latter made the fantastic barocco façade of S. Maria in Campitelli, which church was rebuilt in order to provide a worthy shrine for the wonder-working picture of the Virgin to which was attributed the cessation of the plague of 1656.

One of the most extravagant barocco artists, intensely

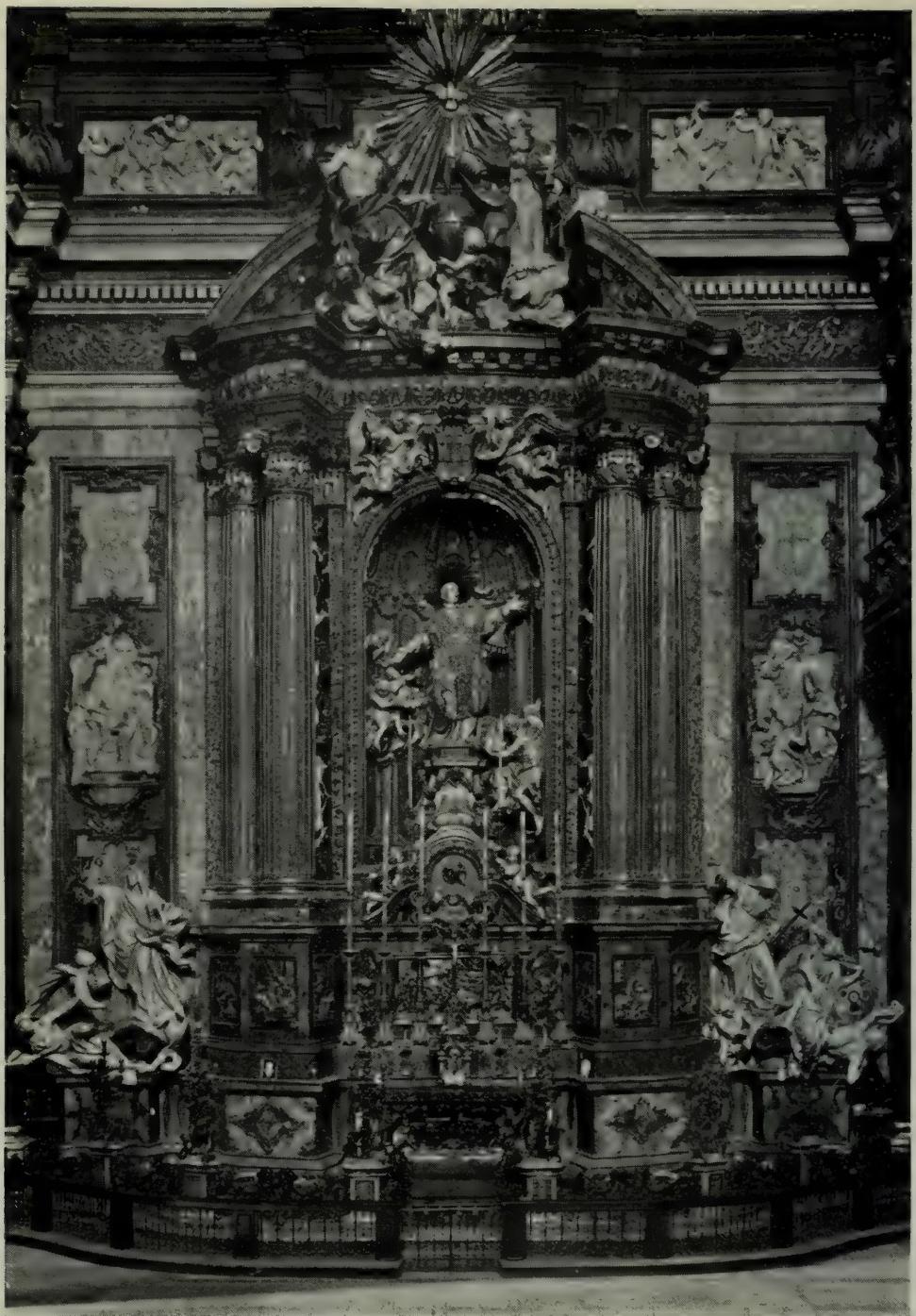
¹ Giovanni earned a name by restoring, or helping Maderna to restore, the ancient aqueduct from Lake Bracciano (80 miles distant), thus creating the wonderful Fountain of the Acqua Paola (so called from Paul V) on the Janiculum.



82. LA FONTANA DI TREVI, ROME

By Salvi, after a sketch by Bernini

Photo Brogi



83. ALTAR OF ST IGNATIUS, IL GESÙ, ROME

By Pozzo

Photo Brogi

ARCHITECTURE

admired by his generation as architect and as painter, was the Jesuit priest Andrea Pozzo ; and surely if art is admirable in proportion to its revelation of mentality one may regard Pozzo as a very great artist, for nothing perhaps could make one realize more clearly than do his productions the ambitions and the methods of the Jesuitic Order. Anything more contemptible and repulsive for grandiosity and insincerity can scarcely exist among things that claim to be works of art. His two best-known works are the chapel of S. Ignazio in the Gesù and two chapels with ceiling-frescos in the church of S. Ignazio—of both of which an idea may be obtained from our illustrations.¹

Among the many who in this age of the later Renaissance were adepts in more than one art² was Algardi (1602–54), well known as the sculptor of the marble relief of *Leo the Great and Attila* in St Peter's and as the builder of the façade of S. Ignazio and of the great Villa Pamphili (now Doria-Pamphili—called also Belrespiro) that lies in its picturesque grounds just beyond the Janiculum.³

In Rome during the first half of the Settecento was built, in spite of Jesuitic barocco influences, much that is dignified and impressive. Whatever one may think of the sculptures (and of the use of statuary for such purposes), the architectural part of the Fontana di Trevi (constructed by Niccolò Salvi, in 1735, after a sketch by Bernini) has certainly some grandeur, and the *ensemble* attracts, although we may feel it our duty to protest.

The question of the right and wrong use of statuary forces itself on one's attention also when one stands in front of S. Giovanni in Laterano. The façade itself, the work (1734) of a Florentine architect bearing the famous name of the Galilei, is indisputably fine—almost Palladian ; but what are we to say of the Apostles balancing themselves

¹ For Pozzo's frescos see the chapter on Seicento painting.

² Also in earlier days we have Giotto and Michelangelo as examples of greatness in three arts ; and we may add Raphael, if the Lille (wax) bust—a very beautiful thing—is really his work.

³ Among the fine villas of the Roman nobility erected in the Seicento is the Villa Borghese, on the Pincian (whither the Borghese collection of pictures was removed in 1891), built perhaps by the Flemish architect Vasanzio, about 1630.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

perilously on the sky-line? However, if Mausolus stood (which is doubtful) on the top of the Mausoleum, and if Victories in their *quadrigae* with prancing steeds have paused in mid-career for many years on the summits of Roman arches, it is possible that such barocco adornments are as right artistically as the pediment statues of the Parthenon.

Rome is the home of barocco; here we meet it on every side. But the thing proved contagious and spread rapidly. Especially in France and Spain its effects proved noteworthy. Also in other cities of Italy it has left considerable traces. These are by no means always lamentable in regard to external architecture, although generally so in regard to profuse, senseless, and often vulgar interior ornamentation. It will suffice to mention a few specimens; but it should be remembered that, besides these Seicento and Settecento buildings, countless fine Romanesque and Gothic Italian churches (S. Chiara at Naples is a tragic example) have been converted interiorly into hideously over-decorated monstrosities of Jesuitic barocco.

In Naples barocco claims the church of S. Martino, entirely rebuilt in the Seicento and gorgeously ornamented by Fansaga, a pupil of Bernini; the church of S. Gerolomini, a specimen of early barocco (about 1600); the chapel of St Januarius in the cathedral, by Grimaldi; and many others.

In Genoa, where during the Cinquecento a pupil of Michelangelo, Alessi, had built S. Maria di Carignano¹ and the dome of the cathedral and several fine palaces—among them probably the well-known Palazzo Rosso—and had thus popularized the genuine Classical Renaissance style, the sinister influences of barocco were limited to the interiors of the Jesuit church of S. Ambrogio, the Annunziata, and a few other buildings. And even in these cases sumptuous ornamentation developed forms nobler than in Rome. The Genoese palaces are famed for their magnificent staircases² and their splendid *cortili*, as well as

¹ On the model of St Peter's at Rome.

² The same tendency prevailed at Rome in the Settecento—witness the grand *scalinata* leading from the Piazza di Spagna up to SS. Trinità de' Monti.

ARCHITECTURE

for their painted façades;¹ these were the not very deplorable results of the extravagant tendencies of Roman barocco when they came into contact with a firmly established, undeteriorated style such as prevailed at Genoa.

In the case of Florence the result of barocco influence was small. Some of the churches, among them the fashionable Annunziata, have been disfigured by gilt and stucco and scenographic frescos, and the huge and dismal front of S. Firenze shows barocco style, and the ugly church of SS. Michele e Gaetano, at the top end of Via Tornabuoni, is adorned with sprawling barocco figures; but—perhaps because Florentines were ever self-satisfied—scarcely any building worthy of mention has been erected there since the Cinquecento; and thus it is that the city has escaped to a large extent the baneful architectural influences of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An exception is the not very markedly barocco, but grandiose, Cappella dei Principi, an adjunct to the church of S. Lorenzo, designed by Giovanni de' Medici, and begun by Nigetti (in 1604), as a mausoleum for the Medicean princes. A fine specimen of seventeenth-century work of an earlier and saner type is the palatial pile of Poggio Imperiale, near Florence, built in 1622 by Parigi.

The case of Venice was, on the other hand, somewhat like that of Genoa. Venice had always shown independence and creative originality in matters of art, being slow to accept mainland innovations, but quick to modify any new style so as to produce something individual, something genuinely Venetian—such as Venetian Gothic.

In the Seicento there worked at Venice the architect Longhena (1604–82), to whom we owe two well-known edifices, namely the church of S. Maria della Salute and the Palazzo Pesaro. The church was begun in 1631, as a thankoffering for the cessation of the plague (1630). It owes much to its situation near the mouth of the Grand Canal, and is certainly an impressive pile, notwithstanding the gigantic and purely decorative volutes—the constructive

¹ This last item is perhaps not much to their credit, but no Genoese painted façade ever equalled in absurdity and vulgarity the scenographic efforts of painters such as Pozzo and Luca Giordano.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

uselessness of which, as compared with the work done by Gothic flying buttresses, might serve as an apt comment on the falsity of barocco. But in spite of intrinsic defects this creation of Longhena's has an originality which is as refreshing as the sea-air of the Lido in comparison with ordinary Jesuitic barocco churches—of which the two most notable examples in Venice are the Scalzi (formerly the church of the Barefoot Friars), which was begun by Longhena and has a rich but somewhat meaningless façade (*c.* 1685) by Sardi, and the Gesuiti, built about 1720 by Rossi, the interior of which shows a painfully extravagant wealth of futile ornamentation. Indeed, one feels that this church is an exotic in Venice, and it is pleasant to turn from such an importation to the really noble Palazzo Pesaro, another creation of Longhena's, built by him toward the end of his life, as was also (except the top storey) the Palazzo Rezzonico—in which, about two centuries later, Robert Browning died.

Turin, with its chess-board system of streets—a system that makes one think of a modern American town (or ancient Rhodes), but which is due in this case to the Roman camp that formed the nucleus of the present city—was of little note architecturally¹ till it began to expand under the last Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuele II, and the first King of Sardinia, Vittorio Amadeo II (*d.* 1730). Three architects, Guarini, Juvara, and Alfieri, deserve mention. Guarini, born in 1624 at Modena, was an eccentric genius. Not content with constructing an intolerably dismal brick façade in Late Renaissance style for the Palazzo Carignano, he erected the painfully *bizarre* Cupola della Sindone over the chapel of the cathedral where is kept what is said to be the linen cloth (*σινδών*) in which Christ's body was wrapped.²

Juvara was born (1685) at Messina, where Guarini had worked—a fact that may account for his finding his way to Turin. Here he erected many buildings, the most conspicuous of which is the Superga, a votive church (and royal

¹ The cathedral is about the only noteworthy building of a date earlier than 1600. It was erected by a Florentine (Meo del Caprina) about 1500.

² This cupola excites the wonder and admiration of architects by the way in which it is poised aloft on what seems very insufficient support—a futile statical triumph attained also in Gothic architecture.



84. S. MARIA DELLA SALUTE, VENICE

By Longhena

Photo Alinari



85. CHIESA DEGLI SCALZI, VENICE

By Longhena and Sardi

Photo Alinari

ARCHITECTURE

mausoleum) built between 1717 and 1731 by order of Vittorio Amadeo II to commemorate the raising of the siege of Turin by his Austrian allies in 1706. It stands on a hill, over 2000 feet high, to the east of Turin, and possesses a fine dome and a great Pantheon-like portico. Other great buildings designed by Juvara for the Savoy-Sardinian princes are the royal castle of Stupinigi, some five miles from the city, and that of Rivoli. At Rome he built the sacristy of St Peter's, at Mantua the dome of Alberti's church, S. Andrea, and at Como the fine octagonal dome of the beautiful and interesting cathedral. At Lisbon, too, he built a royal palace; and he was summoned to Madrid by Philip V to rebuild there the palace burnt down in 1734; but in 1735 he died.

A third architect, Count Benedetto Alfieri, grandfather of the dramatist, is well known at Turin as the builder of the two great theatres, the Teatro Regio (1739) and the Teatro Carignano (in which the dramas of Alfieri were first put on the stage), as well as of the great fan-shaped cathedral of Carignano.¹

At Milan, after the days of Bramante and Solari and Alessi (whom we have already met at Genoa) and Seregni (who built the Palazzo di Giustizia), we have Francesco Ricchini, who restored in rather vulgar barocco style various churches, but showed considerable talent in his completion (1624) of the fine Ospedale Maggiore and in the building (some twenty-seven years later) of the Jesuit College which is now the Palazzo di Brera. Until the Neo-Classical era Milan added little of note to its architecture—see p. 103.

It will have been remarked that among the great buildings of the Settecento some theatres have been mentioned. Many more might be noticed, for at this era the barocco love for what one calls scenographic and theatrical display (using Greek words with strangely extended meanings) did not limit itself to the interior decoration of churches, domes, and palaces with such frescos as those of Pozzo and Tiepolo, but found a vast field of operation in fabricating and supplying

¹ From Carignano, not far from Turin, was derived the title of that Prince of Carignano, younger son of Carlo Emanuele I, from whom the present King of Italy is descended. Alfieri also built the façade of Saint-Pierre in Geneva.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

stage scenery such as suited the spectacular and melodramatic tastes of the day. Renaissance theatres took, as a rule, the classical theatre as a model, and offered little scope for spectacular stage scenery. The Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, begun by Palladio (1579) and finished by Scamozzi, is a striking example of such Classical Late Renaissance theatres, and at Parma there is another of the same character, built (in 1618-28) by Aleotti, a follower of Palladio. But such theatres were soon to give way to those of a more modern type, suitable for opera and melodrama.¹ The Teatro alla Pergola at Florence (for opera and ballet) was first built in 1638; the great Turin theatres, as we have seen, about 1740; the vast Teatro Comunale at Bologna about 1760; the enormous Scala Theatre at Milan about 1778; and the Fenice at Venice in 1791.

The Neo-Classical Reaction

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the arts of architecture and (as we shall see) sculpture and painting reached in Italy the lowest level of their decadence. In architecture and sculpture the worst tendencies of barocco had found full development in the productions of the numerous adherents of the Berninesque school, who inherited none of the genius of Bernini and, as one might expect, indulged in the most extravagant exaggeration of the false principles which underlay his influence. Of these false principles perhaps the most pernicious was that which made the main object and end of art to be mere display—ornamentation, decoration. This principle, so congenial to some natures, resulted in the production of numberless edifices—for the most part churches—not only in Italy, but in many other countries, which, mainly by reason of their internal sculptures and paintings and other extravagant decorations, rival in monstrosity and greatly surpass in vulgarity (seeing that *corruptio optimi pessima est*) the most

¹ Scarlatti, the 'father of the modern Italian opera,' died in 1725. Until the Neo-Classical revival and the short-lived triumph of Alfieri's classic drama, Italian literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as says De Sanctis, *cesse il campo alla musica.*

ARCHITECTURE

repulsively grotesque Oriental temples, and are a standing disgrace to European art.

Amidst such widespread artistic degradation there existed, of course, a few whose common sense and good taste were revolted. Indeed, the fact that this epoch was productive of great Italian composers (Pergolese, and others) and that Italy in these days supplied all Europe with music and musicians seems to prove the presence of considerable artistic vitality, which, other possibilities being hopelessly blocked, found this form of expression—as a little later was found still another in the dramas of Alfieri and the verse of Goldoni and Parini.

Considerably before the end of the eighteenth century—before that Revolution which in France was to sweep away the effete, imported Late Renaissance style, together with the follies and extravagances of rococo¹—there were influences at work which were to bring about a general reaction toward the eternally true principles that reveal themselves so conspicuously, though of course not solely, in classical art. The chief of these influences was the great interest aroused by the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, first begun in 1748, on the discovery by a peasant of various statues and other ancient relics. This interest was deepened and widened by the writings of the famous German archaeologist Winckelmann (*d.* 1768), and later by the still more famous essay on the *Laocoön* by Lessing. In course of time the effects of the Revolution gave way to, or rather became amalgamated with, those of Napoleonic imperialism and his *Codex Civilis*, and, as if weary of the struggle against destiny, a great part of Europe accepted submissively, for a time at least, a state of subjection, and seemed glad to return to the serenity of classic art. In Italy the architect Vanvitelli, the painter Appiani, and the sculptor Canova were the chief artists of this period of somewhat servile submission and adulation.

There were some vast and impressive buildings erected by

¹ But, as we shall see in the chapter on France, the ornamental pomp of Italian Jesuitic church architecture took there a less exaggerated form, and exteriorly many French buildings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (from Louis XIV to Louis XVI) show a fine sense of classic dignity—such as the Louvre (colonnade), the church of the Invalides, the Val-de-Grâce, and the Panthéon.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

Vanvitelli and his contemporaries and followers; but they possess none of the interest and importance attaching to many far smaller and less magnificent edifices which testify to the origin or development of great styles of architecture; they are mostly—as are so many huge edifices of our own days—artificial constructions, with no vital unity. Classical orders and other Classical features are conspicuously inserted, and the motives of Bramante and Palladio and other Renaissance Classicists are used, but very often without any organic connexion with the general scheme and purpose of the building.¹ I shall therefore not attempt more than to mention a few of these Neo-Classic architects and their works.

The city of Naples was one of the first to favour this Neo-Classic architecture. Its Bourbon king, Charles III, who in 1759 became King of Spain, was a zealous patron of art and the initiator of the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and it was he who (in 1737) caused the great Neapolitan theatre of S. Carlo—one of the greatest in existence—to be erected by Angelo Carasale of Naples, after a design by Giovanni Medrano, a Sicilian. A far greater edifice was built (1752–55) for this king by Luigi Vanvitelli, son of a Dutch painter resident in Rome. This is the royal palace at Caserta, the immense south façade of which is about 280 yards long and shows over two hundred windows and portals, many of them flanked by classic piers and columns. The interior, with its magnificent marble staircase and its vast walls, is exceedingly impressive. The very extensive parks with their wondrous cascades and fountains and aqueducts make Caserta almost a successful rival of Versailles, and Vanvitelli's fountain statuary shows that he had audacity and vigour, if not the gifts of a great sculptor. Before this great undertaking, Vanvitelli had already distinguished himself at Rome. When only twenty-six years of age he had been made architect of St Peter's. At Naples, in 1757, he rebuilt the church of the Annunziata, the burial-place of the notorious Queen Joanna II.

¹ Thus the interior, with its various storeys, etc., is often planned independently of the external Classical architecture, and has to be forcibly and awkwardly adapted to it—a state of things noticeable in many modern Gothic and Classical houses and public buildings.

ARCHITECTURE

A contemporary of Vanvitelli was the Florentine Ferdinando Fuga (1699–1780), whose chief work was the Palazzo della Consulta at Rome, a building of the same type as the far greater Caserta Palace. He also built the grandiose façade of S. Maria Maggiore, a revival of Michelangelesque Renaissance style. Then, at Milan — a stronghold of Neo-Classicism — we have the prolific architect Giuseppe Piermarini (1734–1808), whom the Archduke Ferdinand employed on many public works, one of which was the Scala Theatre and another the reconstruction of the Visconti Palace, now the Palazzo Reale. He also built the great and dignified Castello at Monza, which has Neo-Classic features. At Milan we have also, in the Napoleonic era, Zanoia and Cagnola, the former of whom built the great Neo-Classic Porta Nuova and the latter the Arco della Pace, both imitations of Roman triumphal arches. Later (*d.* 1852) we have Amati, who erected the Neo-Classic Milanese church of S. Carlo Borromeo, an imitation of the Pantheon, as was Erlach's earlier Karlskirche at Vienna (Fig. 310).

Besides the very numerous Neo-Classic buildings of the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, we find in Italy many revivals of the Classical Renaissance style, Michelangelesque and Palladian, of which the great Palazzo Braschi at Rome, celebrated for its splendid marble staircase, may be taken as an example.¹ And contemporaneously with these imitations of ancient architecture there arose, gradually ousting Classicism from its supremacy, a style that imitated, more or less closely, medieval architecture (Romanesque and Gothic), and called itself the Romantic style. (Of imitated Romanesque a fine late example is the Immacolata church at Genoa, built by Dufour, and of imitated Gothic a very pleasing late specimen is the Palazzo del Governo of the little republic of San Marino, built by Azzurri and inaugurated by the poet Carducci.)

Finally imitation no longer limited itself to one style. As Italian painters had done in earlier days, Italian architects of the nineteenth century sought to combine into a

¹ Built by Morelli about 1795. Against the north-west corner stands the famous *Pasquino*.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

living whole, by some Promethean act of creation, whatever in any former styles took their fancy. This modern eclecticism, like that of the post-Renaissance painters, has at times produced work that merits respect and admiration—work often possessing impressive vastness, massive solidity, and practical possibilities which in these days of ours may perhaps compensate for the lack of qualities essential for artistic architecture. Such a building is the mighty and unquestionably impressive Teatro Massimo at Palermo, the work of the architect Basile (*d.* 1891). Another dignified modern Italian structure of Renaissance type is the façade of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele at Milan, the work of Giuseppe Mengoni, who, while placing the last ornament on the great arch of the gallery, fell from the scaffold and was killed (1877).

Two huge edifices may end our scanty list of nineteenth-century Italian works of architecture. The one is the wondrous Mole Antonelliana at Turin, which is 536 feet high and contains under its pagoda-like dome a hall more than 300 feet in height. The other is Sacconi's vast Neo-Classical monument to Vittorio Emanuele on the Roman Capitol—about which it may be wiser to express no opinion as to whether it is, as some assert, the glory or, as others deem it, the eyesore of modern Rome.

CHAPTER II

SCULPTURE: SEICENTO AND LATER

WHEN we think of Italian sculpture the name of Michelangelo is apt to present itself to our minds as that of Italy's greatest sculptor; and doubtless in plastic potency he is the greatest. But the question sometimes forces itself upon us whether the Italian *ars statuaria* might not have attained a higher development if it had continued to be vitalized by the spirit of the Quattrocento sculptors—if Della Quercia, and Donatello, and the two great Della Robbias had found followers capable of establishing a powerful and lasting school of genuinely national sculpture such as might have drawn vigour from the discovery of ancient works of art instead of succumbing to the Classicism of the Renaissance.¹ Renaissance Classicism accepted as its ideal not the work of the greatest Greek era, but that of later, Hellenistic and Greek-Roman, sculpture; and this, having itself a strong tendency toward sensationalism, led to the exaggeration and the unrestraint of later Renaissance sculpture—seen even in the work of Michelangelo—the natural outcome of which was the barocco sculpture of the Seicento.

To a considerable extent the sculptor, if not himself a builder, had again become the *employé* of the architect. He was usually hired for the decoration of great buildings, or monuments, or fountains, and he naturally adapted his work not only to the exigencies of barocco buildings, but to those of grandiose tombs and fountains. In the case of tombs the depraved public taste demanded, instead of a

¹ Many fine ancient statues were discovered toward the end of the Quattrocento and at the beginning of the Cinquecento, after Donatello's death (1466) and Luca della Robbia's (1482). Gian da Bologna, though some fifty years younger than Michelangelo, seems rather to be a belated *quattrocentista* than a Classicist. But his influence was unproductive.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

solitary figure peacefully recumbent beneath its Gothic canopy or within its arched and curtained recess, a dramatically attitudinizing statue of the deceased, surrounded not seldom by a group of allegorical and other figures, which were made to display their various characters or emotions by all kinds of symbols and gestures. In fountains, instead of simple apparatus and rare and unobtrusive figures, such as may be seen in the exquisitely graceful *Fontana delle Tartarughe* (Tortoise Fountain) at Rome,¹ we begin to find not only gigantic statues of Neptune surrounded by Tritons and sea-goddesses (as in Ammanati's big fountain at Florence), but whole herds of sea-deities and prancing sea-horses—reproductions in marble and on a vast scale of such frescos as the *Triumph of Galatea*.²

The results of such influences are very conspicuous in the comparatively few attempts made in Italy during the Seicento and Settecento to produce independent works of statuary art. In the so-called pictorial sculpture³ of this age of barocco the essential characteristics of great sculpture are entirely wanting, and the principles which Lessing later formulated in his celebrated treatise on the *Laocoön*, but which all the greatest sculptors of ancient Greece had instinctively followed, are openly defied. Instead of momentary pause, self-restraint, equipoise, and concentration of energy, one finds all in motion; indeed, one finds not seldom convulsive agitation and theatrical attitudinizing, while symbolism and allegory, so rarely and so delicately used in ancient sculpture, sometimes produce the most ludicrous effects.

As a great architect we already know Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini; as a sculptor he was perhaps still more eminent; and he was also notable as a portrait-painter; however much, therefore, we may lament the general results of his

¹ Perhaps designed by Raphael.

² The fashion of adorning fountains and cascades with groups of figures perhaps reached its climax in Vanvitelli's work at Caserta (see p. 102 and Fig. 87).

³ Bernini is said to have given the palm to painting as the more expressive of the two arts, and to have endeavoured to compete with it in his sculpture (Natali and Vitelli). The *facilis descensus* toward pictorial sculpture is noticeable even in Ghiberti's famous second bronze door of the Florentine Baptistery, designed in 1425.



86. FONTANA DEI QUATTRO FIUMI

By Bernini

Rome, Piazza Navona



87. THE CASCADES AT CASERTA

Designed by Vanvitelli

Photos Brogi



89. S. TERESA

By Bernini

Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria

Photo Brogi



88. APOLLO AND DAPHNE

By Bernini

Rome, Villa Borghese

Photo Brogi

SCULPTURE

influence, it is impossible to deny the vast importance of one who by force of genius thus dominated the artistic world of Italy during a great part of his long life of over eighty years (1598–1680). By a famous Seicento writer on art (Fulvio Testi) he is extolled as *il Michelangelo del nostro secolo*; and in what I have called ‘plastic potency’—that mastery over material which allows a man to body forth his idea with ease in a solid form—he is certainly worthy to be named with the great Florentine, while also as architect he is comparable with him. Nor can we wonder that the Italian Ruskin, Pietro Selvatico,¹ after likening the vast and irresistible genius of Bernini to a devastating volcanic eruption, exclaims, ‘And yet . . . what might not Bernini have produced if he had lived in the days of Raphael !’

Pietro Bernini, the father of Giovanni Lorenzo, was a native of Sesto Fiorentino (near Florence), and was himself a painter and sculptor not unknown to fame, for he made the monument to Pope Clement VIII in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome.² His famous son was born at Naples, but the family settled at Rome, where, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, Lorenzo worked, both as architect and sculptor, during the pontificates of eight popes, by whom he was loaded with honours and constantly employed—except by Innocent X, who for some years patronized his rival, Borromini. By Louis XIV Bernini was summoned to Paris in order to build an east front to the Louvre; but he did not undertake the commission, for he found it advisable to leave the task to French architects, and it was accomplished by Claude Perrault.

In the Borghese Gallery (Rome) one may see the chief early sculptures of Bernini. To see them proves sometimes a revelation to one who has formed his opinion of the sculptor from his later work, and possibly from the work of his pupils. When still a mere boy Bernini had acquired a mastery like that of the youthful Michelangelo, and at this period of his life he was a zealous student of ancient sculpture, taking as his chief models the *Laocoön* and the Belvedere torso; he

¹ Selvatico published his big *Storia Estetico-critica delle Arti* at Venice in 1852–56.

² Said by Baedeker to have been made by ‘pupils of Bernini.’ But Clement VIII died in 1605, when Bernini was six years of age.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

was also a devoted admirer of Raphael, the most Greek, as he has been called, of all Italian painters. Such influences are easily recognizable in his *Aeneas*, his *David*, his *Rape of Proserpine*, and especially in his really beautiful *Apollo in Pursuit of Daphne*,¹ works that he produced, between his fifteenth and twenty-seventh year, for the founder of the Villa Borghese, Cardinal Scipio Borghese. His work during this early period of imitation proved Bernini's wonderful plastic power; but his genius, although too masterful to content itself with rivalling the ancients, did not possess the creative power which might have assimilated all that he had gained from the Greeks and have produced in a modern form something original and at the same time true to the principles of great sculpture. He unfortunately succumbed to the strong influences of his age, and the most famous work that he produced under these influences—a work in which, we are told by writers on art, 'the great Bernini for the first time displayed his full powers'—a work that aroused the admiration of former generations to the highest pitch of enthusiasm—shows how completely he had renounced the one essential characteristic of ancient sculpture. Instead of that dignified calm and that mastery over intense emotion or suffering which lends such wondrous nobility to the best Greek statues and reliefs, we find in Bernini's *S. Teresa* a woman overmastered by emotion and in a state of theatrical collapse, with hands and feet hanging powerless as she falls back in semi-conscious ecstasy, with half-closed eyes and parted, faintly smiling, lips, while a buxom, semi-nude boy, more like a Cupid than a cherub, points a golden arrow at her heart. Other works of Bernini show a similar display of erotic religious ecstasy (e.g., the *Beata Ludovica Albertoni* in S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome), from which we turn gladly to his fountain statuary, for although affected and theatrical it is at least more virile. The chief of the Roman fountains erected by him are the Tritone (1640), the Barcaccia (in the Piazza di Spagna), and two of the great fountains in the immense Piazza Navona (1647-52), namely

¹ The style is very Hellenistic in its gracefulness; but there is great charm in the beauty of the forms and features. The *Apollo* resembles the *Apollo del Belvedere*. His *S. Bibiana* (in the Roman church of that saint) is, although affected, another example of his earlier and less extravagant style.

SCULPTURE

the Moro and the Quattro Fiumi—the first so called from a statue of a Moor, and the second from its huge allegorical figures of the Danube, the Nile, the Ganges, and the Rio della Plata. Besides these the famous Fontana di Trevi, erected (about 1740) by Niccolò Salvi, was mainly due to a design by Bernini. (See Figs. 82, 86.)

In the latter half of his life Bernini was occupied to a considerable extent in helping the Roman pontiffs in their great counter-offensive against the Reformation. Perhaps the most successful of all the means devised by the papacy to regain its lost supremacy was a lavish exhibition of splendid ritual and court ceremonial and of all the magnificence in architecture and painting and sculpture that could be purchased by almost boundless wealth ; and it was inevitable that under the baneful influence of such motives and ideals the true nature of art should be ignored and that pompous display and grandiosity should be regarded as its sole end and object. The centre of all this splendour was of course Rome itself, and the ecclesiastical centre of Rome, and indeed of Roman Christendom, was St Peter's.

In 1633, when thirty-four years of age, Bernini, at the command of the Barberini pope, Urban VIII, designed the enormous bronzen tabernacle (90 feet high) over the high altar which stands beneath the mighty dome and directly above the tomb (*sarcophagus*) of St Peter. This baldacchino is supported by four immense spiral gilded columns. The bronze of which it consists was robbed from the Pantheon—a deed that Pasquino chastised with the stinging remark, *Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini*. Some years later he made the statue of Longinus—one of the four gigantic figures in the niches of the huge piers sustaining the dome ; then (c. 1664) the grandiose tomb of Urban VIII, with the undeniably fine figures of Justice and Charity ; then the equestrian monument to Constantine the Great ; then the colossal and theatrical bronzen figures of the four great Doctors of the Church that surround a bronzen throne inside of which is the wooden *cathedra* (bishop's chair) said to have been used by St Peter ; then, shortly after 1667, he erected the great and repulsively theatrical tomb of Pope Alexander VII ; and besides all these and many other works

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

of sculpture, he was at this time realizing his design of the vastest and most magnificent of his architectural works—the great colonnade of the Piazza di S. Pietro which has been described in the preceding chapter.

His portrait sculptures are sometimes of the most amazing realism—that realism which not only reproduces vividly form and features, but which presents character and personality. Such is the bust of Cardinal Scipio Borghese (founder of the Villa Borghese) and that (in the Florentine Bargello) of Costanza Bonarelli, the sculptor's faithless mistress.

But what is often regarded as the finest work of sculpture produced in Italy during this period was by a sculptor considerably older and shorter-lived than Bernini, namely Stefano Maderna (1571–1636). It is the statue of St Cecilia in the church dedicated to her in Rome (Trastevere). The posture of the recumbent figure, which lies on its right side and shows no conspicuous mark of the decapitation, is said to be that of the body of the saint when discovered in her sarcophagus (opened by order of Clement VIII in the year 1599). The reposeful absence of all dramatic sentimentality makes this work a very precious specimen of the period when barocco influences had already become powerful.

Alessandro Algardi (1592–1654) was a fairly successful rival of Bernini, but possessed none of his greater qualities. He was a native of Bologna, but worked mostly at Rome. The best known of his sculptures is the relief over the altar of Pope Leo the Great in which the dramatic meeting of Leo with Attila is represented. Although here the pontiff and the Hunnish king are on foot the relief is evidently inspired by Raphael's famous fresco.

Among Bernini's pupils were his brother and his son; but more important were those who executed many of his designs in connexion with St Peter's; e.g., some of the huge figures (SS. Longinus, Veronica, Helena, and Andrew) that adorn the great piers of the dome, and the equally gigantic statues of angels on the Bridge of S. Angelo, as well as the statues on the great colonnade of the Piazza. Of these pupils the best known, or least obscure, are Duquesnoy of Brussels (*Il Fiammingo*), Gian Lorenzo, Bolgi, and Francesco

SCULPTURE

Mocchi (a Tuscan). These all died twenty or thirty years before their master ; but his favourite pupil, with whom he worked much, Mattia de' Rossi, survived him fifteen years. In various Roman churches are to be seen independent works of some of these *bernineschi*, but they produced nothing of much artistic value—nothing so fine (for it is fine in spite of the theatrical agitation and affectation of the sculptures) as the huge monument to the Valier family in SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, which was mainly the work (*c.* 1700) of a Carrara artist, Francesco Baratta, a follower, but not a pupil, of Bernini.

It would not serve my purpose to give at all fully the names and works of the very numerous Italian sculptors of the eighteenth century. They are for the most part quite unimportant artistically, although they produced an immense number of architectural sculptures in connexion with churches¹ and palaces and public buildings, and not a few monumental statues, such as the celebrated, but distressingly unrestful, equestrian bronzes of the Farnese Dukes in the Piazza de' Cavalli at Piacenza—the work of the above-mentioned Francesco Mocchi.

I shall therefore limit myself to mentioning a few well-known products of this hopelessly degenerate period. Firstly, at Florence the school of Gian da Bologna (*d.* 1608) had long ago died out, and toward the end of the Seicento was succeeded by perhaps the feeblest and most commonplace of all the many barocco schools of sculpture. A certain Giovanni Battista Foggini (*d.* 1737) seems to have been greatly in vogue. His supreme effort was that monument to Galileo (*d.* 1642) in S. Croce which is perhaps the greatest eyesore in that building, not excepting the tomb of Machiavelli by Spinazzi, who late in the eighteenth century was summoned from Rome by Duke Leopold I to teach the art of sculpture in the newly founded Accademia. This tomb (erected more than 250 years after the death of Machiavelli) is interesting only as a proof that, although trained in the Berninesque school at Rome, Spinazzi had succumbed to the

¹ E.g., Milan Cathedral, the Certosa and the Duomo of Pavia, the Scalzi and Gesuiti at Venice, and many churches in Rome and Naples—and, as we shall see, S. Croce in Florence.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

new Classical reaction, which first became strong in the year 1784 (the very year when Spinazzi came to Florence) in consequence of the enormous effect produced by the monument of Clement XIV, the earliest important Classical work of Canova, then a young man of twenty-seven.

But before we leave the subject of late barocco sculpture let us note two specimens in which some of its most ridiculous and most vulgar characteristics are strikingly displayed. Naples, which had always been mainly dependent on extraneous art, after the influence of the Spanish-Neapolitan school had faded away, and before the rise of Neo-Classicism, became the home of some barocco sculptors of the worst type. Among these were Francesco Queirolo (*d.* 1762), a Ligurian, and Antonio Corradini, a Venetian. What were considered their masterpieces may be seen in S. Maria della Pietà, the chapel of the princely family of the Sangri of Sansevero. Corradini's contribution was a portrait statue of the Princess Cecilia represented as Pudicizia (Modesty or Shame), her naked body swathed from head to foot in a transparent veil, and Queirolo's was the portrait statue of her princely consort, in which he is represented (see the illustration) as a naked man trying to free himself, with the help of Cupid, from the toils of a huge net, which may symbolize vice or deceit.

The Neo-Classic Revival

Finally, I shall here very briefly consider, in connexion with sculpture, the Neo-Classic reaction which we have already noted in the case of architecture. This movement, which affected more or less all the chief artistic centres of Europe and produced an immense amount of frigid and worthless imitation, had nevertheless a profound and lasting effect so far as it revived a sincere admiration for what is eternally true and beautiful; and its energy, though slackened, has by no means ceased, in spite of all the counter-influences of Romanticism and Pre-Raphaelitism and of Neo-Gothic and other revivals and adaptations of medieval styles, and in spite of all the eccentricities and extravagances which have brought about a general disintegration of European



91. IL DISINGANNO

Love delivers from Deceit (?). By Queirolo. See p. 112

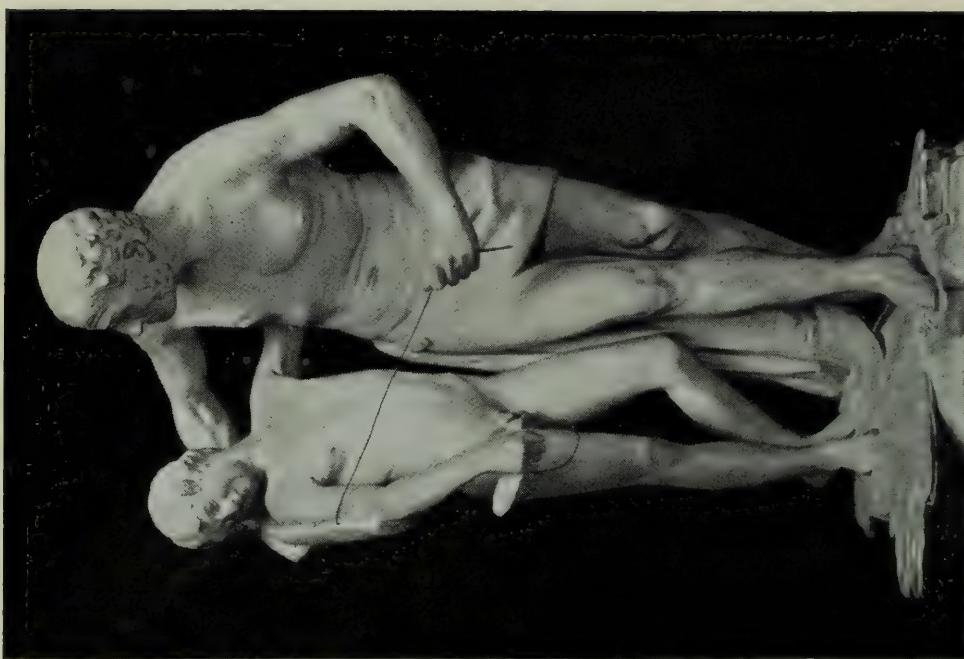
Photo Brogi



90. MODESTY (?)

By Corradini. See p. 112

Photo Brogi

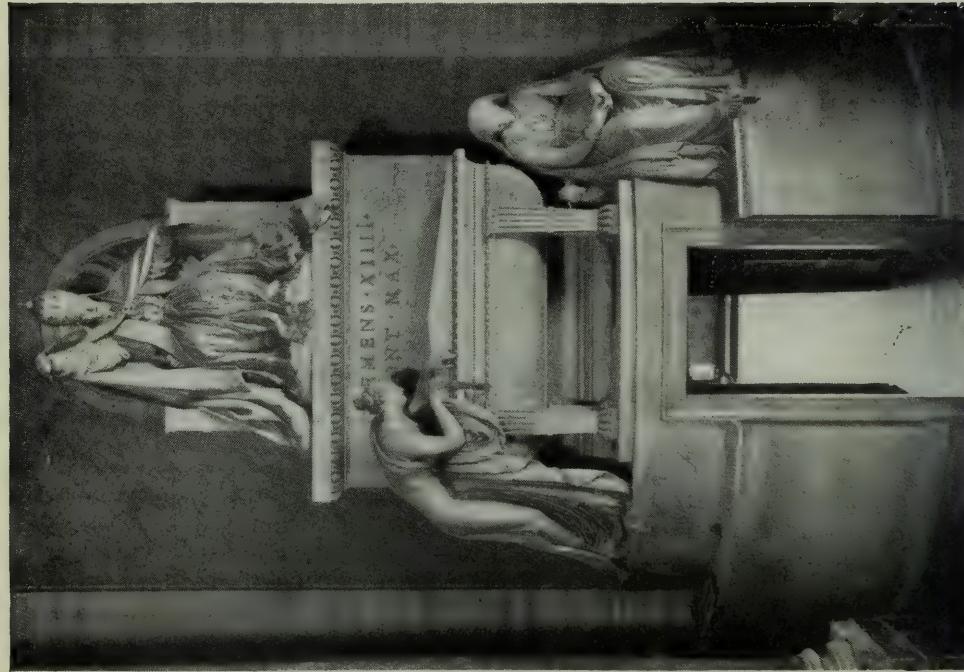


92. MONUMENT TO CLEMENT XIV

By Canova

Rome, Chiesa degli Apostoli

Photo Brogi



93. DAEDALUS AND ICARUS

By Canova

Venice, Accademia

Photo Alinari

SCULPTURE

art into innumerable schools and sects, many of which proclaim creeds of Athanasian exclusiveness. Disintegration may be a necessary phase in evolution, but, considering the scope of this book, I feel it to be advisable not to venture far beyond Canova, and to regard modern sculpture, as well as modern architecture and painting, as the art of a period of transition—the outcome of which art must be awaited before its value can be appreciated.¹

We have seen to what depths of absurdity Italian sculpture had sunk even by the middle of the eighteenth century. Just about the year in which Queirolo's ridiculous statue was produced Antonio Canova was born (1757). Even before this the reaction toward classic art had begun and had been forwarded by the excavations at Herculaneum and by the writings of Winckelmann. This reaction showed itself first, as we have seen, in architecture. Sculpture had almost ceased to exist as a fine art. It had become limited, says Cicognara (Canova's friend and biographer), to restorations and copies of ancient statues. The only signs that it gave of life seem to have been at Milan, where Giudici opened a school of sculpture, shortly before the foundation of the celebrated Accademia di Brera (1776), in which Giuseppe Franchi of Carrara, one of the first professors of sculpture, produced works in classic style.

Canova was born near Treviso and received at Venice his first instruction in the art from Torretti (b. 1743), one of those few sculptors of the late barocco era who, like Giudici of Milan, were beginning to grope their way somewhat timidly toward the light. At the age of twenty-one Canova modelled the fine group of *Daedalus and Icarus* (Accademia, Venice)—a work that one instinctively compares with the *Rape of Proserpine* and *Apollo in Pursuit of Daphne*, the youthful works of Bernini. But Bernini began with Classicism and ended by ignoring all the main principles that guided classic sculptors, whereas Canova began by producing a work of realistic inspiration, classical only in general conception and poise, and of such vigorous originality that one is fain to

¹ Hegel, in his *Philosophy of the Fine Arts*, stated his conviction that art had reached the end of its earthly existence. Such end, I believe, will never come as long as humanity exists. The principles underlying great art will doubtless sooner or later reassert themselves.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

believe that he might have proved a second Donatello and have founded a veritable Neo-Italian school of sculpture.

It was, they say, a Scotch painter—a certain Gavin Hamilton, resident in Rome—who, some two years later, taught him what in England the poet Pope was teaching his admiring readers, that to study Greek poetry and art was to study nature. Before long he had abandoned realism; his models were often given the bearing of Greek deities or demigods, and his portrait statues, like those of Roman-Greek art in the days of the emperors, endeavoured to present individual character in a heroic aspect. The work of Canova's that first secured him wide recognition and ensured the popularity of the new Classic style was his monument to Pope Clement XIV, erected (1784) in the Roman church of the Apostles. The enthusiasm aroused by it was something unknown in Rome since the days of Michelangelo; and certainly since Michelangelo's *Moses* no statue had been produced in Rome, or in Italy, comparable in grandeur and dignity to the figure of this pope, enthroned like a Pheidian Zeus and lifting his hand to give benediction.

Canova's works number about one hundred and seventy. Among his monuments are especially notable (1) that of Clement XIV, already mentioned; (2) that of Clement XIII in St Peter's—sometimes regarded as his masterpiece, but with allegorical figures which quite spoil the simple dignity of the kneeling pontiff and the emblematic Venetian lions; (3) that of Alfieri in S. Croce, Florence; (4) that of the Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria at Vienna, originally intended for Titian's monument in the Frari (Venice) and copied as a monument (in the Frari) to Canova himself; and (5) the reliefs in St Peter's (Rome) with portraits of 'King James III' of England and his sons.

Among his very numerous imitations of ancient work are his *Perseus* and his *Boxers* (placed in the 'Belvedere' of the Vatican when the *Apollo* and the *Laocoön* were carried off by Napoleon), his wondrously dramatic model of *Hercules hurling Lichas into the Sea* (Galleria Corsini, Rome), his *Hector and Ajax* (Accademia, Venice), his *Theseus and the Minotaur* (Vienna), and *The Three Graces* and the beautiful but hackneyed *Cupid and Psyche* (Petrograd), of which

SCULPTURE

latter the replica, perhaps by Canova's pupil Tadolini, in the Villa Carlotta, near the Lake of Como, is very well known.

Lastly, among his portrait statues are the great ones of Washington and Napoleon, both in the guise of ancient heroes or *Imperatores*.¹ In the Villa Borghese at Rome is the famous semi-nude reclining statue of Napoleon's sister, Paolina Borghese, who, as Venus Victrix, the Queen of Beauty, holds the golden apple in her hand (Fig. 96). The last of the numerous portraits carved by Canova was that of Pius VI, which was made for the monument of that pope (*d.* 1800) and erected in 1822, the year of the sculptor's death.

Canova's work has been, and still is, dismissed by many art critics as merely 'graceful'—as wanting in force and dignity. It is true that he approaches nearer to Praxiteles than to Pheidias, and that the fascinating beauty of form that he sometimes attains leaves him still at an immense distance from the creator of the *Cnidian Aphrodite*. There is also, in spite of its wondrous intensity, something almost vulgarly theatrical in his *Hercules and Lichas*, and something 'sham' in his *Boxers*—something that makes it differ essentially not only from every work of Myron and Polycleitus, but even from the late and restored *Wrestlers* of the Uffizi Gallery. And yet—what has modern art to show of more force and dignity than his *Clement XIV* or his *Napoleon*? What has it that more nobly than his monument in the Frari church presents the Christian idea of death in accordance with the immutable principles of Greek sculpture?

Canova died in 1822, aged sixty-five. Just about this time the young Géricault and the still younger Delacroix were giving the first clear signals for the battle between Romanticism and Classicism. This battle, never perhaps to be entirely won or lost, raged fiercely during the first half of the nineteenth century. Sculpture, as was natural, was less affected than painting and far less than literature by the new school, which, be it noted, not only proclaimed, as new schools generally do, a return to nature and 'truth' (that 'truth' which lies in the individual rather than in

¹ Of the *Napoleon* a fine bronze cast was (in 1857) placed in the *cortile* of the Palazzo Brera at Milan. The figure is 'as naked as the Borghese Mars.'

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

tradition and general consensus), but also raised the standard of medievalism—of the age of chivalry and feudalism and of Dante and the Italian epic poets—against the Classicism of the followers of David and of Canova.

The followers of Canova, though they produced an immense number of works, need not delay us long. I shall only mention briefly a few of them.

Thorwaldsen (1770–1844) was a Dane; but he lived for forty years at Rome, where his chief work was the monument to Pius VII in St Peter's. In the Villa Carlotta near the Lake of Como (mentioned in connexion with Canova) there are some fine reliefs by him representing the triumph of Alexander. At Lucerne there is, as all know, his dramatically expiring *Lion*—executed from a model made by the artist. At Copenhagen there is a large collection of his busts and reliefs and statues, many of them of classical subjects. (See Fig. 200.)

Stefano Ricci (professor of sculpture at the Florentine Accademia) was a doughty champion of Canovan principles, to the ascendency of which, however, he did not contribute by his very prosaic monument (in S. Croce) to the greatest poet of Italy. Tadolini I have already mentioned as perhaps having copied Canova's *Cupid and Psyche*. Fraccaroli, of Verona, who lived till 1882, fabricated Classical statues (a *Daedalus*, a *Wounded Achilles*, an *Eve*, etc.), now to be seen in the Gallery of Modern Art at Milan. Fedi, of Viterbo, produced the *Rape of Polyxena*, which was by the vote of the Florentines deemed worthy of being placed in the Loggia de' Lanzi side by side with sculptures by Donatello and Gian da Bologna.

Besides these there were very numerous sculptors—not only in Italy¹—who, irresistibly attracted by the charm of ancient (or, rather, Hellenistic and Roman-Greek) sculpture, turned to it instead of to nature. But, except in very rare cases, the results were superficial imitation and the production of mere prettiness² instead of beauty and of pomposity instead

¹ In France the chief Neo-Classical sculptors were Chaudet (d. 1810), Houdon (d. 1828), and Bosio (d. 1841); in Germany Rauch (d. 1857) and Rietschel (d. 1861); in England we had nothing much to show in this 'unhappy period,' as Sir Walter Armstrong calls it, except a Flaxman, a Chantrey, and a Gibson.

² 'Generalized form and commonplace rotundity,' says M. Hourticq. Well-nourished rotundity is, however, a characteristic of Greek sculpture. In Roman portrait sculpture one finds faces, such as Seneca's, which are anything but

SCULPTURE

of dignity and sublimity; so that the Romanticists had certainly some reason to ridicule the ignorance of structure shown in Neo-Classical work and to point out that Greek sculpture was no imitation, but an original product which derived its vitality from a profound study of the human body and human character. On the other hand, it must be allowed that the attacks and ridicule of the new school were much more justifiable, and proved much more successful, against Neo-Classical painting than against Neo-Classical sculpture. It was realized by the best sculptors of the new school, as it had been realized by those of early Gothic times, that the principles underlying Greek sculpture were permanently true, but many of them, while they retained these principles as axiomatic, at the same time accepted Romanticism in so far as it preached emancipation from imitative pedantry and in so far as it practised adaptation to the spirit of the age. A proof of such adaptation was the very large supply of more or less realistic portrait statues and busts which were produced to meet the ever greater demand caused by fashionable hero-worship—every town, great or small, being eager to erect monuments to its famous citizens.¹

The first really important Italian sculptor who revolted against the conventionality and ‘ prettiness ’ of the decadent Canovan school was Lorenzo Bartolini (1777–1850), of Savignano, near Florence. He was a blacksmith’s son, and began by working at alabaster *figurine*; but in time he found his way to Paris. Here, under David d’Angers, who, though ten years his junior, had already become famous for his skill in replacing works of sculpture destroyed during the Revolution, he became so expert that he was entrusted with supplying the bronze relief of Austerlitz on the Vendôme

rotund; but with rare exceptions, such as Verrocchio’s *David*, emaciation, or even meagre muscularity, was instinctively avoided by the best sculptors until the days of modern so-called Naturalistic sculpture, which courts only the *significant*, even in deformity. In this connexion it may be noted that in earlier Greek sculpture portraits were unknown, or exceedingly rare, and that when portraiture appeared, soon after the days of Pericles, it remained to a large extent non-realistic. Hellenistic art produced some splendid examples of what one might call half-realistic portraits, both in statuary and on coins (Demosthenes, Sophocles, Alexander). Roman plastic portraiture is often intensely realistic.

¹ This was the case, as we shall see, still more in France, especially after Napoleon’s wars, when innumerable statues and reliefs were produced in honour of the Grande Armée and its leaders.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

Column—on which Napoleon's victories were glorified. After Waterloo (1815) he returned to Florence. Although the influence of David d'Angers had imbued him deeply with Classicism, he had by this time become a convert to the more reasonable of the doctrines of the Naturalists, and henceforth advocated ever more strongly *il bello naturale* as against *il bello ideale*; and it must be allowed that some of his works, although formally Classical, have a charm that is not to be found in ordinary Neo-Classical products. Among these works of Bartolini are the beautiful group named *La Carità*, in the Pitti Gallery, and the recumbent figure of Countess Zamoyska in S. Croce. The well-known crouching female figure named *Fiducia in Dio* (Milan) is rather weakly sentimental, and the still better known Demidoff monument (Florence) is mainly interesting as exhibiting a rather queer medley of his two styles, the princely Russian philanthropist and the four attendant allegorical figures being robed in classic costume, while the reliefs on the pedestal show groups in ordinary nineteenth-century dress and figures treated with the contemptuous neglect in regard to form and modelling that, as a modern Naturalist, he affected in later life. So far, indeed, he went in his counter-offensive to the attacks of his late Neo-Classical colleagues that one of the models whom he specially recommended to his pupils at the Florentine Academy was a hunchback.

Bartolini could not practise fully what he preached—he had not the strong originality necessary for this; but his precepts seem to have been more successful, for three of his pupils became protagonists of the Classic-Romantics—that is, of the less extreme, reasonably Naturalistic reformers, who accepted classic and medieval and modern subjects with equal sympathy, but believed in the principles of Greek sculpture as axiomatic and refused to allow the new liberty to degenerate into anarchy.

One of these three, Marocchetti (1805–67), distinguished himself especially by his bronze equestrian statues, of which the finest is probably that of Duke Emmanuel Philibert, at Turin. He worked much in France and also in England. Specimens of his work are the equestrian statue of Richard Cœur-de-Lion in Palace Yard, Westminster, and that of

95. DYING NAPOLEON

By Vela
Versailles

Photo Giraudon



94. HERCULES AND LICHAS

By Canova
Rome

Photo Alinari





96. PAOLINA BORGHESE

By Canova

Rome, Villa Borghese



97. PIETÀ

By Giovanni Dupré

Photos Alinari

SCULPTURE

Wellington in front of the Royal Exchange in Glasgow. According to Dupré, who praised highly his dramatic effects, he was too rapid, and therefore inaccurate.

Giovanni Dupré of Siena (1817–82), the second of the trio, first gained notoriety by his *Cain and Abel* (Accademia, Florence), which was followed by his *Bacchant Priestess* and his *Sappho*. In 1867 his very finely conceived *Pietà* (a dead Christ half supported on his Mother's knees), which had been made for the Campo Santo of Siena (Fig. 97), was exhibited at Paris and gained the Grand Prix in competition with Vela's *Dying Napoleon*. Dupré's last work was a *St Francis* for the Duomo of Assisi—a statue that shows truly classical self-restraint and at the same time a most attractive naturalism.¹

Vincenzo Vela (1820–91), a Ticinese, produced a great number of works. (Casts of a hundred and fifty are to be seen in the villa which he inhabited at his native townlet, Lignoretto.) His style varied considerably. In his *Spartacus* (conceived, it is said, somewhat as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, amidst the ruins of the Colosseum) he gives us something impressively strong; later he adopted such subjects as *A Little Girl with a Little Cat on her Lap*. Luckily he returned to his earlier style, and executed many fine monuments (Turin, Milan, Stresa, etc.). In 1867 his *Dying Napoleon*, exhibited in Paris, produced a great impression. This statue (now at Versailles) shows Napoleon propped up by pillows in an armchair and gazing with sunken eyes into the realm of the past, while on his knees, escaping from the feeble grasp of his almost powerless hand, lies a tattered paper—perhaps the plan of his last great battle (Fig. 95). The contrast between this *Napoleon* and the nude, Mars-like *Napoleon* of Canova (mentioned earlier in this chapter) shows us better than any words can do the difference between the two main tendencies of Italian sculpture during the middle period of the nineteenth century. These rival tendencies will be easier to describe when we come to French sculpture,

¹ Assisi also possesses (Piazza S. Rufino) a fine bronze copy of the original. Dupré's *Giotto* is one of the best of the many (anything but first-rate) statues that fill the external niches of the porticos of the Uffizi, Florence. These statues of Tuscan celebrities (mostly by Bartolini, Fedi, Dupré, and other Tuscan sculptors of this period) were erected between 1842 and 1856.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

seeing that it was in France especially that the struggle between the Neo-Classical and Romantic schools took place. It will suffice here to note that the difference was by no means merely that which might seem to be implied by the names. It lay far deeper than in the choice of medieval or modern subjects by the Romantic school instead of classical subjects, or in the adoption of a realistic instead of a classical treatment in regard to vesture, attitude, expression, and surroundings.

The aimed-at difference was fundamental. It was the difference between intimation and presentation. The object of the ancient Greek artist was to present in a plastic form, as nearly perfect as possible, the idea of beauty or grandeur that his imagination wished to body forth. And in order to produce a material form as perfect as possible he studied nature in what he believed to be its highest manifestation—namely the living body. His idealism thus led him to nature, and he was a naturalist in a far truer sense (as revering nature) than many who gave themselves that name—such as Caravaggio and his followers, or such as many of the modern self-styled school of Naturalistic art.

How the Romantic sculpture differed, in its underlying principles, from the Greek, and to a certain extent from the Neo-Classical, may be best understood perhaps by glancing for a moment at certain modern schools of sculpture, which, although they may derive some of their more violently self-assertive qualities from the old Burgundian school of Sluyter and his followers, are in the main rampant varieties of the Romantic school, and show the tendencies of that school in strong development. The merely *romantic* features of Romantic art—due to influences that culminated in Byronism and Wertherism and such-like manifestations—have passed away from sculpture almost entirely. They were superficial. What remains is the often passionate negation of principles which underlie the greatest sculpture that has existed on earth.

The modern artist of extreme type renounces still more than did the Romantic of the early nineteenth century, partly in despair and partly in scorn, the attempt to realize his ideal by elaborating as perfect a form as possible. His

SCULPTURE

object is to intimate this ideal, not to present it, and this he tries to effect by using his clay, or paint, or tones, or words with careless defiance of the laws that, so to speak, keep the spheres to their orbits in the universe of art and prevent the cosmos from relapsing into chaos. He utters himself—his inmost self—somewhat wildly and excitedly—in what he imagines to be an inspired Pythian ecstasy, hoping that amidst a thousand obscurities and absurdities some chance ‘lyric cry’ of his may strike a sympathetic chord and open up for somebody, perhaps, a vista into the infinite. The impossibility of ever thus realizing his ideal in any fairly intelligible form often fills the artist with despair,¹ and in some cases this despair makes him, as it were, turn iconoclast and scornfully denounce belief in form as idolatry. He announces himself as a believer in the direct communion, or even the identity, of the human spirit with the divine; he proclaims with Goethe that ‘all things temporal are but a vision,’ and as artist he uses the most unstable phenomena of the material and external world and the wildest emotions of humanity as means for intimating ‘the Idea.’ Thus, instead of concentration and self-restraint and classic calm in sculpture, we get effects of unrestrained passion and dissipations of energy, exhibited by writhings and violent muscular action²—attempts at intimation and self-expression foredoomed to failure in an art which possesses the limitations, as well as the advantages, of plastic presentment. Such a method may be, *mutatis mutandis*, used successfully in the special art of modern times—namely music; and it may sometimes prove successful in the case of poetry, and perhaps also in that of painting; but in the case of the plastic art it seems to defy the fundamental principles of the greatest sculpture that has existed on earth.

In his *Philosophy of the Fine Arts* Hegel intimates that art is born from the union of the human spirit with the

¹ In this connexion one may reread with interest Michelangelo’s celebrated sonnet (lxv) on the unsatisfying nature of the painter’s and the sculptor’s art. See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 574.

² As we saw was the case with the exaggerations and excrescences of flamboyant Gothic and rococo, the result of all this physical agitation has been to conceal vital form and thus to nullify beauty and meaning. Surely such an exhibition of excited muscularity as that given by the *Physical Energy* of Watts (in Kensington Gardens) reveals nothing that is really vital.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

earth spirit, and that the absurd attempt of the modern artist to evolve works of art out of his inner consciousness has already doomed the race of true artists to extinction. He gives us a picture of the human spirit hovering in loneliness, with its 'lyric cry of self-expression,' over the waters of a world no longer objectively real to the artist, and therefore relapsing into chaos; and he predicts that art will ere long cease to exist as a ministrant to the spiritual wants of man. In agreement with an able expositor of Hegel's philosophy,¹ I believe this to be a 'far too sweeping prophecy of doom.' I confidently look forward to the passing of the present transition period and to the rebirth of great sculpture in some form adapted to the age, but conditioned by the immutable laws that govern imaginative creation in plastic art.

¹ See leading article of the *Times Literary Supplement*, October 21, 1920, by T. W. Rolleston.

CHAPTER III

PAINTING: SEICENTO AND LATER

IN the chapter on Cinquecento painting it has been shown how after the death of Raphael in 1520, and still more after the sack of Rome in 1527, his numerous pupils and followers, among whom Giulio Romano was especially notable, spread the influence of his style to other Italian cities. Now Raphael himself had been strongly affected by the powerful influence of Michelangelo's wondrous Sistine Chapel ceiling-frescos; and, after 1534, the *Last Judgment* so paralysed all originality in Italian painting that at such centres as Rome and Florence (Venice still possessing great and original painters) there was for a considerable time no artist who was not a somewhat feeble 'Mannerist'—adopting the late Raphaelesque, or the purely Michelangelesque, manner, and exaggerating the 'muscularity' of these masters to such an extent that the muscles were marked almost as prominently in repose as in violent action and in young and delicate bodies as in Herculean frames.

Sculpture suffered a still longer and more serious relapse than did painting. Between the last important work of Michelangelo and the coming of Bernini, say during half a century, there was scarcely any Italian sculptor worth mentioning, whereas only about fifteen years after Michelangelo's death painting proved its vitality by producing the antagonistic schools of the Eclectics and the Naturalists.

The Eclectics and the Naturalists

The Eclectic (Selective) school was founded at Bologna by Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619). At Bologna the manner of Francia and Raphael had been continued by Bagnacavallo (a disciple of Francia's who had succumbed to Raphaelism) and by Prospero Fontana and his daughter

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

Lavinia, followers of Giulio Romano, as well as by the Ferrarese Dosso Dossi. Lodovico was a pupil of Fontana's, and also went to Venice to study under Tintoretto. Being more of a zealot than a gifted painter, and having been, it is said, rejected by Tintoretto for want of talent, he devoted himself to the study of the great masters and founded an academy at Bologna in which to train artists in anatomy, perspective, composition, and drawing from living models and ancient sculptures—such training being in his opinion necessary in order to combat the ever-increasing charlatanry of the Mannerists. But while he preached a return to nature and a study of the living model he adopted in practice a method which might seem almost identical with that of his adversaries, except that they copied the manner of some one great painter and he adopted whatever technical and imaginative excellencies he deemed to be best wherever he found them. Theoretically, a great artist, or poet, is a creator; but even Raphael and Shakespeare were assimilators and re-creators as well as much else, and from this point of view we might class them among the Eclectics. There is a vast difference between servile imitation, such as that denounced by Leonardo da Vinci and practised by the Mannerists, and the selective method adopted by the Carracci. In the latter the possibility of art-creation is not excluded. The question is whether these Eclectics did, or did not, make any use of such possibility. The fact that they insisted, no less than the so-called Naturalists, on a study of nature may raise our expectations. Whether after patiently examining their productions we find our expectations fulfilled is not easy to say.

Lodovico Carracci was evidently greater as a teacher than as an artist. Most of his paintings are at Bologna. They offer us graceful and dignified figures, many of which recall Raphael or Correggio, but there is seldom any sign of that *tertia vis*, so to speak, which combines such elements into an artistic whole.¹

Agostino and Annibale Carracci were induced by their

¹ E.g., the *Transfiguration*, *Birth of the Baptist*, *Madonna and St Jerome*, etc., in the Bologna gallery. Sometimes attributed to him, but probably painted by Annibale, is the very remarkable *Vergine in Gloria*, in the same gallery.



98. LA VERGINE IN GLORIA
By Lodovico or Annibale Carracci

Bologna, Pinacoteca

Photo Alinari



100. DEPOSITION, OR PIETÀ

By Ribera

Naples, Certosa di S. Martino

Photo Brogi

125



99. DEPOSIZIONE

By Caravaggio

Rome, Vatican

Photo Brogi

PAINTING

cousin Lodovico to join his academy and to help him in his crusade against the Mannerists. Agostino (1557–1601) devoted himself mainly to teaching,¹ but he painted some good pictures, one of which, the *Last Communion of St Jerome* (Bologna), is certainly fine and has acquired celebrity through the still more famous picture by Domenichino in the Vatican Gallery to which it supplied the motive.

Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) was brought up as a tailor and was inferior to his brother in education, but he was more gifted as an artist and showed what one may perhaps call Promethean power in combining diverse elements into an organic whole. In the *Vergine in Gloria*, painted, as I have said, more probably by him than by Lodovico, the Virgin recalls Raphael, the Child and the Baptist are in the manner of Correggio, and other figures in that of Parmigianino (Francesco Mazzola, the best disciple of Correggio) and Titian; but the picture possesses far more unity than one would believe to be possible. In the Louvre there are some really fine works by him—a *Pietà* (the Christ lying on his Mother's knees, as in Michelangelo's marble in St Peter's), a *Resurrection*, a *Madonna appearing to St Luke and St Catharine*, and the *Madonna of the Cherry*. Besides his many easel-works he has left powerfully designed frescos, such as those of mythological subjects (Ovidian amours of the gods) that adorn the ceiling of the Farnese Palace at Rome. In these he was doubtless inspired by Raphael's *Galatea* and *Cupid and Psyche* in the Villa Farnesina, and his work probably inspired the celebrated *Aurora* of Guido Reni in the Palazzo Rospigliosi. Lastly, Annibale introduces in some of his less dramatic pictures, such as the *Concert on the Water* and *A Hunting Scene*, rather fine landscape, revealing Flemish and Titianesque influences; and he is perhaps the first Italian who attempted pure landscape. To these attempts we are probably indebted for the

¹ He also occupied himself with engraving and with verse-making, a specimen of which we have in a sonnet (evidently meant for a skit) in which he tells us that he who would be a good painter must master Roman design, Venetian movement and shading, Lombard colouring, the *terribil via* of Michelangelo, the natural truth of Titian, the 'sweet sovran grace' of Correggio, the symmetry of Raphael, and so on; 'but,' he adds, 'it would save him all this study and toil' if he simply imitated the work of 'our friend, little Nicholas'—an obscure pupil of Giulio Romano who worked at Fontainebleau.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

development of landscape-painting in a certain direction by Poussin, who, being an ardent lover of Rome and her antiquities and also of nature, created that combination of classic subject and splendid natural environment which is sometimes called 'historic' landscape. Thus we may regard Annibale Carracci as one of the founders of modern landscape-painting and an indirect progenitor of Turner and Corot.¹

Before passing on to Guido Reni, Domenichino, and other distinguished followers of the Carracci, let us here note an early and most redoubtable adversary of the Mannerists and Eclectics, the protagonist of that coarsely realistic school of so-called *naturalisti* by whom, through Ribera, not only the Spanish-Neapolitan painters but also some of the French school were largely affected as regards both coarseness and 'tenebrosity.'

Michelangelo Amerighi (1569–1609) is known better as Caravaggio—the name of his birthplace, in Lombardy.² He began life as a mason, but became, almost self-taught, proficient in painting, and rather naturally adopted a principle exactly the reverse of that of the Mannerists and Eclectics, asserting that the study of the works of so-called great masters was always dangerous, and often fatal, to originality, and therefore to all true art. As shortly afterward Descartes did in philosophy, Caravaggio attempted to refound pictorial art on a natural basis, and he had recourse for his models not only to such society as Socrates frequented and Wordsworth eulogized, but to such criminal associates that he had to leave Rome, where he had settled, and to take refuge for a time in Sicily and Malta and Naples—where he was on intimate terms with that ferocious and murderous opponent of the Eclectics, the Spaniard Ribera.³ A striking

¹ This is true, although the scenery amidst which Poussin's classic figures are placed is itself classic, so to speak, and very different indeed from the fairyland scenery of even the most Classical of Turner's paintings.

² Not to be confounded, as sometimes happens, with that Polidoro (Caldara) da Caravaggio (d. 1543) who was a pupil of Raphael and founded a school at Naples.

³ Together with other unprincipled Neapolitan artists, Ribera (Lo Spagnolotto) formed a band of ruffians who, it is asserted by Lanzi and others, scared away from Naples by threats of murder Annibale Carracci and Guido Reni and Domenichino, and perhaps were guilty of Domenichino's death by poison on his return in 1641. For Ribera's *Pietà* see Fig. 100 and p. 133.



101. MADONNA DELLA PIETA

By Guido Reni

Bologna

Photo Anderson



102. AURORA

By Guido Reni

Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi

Photo Anderson



104. JUDITH
By Cristofano Allori

Florence, Pitti

Photo Brogi

127



103. VICTORIOUS SAMSON
By Guido Reni

Bologna

Photo Brogi

PAINTING

feature of Caravaggio's paintings, besides the coarseness of the types (*le caractère souligné jusqu'à la brutalité*, says Peyre), is the inky blackness of the background and of the deep shadows—a characteristic which is to be found also in Ribera and even in Guercino, that master of chiaroscuro who combined much that was admirable in the two great rival schools of Eclectics and Naturalists.

Two of Caravaggio's most characteristic works are the *Card-players* (Dresden) and the *Deposition from the Cross* (Vatican). In the first we have depicted with a skill equal to that of Velasquez himself the triumph of vulgarity and cunning, and in the second—though it is a picture of undeniable power and wonderful technique, and however much some may feel inclined to accept its realistic *vraisemblance* as more satisfactory than any imaginative version—there is something so unrefined and unspiritual, so hopelessly commonplace, in all the six faces and in the whole conception of the scene that most will find themselves ever more strongly repelled as they become familiar with the picture.

We must now revert to the school of the Eclectics, some of whom, before the rise of the Spanish-Neapolitan school, dominated public favour, especially at Rome and Bologna, to an extraordinary extent. The most notable of them were Guido Reni, Domenichino, and Guercino—the first two, in regard to poetic imagination, much greater artists than the Carracci.

Guido Reni (1574–1642) was a native of Bologna, but worked much at Rome. He became popular through the sentimental pathos with which he treated even such tragic subjects as that of Christ crowned with thorns; but, in spite of the honours and flattery showered upon him and his weakness for a gay life and gaming, he proved something far superior to a purveyor of fashionable ikons. When not thirty years of age he painted a fresco—the *Aurora*, on a ceiling of the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome—which at once placed him in the first rank of painters by the nobility of its conception and the harmony of its composition and colouring. The golden-haired Sun-god as seen against the gleaming sky of sunrise is a vision unforgettable, and the grouping and figures of the attendant Seasons make the picture worthy of

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

comparison with Raphael's *Galatea*. The Goddess of Dawn too is a noble figure, floating through the air before the sun chariot and strewing flowers down from the clouds upon the earth—a fancy perhaps suggested by words of Ariosto.¹

Another very fine work of Guido Reni—fine in conception, composition, drawing, colouring, and dignified restrained emotion—is his *Madonna della Pièta* at Bologna. At Bologna is also the very impressive *Victorious Samson* (drinking out of the jawbone of an ass), and a *Crucifixion*, and the much-admired *Massacre of the Innocents*. At Rome, besides the *Aurora*, are his *Martyrdom of St Peter* (Vatican), his fresco *The Life of St Andrew* (painted in competition with Domenichino) and a beautiful *Choir of Angels* in the church of S. Gregorio Magno, and the well-known, rather theatrical, *St Michael* in the church of the Cappuccini. By the way, tradition affirms that the somewhat feminine face of St Michael was a portrait of the ill-fated Beatrice Cenci, and that of the fiend, trampled upon by the Archangel, a portrait of Pope Clement VIII, the great enemy of the Cenci family. But this legend probably arose from a slight resemblance between Guido's St Michael and the famous portrait in the Barberini Gallery which was formerly wrongly believed to be by Guido and to represent Beatrice.

Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri) was the son of a Bologna bootmaker. He received his first lessons in painting from Calvaert, but he migrated (as did also Guido Reni and Albani) from the studio of this violent-tempered Fleming to that of the Carracci.² From them he perhaps acquired that reverence for what is great in the past which often accompanies true originality; but this cobbler's son possessed much that his far more literary teachers were unable to give him—a fact that will surely be admitted by every one who compares carefully his *Last Communion of St Jerome* with the painting (at Bologna) by Agostino Carracci from which the motive is borrowed. The wonderful grouping,

¹ *Orl. Fur.* xii, 68.

² Denis Calvaert, of Antwerp, was a fellow-pupil of Lodovico Carracci in the studio of Prospero Fontana at Bologna, and became as a teacher a great rival of Lodovico. Having found Domenichino copying an engraving by Agostino Carracci, he beat him unmercifully.

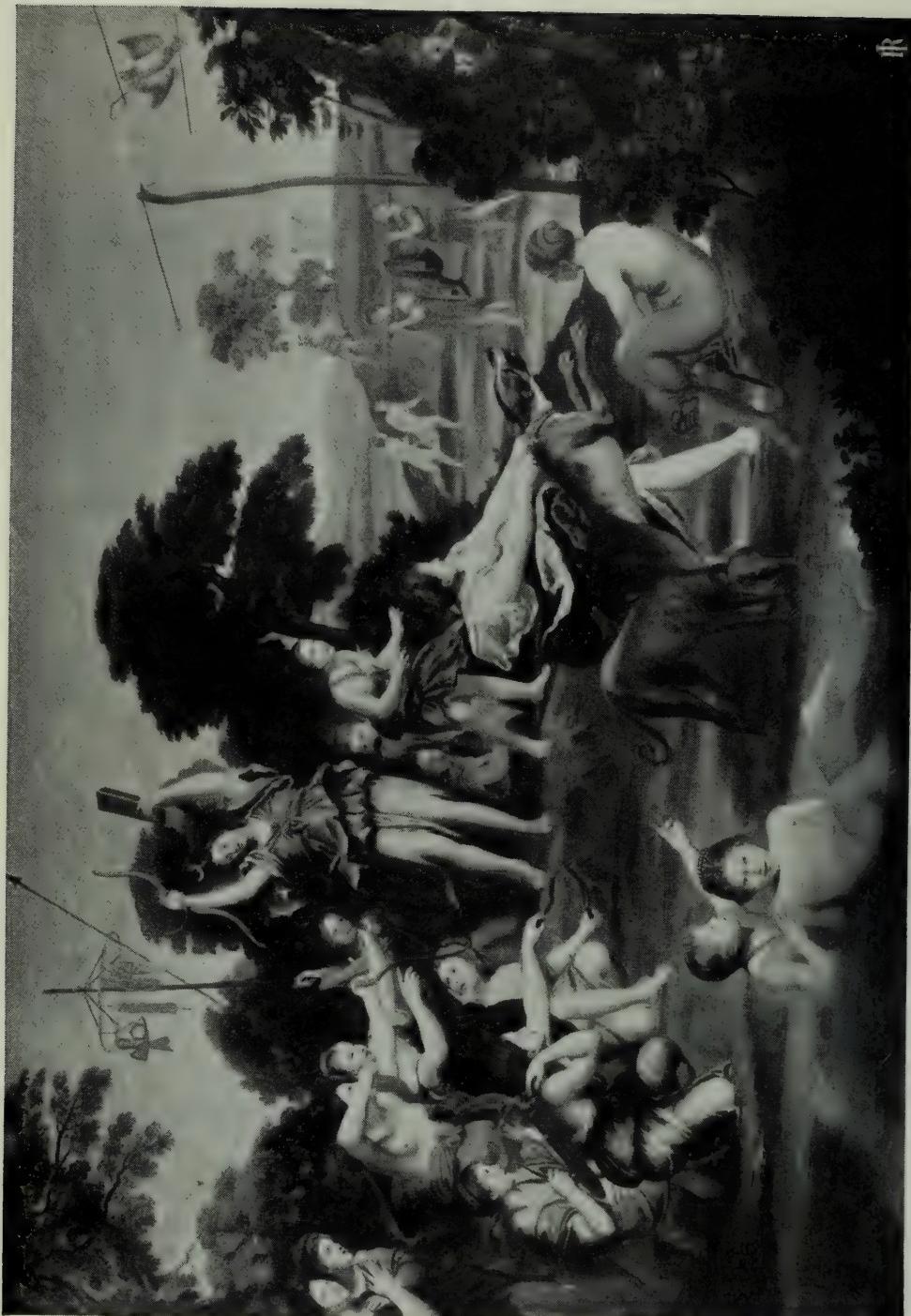


105. LAST COMMUNION OF ST JEROME

By Domenichino

Rome, Vatican

Photo Brogi



106. LA CACCIA DI DIANA

By Domenichino

Rome, Villa Borghese

PAINTING

and the dignity and beauty of many of the figures (especially the kneeling acolyte with his flaxen hair), and the charming winged *putti*, and the exquisite landscape in the background, all combine to make this picture a masterpiece of Italian art not unworthy of the place that was assigned it¹ close to Raphael's *Transfiguration* in the Vatican Gallery. Three works of his are at Bologna : the rather theatrical *Martyrdom of St Agnes*, the *Madonna of the Rosary*, and the *Death of St Peter Martyr* (of Verona)—the last evidently inspired by Titian's celebrated picture which was destroyed by fire at Venice some fifty-four years ago. At Rome, besides his great picture in the Vatican, there are fine frescos by him of the life of St Cecilia in the barocco church of Saint-Louis des Français, an *Assumption* in the cupola of S. Maria in Trastevere, in that of S. Andrea della Valle *Evangelists* and a *Life of St Andrew*, and in S. Pietro in Vincoli the *Liberation of St Peter from Prison*. In the ancient Greek abbey church of Grottaferrata, near Frascati, is a series of remarkable frescos (painted by him in 1610) representing episodes from the life of St Nilus, the founder of the convent.² In the Louvre there are several of his easel-paintings, of which a *St Cecilia* and a *David playing his Harp* are notable. Lastly, he has left also paintings of classical subjects. One of his most attractive pictures (in the Villa Borghese) is the so-called *Caccia di Diana*, in which the goddess and her nymphs are displaying their skill with the bow (Fig. 106). It was doubtless such Botticelli-like work of his, rather than the almost Michelangelesque frescos of St Andrew, that elicited Venturi's remark that Domenichino was 'a *quattrocentista* who had wandered into the Seicento.'

Among the numerous Bolognese painters contemporary with Guido Reni and Domenichino should be noted Tiarini and Albani. The former spent his long life (1577–1668) chiefly at Bologna, where he was for many years regarded as the principal artist in that city. His *Pietà* in the Bologna

¹ On account of Poussin's enthusiastic admiration, it is said. Note behind the dying saint the great flickering flame of the wax candle dying out on the top of its slightly oblique *stoppino*.

² In one of these we have the portraits of Guido Reni, Guercino, and Domenichino himself.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

gallery shows considerable skill in design and chiaroscuro, but is mechanical and theatrical. Albani, on the other hand, has been called the ‘Anacreon of painting.’ Without having possessed any great qualities, or having been even a minor luminary of either of the two great schools, he has left us some very charming pictures of a classical, mythological, and idyllic character, of which his *Dancing Cupids* (Brera) is a good example (Fig. 107). He lived for a time at Rome, but returned to Bologna, where several of his sacred paintings are to be seen (e.g., a *Baptism* and a *Madonna del Rosario*).

Guercino, or ‘the Squint-eyed,’ as Giovanni Barbieri (1590–1666) was called, began as an admirer, if not a pupil, of Lodovico Carracci, who, toward the end of his life, wrote of him as ‘a young man from Cento’—between Bologna and Ferrara—‘who is a great draughtsman and a very successful colourist.’ Later he became inclined to the violent contrasts of high light and inky shade which Caravaggio and his followers adopted, but in his luminous and pure colour he remained but little affected—thus avoiding the often very unnatural and unattractive black-and-white effects of the extreme *naturalisti* (and the equally unnatural and unattractive yellowish-brown monochrome effects of the Rembrandt school) but perhaps sinning no less against nature by forced combinations of bright hues and profound darkness, with but little attempt to graduate transitions by such modelling as that of Correggio. Among his best-known works are the *Death of Dido* (Spada Palace, Rome), the *Aurora* (in the garden-house of the demolished Villa Ludovisi, painted perhaps in rivalry of Guido’s far finer fresco in the Palazzo Rospigliosi), the melancholy *S. Petronilla* and the *Persian Sibyl* (Capitol), the *S. Margherita* in S. Pietro in Vincoli, *Prophets and Sibyls* in the cathedral of Piacenza, the *Samian Sibyl* (Uffizi), and the fresco of *Hercules and Antaeus* in the Palazzo Sampieri at Bologna. (Other frescos of the Hercules myth were already painted there by the three Carracci.) In the Brera Gallery (Milan) there is the well-painted but not attractive *Repudiation of Hagar*, and, lastly, at Fano, on the Adriatic, is the *Angelo Custode*, known to many through Browning’s poem.

Among the last Bolognese Eclectics of any importance



107. DANCING CUPIDS AND RAPE OF PROSERPINE

By Albani. *Milan, Brera*

Photo Brogi



108. SAMIAN SIBYL
By Guercino. Florence, Uffizi
Photo Brogi



109. POESIA
By Carlo Dolci. Florence, Corsini Gallery
Photo Brogi

PAINTING

were Cignani, noted for his graceful style, Grimaldi, who painted mostly landscape, and Elisabetta Sirani, a favourite pupil of Guido's, who was poisoned by rivals at twenty-five years of age. Her best work, a *St Anthony of Padua*, is to be seen at Bologna.

We now turn to Florence, where during the Seicento the Eclectic school exercised a strong though indirect influence and caused a decided revival of good painting after the dark period that followed the days of Vasari (*d.* 1574) and during the reigns of the earlier Medicean Grand Dukes.

Contemporary with the Carracci was Cardi (1559–1613), called Cigoli from his native place in Tuscany. Of his works are notable a *St Peter healing the Cripple* (Vatican) and a *Stoning of St Stephen* (Uffizi) and an *Ecce Homo* in the Pitti. About twenty years his junior was Cristofano (1577–1621), son of Alessandro Allori, whose splendid *Judith* (Fig. 104) all remember who know the Pitti Gallery. Contemporary with him was Matteo Rosselli, whose *Triumph of David* (Pitti) is much admired, and several of whose paintings are to be found in Florentine churches. (To be noted here is the Flemish artist Sustermans, who worked in Florence under the Grand Dukes of the middle and later Seicento and produced many fine portraits of Medicean and other celebrities. The best of these portraits have been transferred from the Medicean villa of Poggio a Caiano to the Palazzo Pitti.) The last Florentine painter of any note is Carlo Dolci (1616–1686). He was a pupil of Rosselli, but shows none of his vigour. His very nicely dressed and sweetly sentimental Madonnas and St Cecilias and the like have enjoyed in their time very great popularity, but they are now fallen on evil days and are perhaps too much scorned by the art critic and his *clientèle*. The *Poesia* of the Corsini Gallery at Florence is beautifully painted and possesses considerable beauty, if but little sign of intellect. Carlo was helped considerably in some of his pictures, we are told, by his daughter Agnese.

At Rome, where, as we have seen, some of the foremost early Bolognese Eclectics worked, the doctrines of the school were practised until the end of the seventeenth century by several zealous and industrious artists, among whom we

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

may note a disciple of Albani, the Roman Andrea Sacchi, and Giovanni Battista Salvi (1609–85), better known as Sassoferato, from his birthplace, a village between Ancona and Perugia. Sacchi's best work is an interesting picture (Vatican) of the dream in which S. Romualdo saw brethren of his reformed Benedictine Order (the monks of Camaldoli) ascending a kind of Jacob's ladder, clothed in white—a dream that made him change their habit from black to white. Sassoferato was a great ikon-painter—a specialist in Madonna pictures, many of which are to be seen in galleries and are often to be recognized at once by their conspicuous turquoise blues and chalky whites. It is seldom that any Madonna or other sacred person depicted by Sassoferato shows much sign of spirituality, the faces being usually devoid of character and sometimes quite commonplace; but now and then we are attracted by sweetness and gentleness, as, for instance, in the really beautiful *Madonna del Rosario* (in the church of S. Sabina on the Aventine), where the enthroned Virgin and Child with St Dominic and St Catharine form a very finely designed group, the floating cherubic heads and figures adding a piquant pre-Raphaelite feature to the picture.

The Spanish-Neapolitan School (c. 1610–73)

We have seen that Caravaggio, the founder of that Naturalist school which opposed the Eclectics of Bologna, was for a time at Naples and there became intimate with Ribera, the Spaniard (1588–1656). This painter (for whom see also Part III) was born near Valencia in Spain and seems to have been the pupil of the great Spanish artist Ribalta. Having come over to Italy, he studied at first the works of Tintoretto and Correggio; but his Spanish temperament, prone to horrors and excesses of emotion, induced him to become a follower of Caravaggio, that painter of violent contrasts of light and darkness and of 'character emphasized up to the verge of brutality.' In Naples, where he settled, he is said to have combined with other artists of his own nature, such as the Greek painter Corenzio, with the object of intimidating by threats and acts of violence all rival



I 10. MADONNA DEL ROSARIO

By Sassetta. Rome, S. Sabina

Photo Brogi



III. HARBOUR VIEW

By Salvator Rosa

Florence, Pitti
Photo Brogi

PAINTING

artists who should come to Naples, and, as we have seen, he was possibly an accomplice in Domenichino's murder. The nature of Lo Spagnoletto shows itself in his propensity toward gloomy and horrible subjects, such as ascetic bigots, martyrdoms, and the like. Nevertheless some of his works prove that he possessed poetic imagination of a high order and the power of attaining artistic self-restraint. His masterpiece is the wonderfully drawn and otherwise admirable *Deposition*, or *Pietà*, which, although different in design, shows a certain affinity in general conception and in technique to the somewhat declamatory *chef-d'œuvre* of Caravaggio, but surpasses it greatly in nobility of sentiment (Figs. 99, 100). Sometimes, moreover, he vouchsafes us glimpses of the happier side of human life. His *Jacob's Dream* (Madrid) is delightful.

Salvator Rosa (1615-73) was a man of extraordinary energy, enterprise, and strength of character—a lover of adventure, of action, of freedom—an outspoken despiser of luxury, superfluity, and the flummery and servility of court life. He was highly skilled in many accomplishments—in music, in verse and prose (as author of satires, plays, novels, etc.), in engraving, and especially in painting. As painter he was at first influenced by Caravaggio and Ribera, whose style and methods he adopted, choosing, however, historical rather than mythological and religious characters and scenes.¹ Of this period we have the gloomy *Oath-taking of the Catiline Conspirators* (Pitti). But he came under the influence of Falcone, below mentioned as a pupil of Ribera's, who struck out a new line as specialist in battle-scenes. (Some think it was Salvator himself who first suggested this new line; but Falcone knew battles by experience, having taken part in the Masaniello revolt.) Of Salvator's numerous and fine battle-pictures the great one in the Louvre is perhaps the most impressive. But the finest and most characteristic of his works are his landscapes, many of them of coast scenery with shipping, or of wild rocky scenes with magnificent forest vegetation—the haunts of bandits, with whom he is said to have associated himself

¹ Now and then he treats subjects such as *Christ and the Doctors* (Naples Museum) and other Scriptural scenes. Some of these, painted for S. Maria del Popolo, were carried off to the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

in order to study wild nature both in scenery and in human beings. In his letters he tells us that he loved *le divine solitudini*, and that 'every inhabited place was for him an eyesore.'

With Salvator Rosa the so-called Spanish-Neapolitan school may be considered to have ended. As a whole it had no special characteristics. Ribera is generally regarded as its chief representative, but the Spanish features of his work, derived from his Spanish nature and his early training in Spain under Ribalta, never mingled wholly with what was Italian—learned from Tintoretto and Caravaggio. He shows, also, little affinity to his so-called pupils¹ or other Neapolitan painters of this period, and none at all to the genuine Salvator Rosa, while Luca Giordano, the junior of Salvator by seventeen years, although he is generally classed with the followers of Ribera, developed into one of the most popular and prolific of those barocco fresco-painters who during the latter half of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth centuries, in alliance with late barocco architects, did their best to stifle all that was still vital in Italian art.

But in order to explain the origin and nature of this suffocating parasite of scenography, I must now go back to the days when Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio were in Rome, about the beginning of the Seicento.

The Barocco Decorators (c. 1600-1770)

It will be remembered that before Vignola built (in 1568) Il Gesù, the prototype of innumerable Jesuitic barocco churches, and even before the death of Michelangelo, the tendency toward over-decoration had become marked. It was felt to be necessary to fill blank spaces—ceilings and cupolas and walls—with niches and false windows and statues and (what was the easiest method) with paintings. The tendency toward colour ornamentation which is noticeable in Egyptian and other ancient architecture, and probably existed in Greece more than we are apt to believe, and produced the splendid mosaics of the basilican era, had

¹ Such as Falcone, who has left striking pictures of Naples during the plague and during the great Masaniello insurrection of 1647.

PAINTING

found but few possibilities of development in Gothic churches ; but the Renaissance favoured it and has left us magnificent decorative paintings, such as those of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, of the Stanze, and the Doges' Palace. Many of these Renaissance ceiling- and wall-paintings were splendid works of art set in a framework of wood or stucco. But in the barocco age the painting became more and more subservient to the architecture (a tendency already to be seen in Correggio's mighty fresco in the cathedral of Parma), until, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Italian pictorial art had almost entirely forgotten its higher functions and had become merely a gorgeously decorative helpmate of architecture.

One of the first of these facile and prolific decorators was a Florentine, Antonio Tempesta, who was at Rome about the beginning of the Seicento and painted in the Rospigliosi Palace the frescos illustrating Petrarcha's poem *The Triumphs of Love, Fame, and Death*. Some ten years later Cesari of Arpino, an obstinate opponent of the Carracci at Rome, produced a great deal of decorative work (as well as easel-pictures). Examples of his fresco-painting may be seen in S. Crisogono and in the Lateran church ; and at Naples, in the sacristy of the Certosa di S. Martino, is a very richly decorated ceiling. Then, somewhat later again, when Bernini was already establishing his supremacy both as a sculptor and as an architect,¹ there came to Rome a painter called Pietro Berrettini, known better as Cortona (the name of his native town). Favoured by Bernini, he was largely employed. In the upper storey of the Barberini Palace, which was completed by Bernini, there is a vast ceiling-painting by this prodigiously prolific decorator, who also, about 1640, furnished five of the saloons of the Pitti Palace (the picture gallery) at Florence with the great ceiling-pictures of classic mythological subjects from which they derive their names. Somewhat later again Bernini favoured a young Genoese painter—forty-two years his junior—named Gaulli, but known better as Baciccio. His chief work at Rome—one of the vastest of barocco ceiling-paintings—

¹ Bernini also drew and painted a great number of pictures, but did not, I think, attempt decorative fresco.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

is the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* that decorates the nave of Il Gesù, the cupola and choir of which church are also richly adorned by him.

Elsewhere in Italy during this period, and during a still later barocco period, there were many painters—calling themselves artists—who found it profitable to take to architectural decoration. To attempt to mention all would be to give a long catalogue of mere names and dates. As one approaches our own days the number of skilful daubers increases enormously, and selection becomes more and more difficult. Amongst many others one hears of Canuti (1620–84) and Franceschini (1648–1729) at Bologna, and of Bartolomeo Schidoni at Parma and Modena. At Genoa (full of barocco decorated architecture) there were followers of the early barocco painter Bernardo Castello (1557–1644), who has left frescos in which he depicted episodes from the *Gerusalemme* of his friend Tasso (*d.* 1595). Another very inventive and prolific Genoese fresco-painter was Ansaldo (1584–1634). Besides these decorators there were at Genoa also painters of easel-pictures, but they were mostly mere imitators of Florentine, Sienese, and Venetian masters.¹ Almost the only one who showed real independence was a Capuchin priest, Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644), whose work (portraiture and *genre*—e.g., the *Piper* in the Palazzo Rosso) is full of vigour.

But it was Rome which during the later part of the Seicento formed the great centre of barocco architecture and painting. In the chapter on the Italian architecture of this century I noted as one of the most extravagant constructors of barocco churches and chapels at Rome the priest Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), a native of Trento. It is said, perhaps with truth, that in his painting he was influenced by Rubens.² The photograph of a part of his masterpiece, the painted cupola of the church of S. Ignazio, will give an idea of his performances far better than any words can do. The central part is supposed to represent the reception of St Ignatius

¹ Rubens was for two years in Genoa (1606–8), and Van Dyck was there later, but the Genoese painters, except Strozzi, seem to have been callous to such influences.

² Natali and Vitelli say a 'disciple'—but he was born two years after the death of Rubens.



112. RECEPTION OF ST IGNATIUS LOYOLA INTO PARADISE

By Pozzo

Rome, S. Ignazio

Photo Alinari

136

113. PART OF CEILING-FRESCOS IN THE RICCIARDI PALACE, FLORENCE

By Luca Giordano
Photo Alinari



PAINTING

Loyola into Paradise, and at the four corners below are groups symbolizing the four quarters of the world. In the church a marble plate indicates the standpoint from which one may best view this amazing product of Jesuitic barocco scenography.

No less amazing and disconcerting are some of the productions of that Luca Giordano who (as already noted) is generally described as one of the latest artists of the Neapolitan school. It is true that he was a Neapolitan by birth, and it is just possible that he may have been a pupil of Ribera's, as some assert, but his real master was assuredly the popular decorator, employed with so great applause by Bernini, Berrettini (Cortona), whose work at Rome (in the Barberini Palace and elsewhere) he doubtless knew. And later he probably came under the influence of his two somewhat junior contemporaries, Baciccio and Pozzo, whose decorative paintings at Rome were regarded as such triumphs of pictorial art.

Giordano evidently made up his mind to outvie these rivals in rapidity of improvisation and execution if in nothing else. Such speed did this *fulmine della pittura* acquire that he could turn out a large altar-piece, it is said, in about a day. No wonder that he went by the name of Luca *fa presto*, and that wags described how, when his father called him down to dinner, he replied, 'Just one moment more! I have only to put in the twelve Apostles.'

Giordano's imitative talent was so extraordinary that he is said to have discomfited the experts of the day by his 'Raphaels' and 'Titians' in somewhat the same way as Michelangelo did with his modern-antique *Sleeping Cupid*. And certainly even a fairly expert amateur might forgive himself if he were, at first sight, to mistake some of Giordano's work (such as the really impressive *Nativity*, *Presentation*, and *Assumption of the Virgin* in S. Maria della Salute) for that of Titian or Veronese. But I think it not unfair to estimate his merits as artist rather by his original than by his imitative work, and for this reason I give a photograph of a part of some frescos in which his imagination evidently had full play, and in which he assuredly

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

excelled himself in the rôle of Luca *fa presto*. These, sometimes much admired, frescos are in the Riccardi (Medici) Palace at Florence. They were painted in 1684, during the reign of the Grand Duke Cosimo III; and the object of their Classical *Walpurgisnacht* phantasmagoria is to intimate the reception of the Medicean princes as Gods of Light amidst the deities of Olympus.¹

The next notable decorator was a much greater artist than Giordano or Pozzo. As he was a Venetian, and by more than half a century junior to these painters, it will be well to lead up to him by a few remarks on Venetian painting after Tintoretto, at whose death in 1594 the great Cinquecento school of painting may be said to have come to an end.

Perhaps, however, we may regard Palma Giovane, nicknamed Palmetta, as belonging to this school, for, although he lived until 1628 (being thus nearly contemporary with the Carracci), at Tintoretto's death he was already fifty years of age. His earlier paintings show considerable vigour in design and an almost Titianesque richness of colour, as may be seen in his five fine frescos in the Oratorio dei Crociferi (near the Jesuit church) and, less conspicuously, in his wall- and ceiling-paintings in the Doges' Palace (Sala del Senato and Sala del Maggior Consiglio). Later he gave up this successful 'mannerism' and took to the bold and rapid method of Tintoretto, which in the hands of any but a really great artist was bound to degenerate into slapdash negligence such as was displayed by Giordano and other so-called decorators.

Another whose imitative 'mannerism' was successful in keeping up for a time at Venice the traditions of the great Cinquecento school was Varotari (1590–1650), called Il Padovanino—*i.e.*, 'the little Paduan.' His *Rape of Proserpine*, in the Venetian Accademia, is powerful in design and fine in colour and chiaroscuro.

In this picture one can note the 'tenebrosity' newly introduced by the followers of Caravaggio, who had, as is the way with followers, exaggerated this characteristic

¹ Also in Spain numerous works of his may be seen—in the Escorial and the Madrid Palace and the Prado Museum. These works were mostly painted to the order of Charles II, the last of the Habsburg kings of Spain. Giordano left Spain on the ascension of the Bourbons in 1700 and died at Naples.

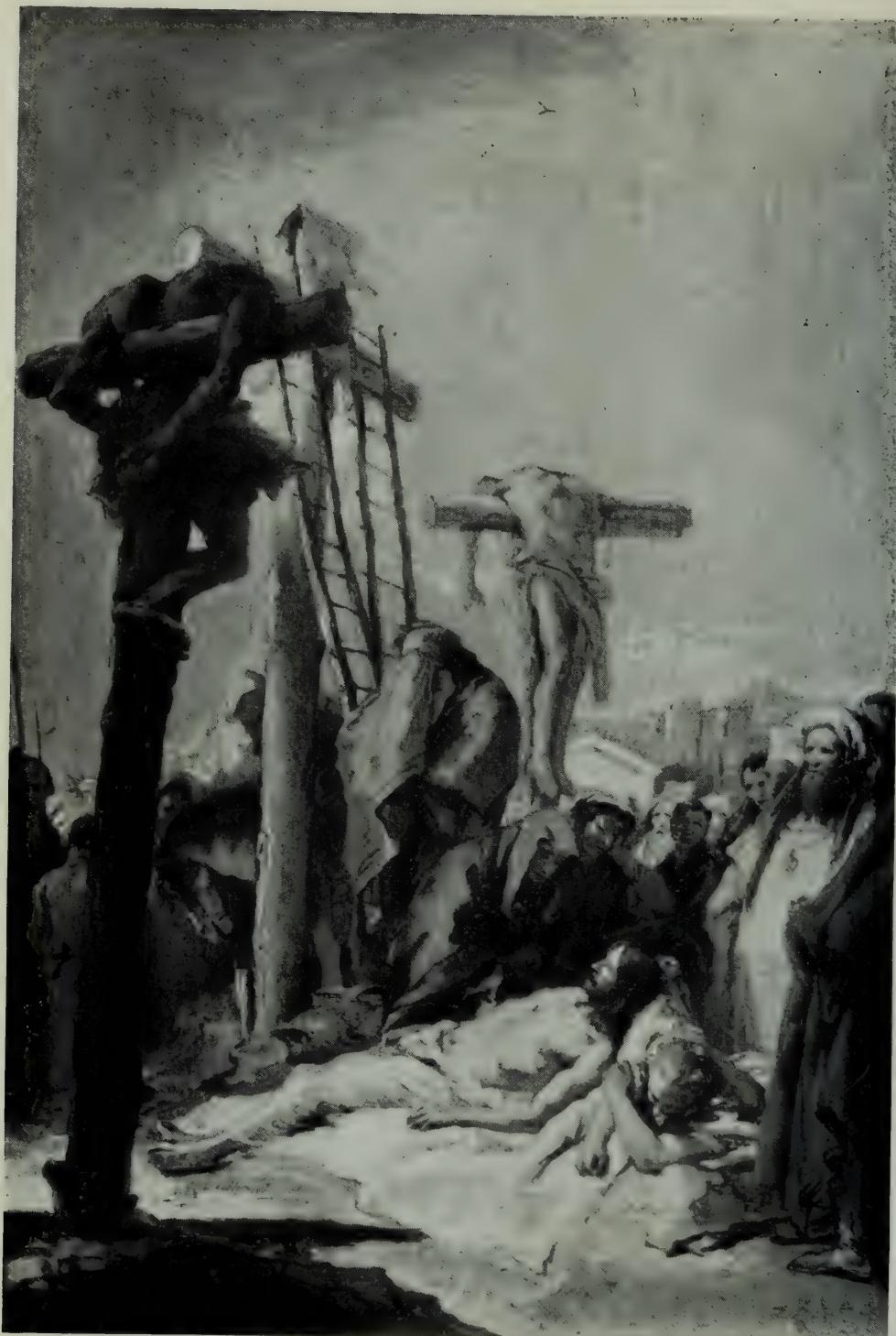


114. CLEOPATRA'S BANQUET

By Tiepolo

Venice, Palazzo Labia

Photo Alinari



115. CRUCIFIXION SCENE

By Tiepolo

London, National Gallery

PAINTING

of their master. This *scuola dei tenebrosi* held ground in Venice, for a time finding scarcely any rivals, seeing that all other painting had almost ceased to exist. One of the best of these *tenebrosi* is said to have been Piazzetta (1682–1754), whose *Madonna appearing to S. Filippo Neri* is in the Chiesa della Fava, at Venice.¹

But this tenebrosity amidst which Venetian art was fading away into total darkness was suddenly illumined by an afterglow. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770), a native of Venice, is, as artist, uncontestedly the greatest of the Italian barocco decorators. Many of his innumerable frescos may, it is true, be classed with those of Giordano and Pozzo. The vast *Glorification of the Pisani* at Strà² reminds one forcibly of the *Apotheosis of the Medici* in the Palazzo Riccardi, and the enormous cupola frescos (lately damaged by Austrian bombs) in the Scalzi church at Venice—*The Removal of the Virgin's House from Palestine to Loreto*—are not very far removed from Pozzo's cupola frescos in S. Ignazio. But Tiepolo was capable of far higher things. The *Cleopatra's Banquet* (in the Palazzo Labia, Venice) is surely, in regard to the architectural setting, and still more in regard to the dignity and beauty of the scene, equal to the best of Veronese's work; and the *Madonna Enthroned* (painted for the Jesuit church) is in design and execution, if not in nobility of inspiration, almost worthy of the great days of Venetian art.

Many of Tiepolo's works are to be seen in the churches and palaces of Venice,³ and other Italian cities possess pictures or frescos by him. At Padua are fine oil-paintings by him, e.g., the *Martyrdom of S. Agata*, in S. Antonio, and *St Patrick healing a Sick Man*, in the museum. At Milan (National History Museum) is his *Story of Esther*, and in the Palazzo Archinti his *Triumph of the Arts*. In the Villa

¹ A photograph of it is given by Natali and Vitelli.

² Strà is a few miles from Padua. The great Palazzo Pisani was built in 1740, and decorated by Tiepolo about 1755. 'Distinguished persons of the Pisani family are to be seen in the midst of allegorical figures of Peace, War, Faith, Hope, Charity, winged dragons, American Indians, etc.' (Natali and Vitelli).

³ One of the palaces that has a ceiling-fresco by him is the Rezzonico, in which Browning lived and died. In the Accademia is now the much-restored and theatrical ceiling-painting, *The Finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena*, formerly in the Gesuati.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

Valmarana, Vicenza, is a series of his frescos in which he gives us many scenes from the story of Troy and from Ariosto's *Orlando* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, etc. He also worked in foreign countries. At Würzburg (1753) he painted the ceiling of the Residenzschloss; at Madrid, whither he was summoned by Charles III in 1761, and where he spent the rest of his life, he decorated the Royal Palace; and numerous paintings of his are to be seen in the Prado and elsewhere in Spain. Also in France exist works of his such as the paintings on the great staircase at Ferrières. In our National Gallery there is his *Marriage of the Emperor Francis I*, and a *Crucifixion Scene* which is full of natural truth and nobility (Fig. 115). A small but interesting characteristic of his (one that is found in Shakespeare too) is his introduction of audacious anachronisms. Not only does he present us Cleopatra in the gorgeous costume of an eighteenth-century Venetian beauty, but he has even introduced into his picture of *Martyrdoms under Trajan* a Roman consul smoking a tobacco-pipe.

Italy, now hopelessly enslaved and impoverished, produced in the Settecento very little painting of artistic value except the works of Tiepolo. In Venice the so-called perspective style came into fashion. It had been practised at Rome by the Dutch artist Kaspar Vanvitelli (father of Luigi, the famous Neo-Classical architect), and his fine views of the Eternal City had inspired the Roman painter Giovanni Pannini; and doubtless from these sources came the inspiration that moved the Venetian Antonio Canale (Canaletto, d. 1768) to devote his talents to the by no means easy task of painting in infinite detail many of the countless picturesque scenes that Venice offers at every season and at every hour of the day.

A notable pupil of Canaletto's was Bernardo Bellotto, also known as Canaletto. He distinguished himself mainly by his views of Turin, which are to be seen in the picture gallery of that city. Less exact in drawing and detail, but capable of investing his Venetian views with an atmosphere of sentiment and poetry which is totally absent in the Canaletti, was Francesco Guardi (d. 1793). He introduced into his pictures a great deal of characteristic Venetian



116. THE PIAZZETTA, VENICE

By Canaletto. *Rome*

Photo Brogi



117. CHIRON AND THE YOUNG ACHILLES

By Batoni

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Alinari

PAINTING

life and has left some interesting pictures of Venetian festivities.

Thus did the splendours of the great school of Venetian painting fade away after the middle of the eighteenth century. Among some of the last faint gleams, besides the works of Canaletto and Guardi, may be mentioned the pictures and sketches of Venetian life by Pietro Longhi (1702–82), a friend of the poet Goldoni, and the pastel portraits of many European celebrities and Venetian beauties by Rosalba Carriera¹ of Chioggia, who died, blind and demented, at Venice in 1757.

There is but little to be said about Italian painting in the Neo-Classical era—the era in which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, Italy retained by means of the sculptor Canova (in spite of what Ruskin calls his ‘vile classicality’) that supremacy in European art circles which she had held for at least four centuries. The new revival of admiration for the incomparable beauty and dignity of ancient art was greatly due to the discovery at Herculaneum and Pompeii and elsewhere of Greek and Roman statues, reliefs, frescos, mosaics, vases, and other antiquities ; and naturally—as was the case also in the days of Niccolò Pisano and Giotto—sculpture gained from such discoveries, and from the revived love for the antique, immeasurably more than did pictorial art, seeing that almost all ancient paintings except those that decorated house-walls and vases had disappeared. In the Tuscan revival—that revival with which we associate chiefly the names of Niccolò and Giotto—pictorial art, as we have seen in the first volume, did not adopt a Neo-Classical style. The genius of Giotto and that of other Trecento artists guided it into paths that led to the glories of the era of the Quattrocento schools of genuine Italian painting, and during the High Renaissance these schools, led by the genius of Raphael and that of other great masters, resisted imitative Classicism far more successfully than did architecture. But in the late Seicento there was no Giotto or Raphael, and Italian painting died out ; for, perhaps fortunately, Italy did not then respond, as did France, to the enthusiasm of those who, having no ancient paintings at hand, imagined that

¹ More than a hundred of her works are in the Dresden Gallery.

ITALY: SEICENTO AND LATER

they were painting pictures inspired by the Greek spirit when they imitated, even in portraits, the motives, attitudes, and costumes (or nudities) of ancient statues, ignoring the fact that, although Greek painting was doubtless, like Greek poetry, in a certain sense sculpturesque, we may assume that the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* and the *Alexander* of Apelles differed from the *Cnidian Aphrodite* of Praxiteles and from the *Alexander* of Lysippus no less essentially than does the *Laocoön* of Virgil from the *Laocoön* of the three Rhodian sculptors.

While in France, during the later half of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries, the famous Neo-Classical painter Jacques-Louis David and his pupils and imitators were winning universal applause, and while, somewhat earlier, the German painter Raphael Mengs, inspired by Winckelmann and Lessing, was trying to inspire the Romans with an enthusiasm for what he fancied to have been the art of their ancestors and of the ancient Greeks, Italy supplied only two painters of any considerable importance. These two were Pompeo Batoni and Andrea Appiani.

Pompeo Batoni (1708–80) was a native of Lucca. He is usually classed as a Neo-Classical and almost of the same type as Raphael Mengs, whose Classicism was of the Teuton type—pedantic and graceless. But if one may judge from his admired *Reading Magdalene* in the Dresden Gallery—a picture full of somewhat voluptuous modern sentiment combined with almost Venetian colouring—and from his *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Rome), and even from his treatment of classical subjects, as seen in the *Young Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Uffizi), one would be inclined to place him among the classically inclined Naturalists; and it seems a fact that he by no means favoured the popularity of Mengs, who was his junior by twenty years. One of his, not numerous, paintings is the *Fall of Simon Magus*, in S. Maria degli Angeli, Rome.

Appiani (1754–1817) was, on the contrary, a thorough-going, grandiose Neo-Classical. His chief works are at and near Milan. In 1777 the architect Piermarini—who had worked under Vanvitelli in erecting the huge royal palace at Caserta (p. 102)—was summoned to Monza by the Archduke

PAINTING

Ferdinand, and built for him in Neo-Classical style the Palazzo della Villa Reale (a vast country residence standing in the midst of a fine 'English' park); and the young Appiani was employed to decorate it with Neo-Classical frescos—a task he accomplished so well that much work of the same kind fell to his lot, such as the decoration of the great Milanese Villa Belgioiosa (presented to Napoleon, and now the Villa Reale) and of the church S. Maria presso S. Celso; and in 1808 he executed his *chef-d'œuvre*, the *Apotheosis of Napoleon*, a great ceiling-fresco (Royal Palace, Milan) in which he, like many another Italian artist of that day, used his talents for the deification of the great Usurper.

Decorative fresco-work of this character was, as one might have expected, greatly in demand during the era of the Napoleonic 'Kingdom of Italy' and that of the subsequent Austrian supremacy in North Italy, and that of the 'Kingdom of Etruria' and the restored Grand Dukes of Tuscany. Apotheoses and such-like scenes of hero-glorification and epic grandeur were needed for royal and ducal palaces and other great buildings. There are good examples of such frescos on the ceilings and walls of various saloons of the Pitti Gallery, where, side by side with older paintings by Pietro da Cortona (contemporary and friend of Bernini), are to be seen a finely designed *Council of the Olympian Gods* by a Florentine, Luigi Sabatelli (1772–1850), and the *Marriage of Hercules and Hebe*—a very dignified composition—by his contemporary, Pietro Benvenuti of Arezzo, who also painted, about 1830, the interior of the dome of the chapel of the Medici princes (Cappella dei Principi) adjoining the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence.

Neo-Classicism died out slowly in Italy. The reaction of Purists and Naturalists and Realists was comparatively feeble and produced very little of true originality. To follow the evolution of the numerous modern Italian schools of painting, dating mostly from the epoch of the Risorgimento, does not lie within the compass of this book.

PART III

SPAIN (c. 1500-c. 1830)

CHAPTER I

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE (FROM 1500)

See Vol. I, pp. 270-275, 290-303, and Figs. 209-210, 238-240.

IN this chapter I shall consider in two sections the four different styles which are to be found, to some extent contemporaneously, in Spanish architecture from about 1500 onward—firstly Gothic, then the three Renaissance styles, viz., *plateresque*, the style of Herrera, and that of Churriguera (rococo). In the third section the sculpture of this period will be treated.

(a) Gothic

In the first volume some of the chief architectural monuments of Spain—Roman, Moorish, Romanesque, and Gothic—have been noted, and the account of Spanish Gothic architecture has been brought down to about 1500. It has been shown that long after the era of the early Italian Renaissance—the era of Brunelleschi and Alberti and of Bramante's Quattrocento work—at a time when in England Perpendicular was dominant and in France and Belgium the *flamboyant* was beginning to yield to Renaissance influence,¹ Spain continued to erect cathedrals in the earlier Gothic style, sometimes, as at Seville, affected by Arab influence, which did not become extinct for a considerable time after the expulsion of the Moors from their last stronghold in 1492.

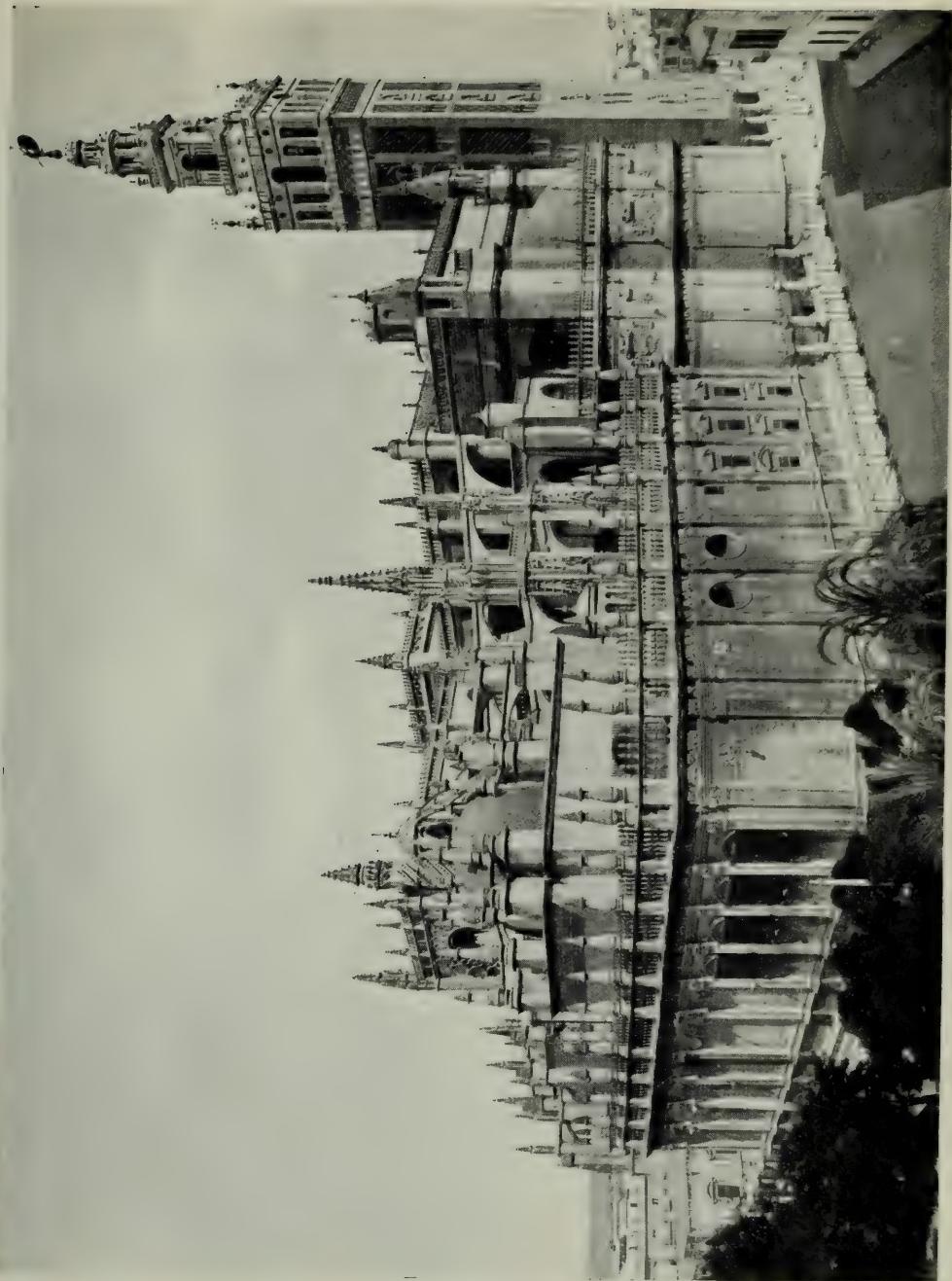
¹ In not a few French buildings (especially secular, such as the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris and the Palais de Justice at Rouen) we find about this time, viz., the end of the fifteenth century, a mixture of the Renaissance and the Pointed styles.

SPAIN

Some Gothic churches of Spain built during the fifteenth century were evidently designed by German architects. We hear, for instance, of a John of Cologne and his son Simon, who were employed at Burgos and in other Spanish cities. They seem to have imitated the Rhineland Gothic, such as that of Cologne and Strassburg, which was itself an imitation of that of Amiens and Reims, but had suffered considerably from later additions. The consequence was that certain Spanish churches built about the middle and toward the end of the fifteenth century show the refined features and graceful forms of early French Gothic decked out, so to speak, with unbecoming Germanic and *flamboyant* adornment.

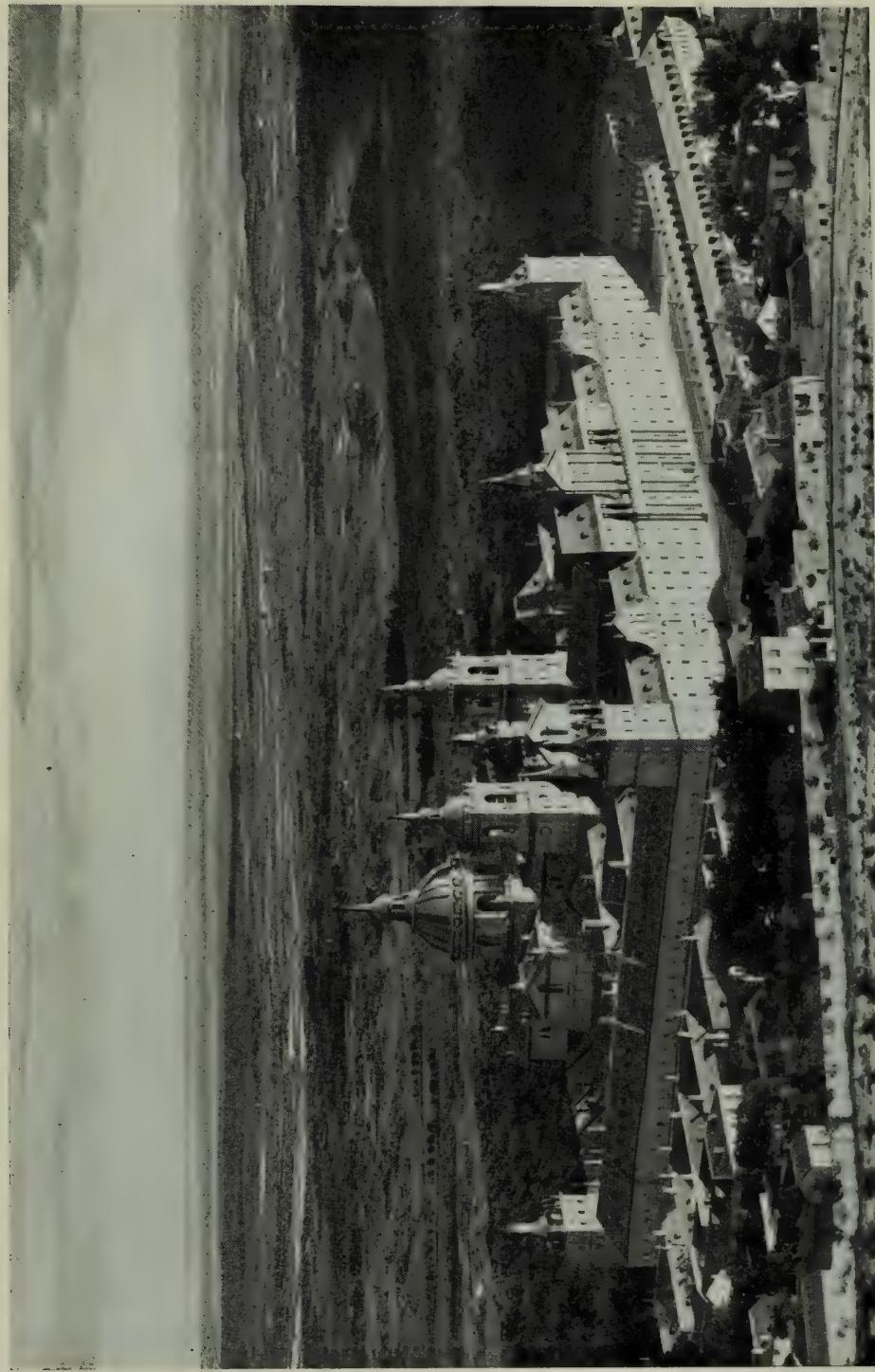
One of these was the vast cathedral of Seville, founded in 1402 and finished in 1506 (except for rebuildings made necessary by earthquakes in the nineteenth century). It was built on the site where once had stood a temple of Venus. The temple was converted into a Christian church (the Basilica de S. Vicente), and the church was used by the Moors when they constructed a great mosque on the model of that at Cordova. This first mosque was burnt down by the Normans; but another was erected by the Emir Yusuf in 1184, and when Seville was taken by the Christians under King St Ferdinand on December 22, 1248, this second mosque was transformed into a cathedral, Gothic chapels and choir, etc., being added. In the course of time, however, this building, which (to judge from its survivals, the Giralda and the Court of Oranges) must have been a splendid specimen of combined Moorish and Gothic architecture, fell into such disrepair that it was decided by the Chapter to demolish most of it and to build in its place another, 'so vast and so magnificent that coming ages will declare us mad for having undertaken it.'

Like several other great Spanish churches, this new cathedral of Seville—already mentioned in Vol. I—took so many years to build that it shows a considerable mixture of styles. Some parts of it are genuinely Moorish; others are fine specimens of that late Spanish Gothic which was contemporary with the Middle and later Italian Renaissance style, but which, as explained, was an imitation of the French



118. SEVILLE CATHEDRAL

Photo Anderson



119. THE ESCORIAL

Photo Anderson

ARCHITECTURE (FROM 1500)

Gothic of a much earlier date (fourteenth and even thirteenth centuries). Seville Cathedral is one of the greatest of Christian fanes. Its area (124,000 square feet) is half as great again as that of St Paul's and three-fourths that of St Peter's. Its nave-arches rise to 165 feet. They surpass those of Amiens Cathedral by the height of a house of three storeys, and, says Peyre, *la colonne Vendôme pourrait tourner autour de leurs piliers*.

Burgos Cathedral is also a huge edifice—‘a vast congeries,’ says Street, ‘of chapels in every style’—or, rather, a central building (nave and aisles and terminal Capilla Mayor) of Early Gothic, dating from the thirteenth century (founded 1221 by King St Ferdinand and Bishop Maurice, an Englishman), surrounded by about twenty chapels, some of great size, dating mostly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The two west towers were built, about 1450, by the aforementioned John of Cologne. They are surmounted by *flamboyant* crocketed spires—the general design being like that of Cologne Cathedral.

Also the present Toledo Cathedral, of ancient foundation, was begun by the royal St Ferdinand (1227), and took nearly three centuries to finish, so that it shows both Early and Late Gothic, Renaissance (*plateresque*), and the rococo style of Churriguera. Of its eight great portals some are fine specimens of the simpler earlier Gothic and others (especially the magnificent Puerta de los Leones) of the rich Late Gothic of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The chapels are smaller than those of Burgos but nearly twice as numerous. The whole is summed up by Street as ‘overbearing and flaunting’—‘magnificent but extravagant.’

At Salamanca we have in the Catedral Nueva, begun in 1509, a striking compound of Late Gothic, *plateresque*, and rococo. The building was not finished until the eighteenth century.

Segovia, famous for its great Roman aqueduct (the so-called Devil’s Bridge) and its fourteenth-century Alcazar (built in Moorish style), as well as for several ancient Romanesque churches, possesses also a cathedral which, although not founded till 1525, is far more characteristically Gothic than the Salamanca Cathedral, the general

SPAIN

design of which it imitates. It has very short transepts, and numerous chapels inserted between the flying buttresses; its east end, too, is composed of seven apsidal chapels.

The splendid cathedral of Granada was begun during the reign of the Emperor Charles V (in 1523—two years before the momentous battle of Pavia) as a memorial of the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella, who are entombed in an adjacent mausoleum—the somewhat older Capilla de los Reyes. It forms a link between Gothic, in which style it was begun, and Renaissance architecture. Interiorly it shows a fine Gothic nave and double aisles; but the piers are formed of clustered classic columns, and the magnificent Capilla Mayor, surrounded by ambulatory and a dozen radiating chapels, has, as has also the exterior of the building, many features borrowed from the High Renaissance architecture of the Cinquecento.¹

(b) Renaissance Styles (Plateresque, Herrera, Churriguera)

From 1500 onward there flourished in Spain a style of architecture which, from the rich and carefully chiselled surface ornamentation that usually accompanied it, was called *estilo plateresco*—a name expressive of its similarity to metal surface ornament.² The details in this architectural decoration are classic, but they are small and in low relief (says Sir Edmund Head), and are put together in a kind of arabesque which has a Gothic character. The main constructive principles of this *plateresque* architecture resemble those of Italian Cinquecento (High Renaissance) buildings, but in Spain it was the sculptural decoration that was regarded as the chief means for obtaining artistic effects, whereas in the best Renaissance edifices of the Cinquecento, such as those of Bramante and Jacopo Sansovino, it is the exquisite proportion of the parts of the building to each other and to the whole that lends the charm. Consequently

¹ Many of the sculptures and paintings of this cathedral are the work of that genius, Alonso Cano, who took refuge at Granada to escape from the charge of having killed his wife.

² *Plata* means silver (whence our 'plate'). One uses 'Renaissance' in connexion with this Spanish *plateresque* because the classical details in the decoration, and the old orders and other classical features in the architecture, were due to influences that came from Italy, where a true rebirth had taken place.

ARCHITECTURE (FROM 1500)

we shall find that while in Italy during this period genuine statuary attained a level perhaps never reached except by the ancient Greeks, in Spain sculpture was degraded more and more to a mere *ancilla* of architecture—so much so that Spanish sculpture and architecture during these centuries have to be treated as intimately connected.

Of this ‘Golden Age of ornamentation,’ as it has been called—first the period of Gothic *plateresque* (c. 1500–90) and then (c. 1590–1620) that of Italian—the most striking products are perhaps those façades of S. Gregorio and S. Pablo at Valladolid which I mentioned in my first volume and the vast choir and transept of Cordova Cathedral,¹ where, as in other great Spanish cathedrals (e.g., Salamanca and Granada), various styles are reflected. The most famous architect in the *plateresque* style is perhaps Alonso Berruguete, who was also a notable sculptor and painter and the chief agent in the diffusion of Italian taste in Spain.

Next we have, contemporary with *plateresque* and long surviving it (c. 1500–1750), a style which, anyhow in its principles, was of a nobler character, for its professed object was to attain beauty and grandeur, as Brunelleschi and Bramante and even Sansovino did, by constructive form rather than by rich and often worse than useless ornamentation. It also depended for its effects on vast size. This style, as practised in Spain, has received the name of the *estilo de Herrera*, from Juan Herrera (c. 1530–97), the architect of the Escorial, which we may take as our one great typical example.

This enormous building² was founded, and to a large

¹ This great *plateresque* choir, with its Capilla Mayor and transept, was erected (c. 1530–1600) with the approval of Charles V, who afterward repented of his mistake, saying that a great and unique monument (of Moorish art) had been destroyed. The magistracy of Cordova, wiser than Charles, had expressed its disapproval by threatening with death any who should take part in the building of the choir!

² It is said to have 2673 windows, 1200 doors, and 89 fountains. The general plan is popularly supposed to be that of the gridiron of St Lawrence, to whom the convent is dedicated. It was actually begun in 1563 and finished in 1584. It lies about thirty miles north-west of Madrid, on the slopes of the Sierra de Guadarrama. The name seems to be derived from the *scoriae* (refuse) of iron-mines in the vicinity. The old story of Philip's vowing during a battle to found the convent is unfounded. He was obliged by the will of Charles V (resigned in 1556, died 1558) to build a memorial church, and probably of his own accord added the huge monastery and royal residence.

SPAIN

extent designed, by Philip II—that prince whom we are, rightly enough, accustomed to regard with something like horror as a pitiless foe of religious and political liberty, but who must have possessed no mean knowledge and skill as architect and who was not only the creator of this vast edifice but by his liberal patronage began to make it a treasure-house of innumerable masterpieces of pictorial art, many of which have been transferred to Madrid.

The great church of the Escorial is in its general design and style like St Peter's at Rome. Its huge dome, topped by a pyramid bearing a mighty ball and a cross, rises to a height of 312 feet. The Panteon de los Reyes (Royal Mausoleum), under the high altar, contains the sarcophagi of many of the Spanish kings and queens. In the upper choir of the church is shown the seat in which Philip II was occupied with his devotions when the news of the battle of Lepanto (1571) was brought to him, and where he attended the requiem in honour of Mary, Queen of Scots. He died, says Sir Edmund Head, within the walls of his magnificent temple. To speak more accurately, he died in a small room overlooking the east chapel—one of the modest apartments or ‘cells’ of the devout monarch.

Besides the church, the royal apartments, sixteen great courts, a monastery (of Augustines) with a great college managed by the monks, and a valuable library and a picture-gallery, the Escorial contains a Palacio Real, fitted up magnificently by some of the successors of Philip. All these form one of the vastest piles of buildings existing on earth. The ‘severely simple’ style is lauded as sublime by some authorities and denounced as ‘repulsively arid’ and ‘sullen’ by others. Juan Herrera, who had studied at Brussels and might have been expected to advocate a less stern severity, was doubtless forced to accommodate his ideas to the gloomy tastes of his fanatic and ascetic patron.

Another, but much later, specimen of this grandiose style, which professedly imitated the Cinquecento Renaissance style of Italy, is the huge Palacio Real which was founded by the first of the Spanish Bourbons, Philip V, about 1740. From the site of the ancient Moorish Alcazar it dominates Madrid and the great Campo del Moro and

ARCHITECTURE (FROM 1500)

the valley of the river Manzares, and is no less superbly magnificent inside than it is imposing exteriorly. The architect was an Italian, Giovanni Battista Sacchetti of Turin. Much, however, of the building, especially the interior, is badly disfigured by senseless extravagances of that rococo architecture which in Spain gave birth to more monstrous abortions than the art of Bernini or Vignola in Italy or even the grotesque magnificence of French rococo under Louis XV. In this hideous and fundamentally false style of architecture all beauty and grandeur derived from exquisite proportions and relations of parts in the constructive form of a building were neglected for the sake of 'decorative scenery' that often assumed the most monstrous and grotesque character and concealed in the most perverse and ridiculous manner the functions of such things as columns and arches and windows, while (as I have said in reference to late Italian barocco) it bombastically exaggerated and turbulenty flaunted what was functionally otiose.

The chief apostle of this rococo style—which in Spain began considerably later than the barocco of Italy and lasted through the Bourbon era, and was followed by various pseudo-Classical fashions and other importations—was Churriguera (*d.* 1725), whose ill-directed genius, like that of Bernini in Italy,¹ won him a fame very like infamy, for the word 'churrigueresque' has been adopted to describe the very numerous Spanish edifices and statues—many of them of the most exaggerated rococo character—which owe their existence to this pernicious style.

But in the history of the art of the Peninsula we scarcely ever find one style universally prevalent, and even at the time when rococo was at its height there were buildings erected in which some attempt was made to be sincere. Perhaps one of the best proofs of this may be seen in the enormous pile of that which one may call the Portuguese Escorial, the vast convent and palace at Mafra, founded by John V in 1717.

¹ Bernini, as is proved by his earlier sculptures, had the makings of a fine artist, and Vignola, before he came under such influences as produced the Gesù at Rome, showed great qualities as fellow-worker with Michelangelo at the dome of St Peter's and the building of the graceful Villa Giulia.

SPAIN

(c) Spanish Sculpture (from 1500)

As I have intimated in a former chapter, early Spanish sculpture was of a very rough and primitive character. Not till long after French Romanesque, and even French Gothic, had produced most beautiful works of plastic art were any statues or reliefs worthy of note produced in Spain. The only carvings that showed any sense of beauty of form were the generally shallow decorations imitated from, or suggested by, Moorish designs.

In what survives of early Spanish round sculpture (*e.g.*, in Tarragona Cathedral) one finds the same clumsy figures, the same absurd faces, the same grotesque and fabulous creatures, and the same barbaric attempts to portray Biblical personages and scenes which characterize early Lombard¹ and early German architectural carvings.

Such primitive sculpture is to be found in Spanish Romanesque and Gothic buildings at least down to the fourteenth century; but ere that epoch the fine Gothic architectural sculpture of Northern France had been introduced, and the two styles existed for some time side by side. At last, about the middle of the fourteenth century, Spain seems to have developed some sort of sense of the *ars statuaria*.

At Burgos, naturally, we find the best early specimens of this imported French-Gothic style, which in time superseded in most of Spain the old clumsy sculpture; and the fashion began to prevail of using statues, singly or in tiers and groups, for architectural ornamentation—a fashion which in Spain resulted not so much in such façades as those of Reims and Exeter, and such portals as those of Amiens and Notre-Dame de Paris, as in the densely populated retablos (reredoses, or, rather, lofty choir-screens, sometimes reaching almost to the vaulting of the building) which form so striking a feature of many Spanish cathedrals.²

¹ Early Italian Lombard carvings, like early Spanish, show at times a fine sense for geometrical decorative design—which also characterizes early Celtic.

² The huge wooden Toledo retablo, for instance, is decorated glaringly in Gothic style, and has five tiers, in which Biblical scenes are represented by means of figures life-size or still bigger; and at the top is a great *Calvary*. It dates from 1500-4.

SCULPTURE (FROM 1500)

There are, however, two Spanish façades that have been mentioned under *plateresque* Gothic architecture, but which come perhaps better under Late Gothic sculpture, namely those of S. Pablo and S. Gregorio (*c.* 1460–90) at Valladolid. Regarded from a lofty artistic point of view, these façades may be, as they are sometimes called, flauntingly vulgar, but the general effect produced by the wealth of statues and armorial bearings is impressive.

Besides French-Gothic characteristics we find in Spanish sculpture during this period (the fifteenth century) evident signs that the new birth of sculpture in Italy, brought about by the three great Pisans, by Della Quercia, Giotto, and others, exercised considerable influence. German and Flemish artists too seem to have worked in the Peninsula during this century. Besides numerous evidences of Northern influences in painting, we find sculptors whose works as well as their names point to the fact of their Northern origin, or Northern training, such as Juan Fernandez Aleman, Rodrigo Aleman, Pedro Gumiel (one of the makers of the great Toledo *retablo*), and Pedro Millan.¹ Some of these Northern artists (Rodrigo Aleman, for instance) probably introduced that wood-carving of choir-stalls (*sillerías*) which came so much into vogue in Spain.

About 1500 many adventurous spirits trained in the *botteghe* of Italian artists found their way to Spain, where they implanted and fostered the principles of Quattrocento architecture. The new, or renewed, system, so different from that of Gothic, lent itself to surface decoration, and it seems to have been this fact that chiefly commended it to the Spaniard; for, as we have seen, it was a certain kind of decorative sculpture that gave the name *plateresque* to the new Spanish architecture of this period.

At first this demand for rich surface ornamentation, so congenial to Spanish temperament, accustomed as it was to Moorish carvings, led to no improvement in the statuary art, a few monumental portrait figures and a few notable reliefs being the only visible result of Spanish

¹ The maker of the beautiful terra-cotta sculptures on two of the west portals of Seville Cathedral (*c.* 1500).

SPAIN

admiration of the works of the Pisani, of Della Quercia, and of Donatello.¹

Almost the only really fine statues and reliefs produced in Spain during the first half of the sixteenth century were the work of foreigners, such as the Florentine Domenico Fancelli (*d.* 1518), who perhaps made the monuments of Ferdinand and Isabella in the Granada mausoleum and certainly made that of their only son, Prince John, at Avila, and designed that of the famous Cardinal Ximenes at Alcalá de Henares.² Another apostle of Renaissance sculpture was Vignarni, a Genoese, or possibly a Frenchman, seeing that he is often called Felipe Vignarni di Borgoña (of Burgundy). To him are sometimes attributed the above-mentioned monuments of Ferdinand and Isabella. His work in wood (*e.g.*, scenes of the Passion on choir-stalls at Toledo) shows transition from the Classical to the grotesque (fantastic) style—the *estile mostruoso*—into which Spanish sculpture was always prone to degenerate on account of the natural *penchant* of the Spaniard toward exaggeration and sensational realism, a tendency proved by many a vast retablo.

Still another prominent foreign sculptor in Spain during the first half of the sixteenth century was Pietro Torrigiani, the bitter rival of Michelangelo, who was responsible for that great sculptor's broken nose, as well as for the fine tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, and who, in 1522, ended his life in the dungeon of the Inquisition at Seville. He thus did not live to experience the mortification of seeing Michelangelo's influence become supreme in Spain. His finest Spanish work is at Seville—a coloured terra-cotta statue of St Jerome.

The Michelangelo cult reached its climax about the middle of the sixteenth century. The chief Spanish imitator of the great Florentine sculptor was Alonso Berruguete (*d.* 1561), whom we have met already as architect and shall meet again as a considerable painter. Possibly he studied

¹ Forment and Morlanes, both native Spaniards, had great repute as sculptors in their day (early sixteenth century). Forment's huge retablos at Saragossa and Huesca show vigorous imitation of Italian masters, and Morlanes carved some admirable monuments and statues of the Catholic monarchs, which may be seen at Saragossa.

² Birthplace of Cervantes and Catharine of Aragon.

SCULPTURE (FROM 1500)

under Michelangelo, for he is mentioned by him in letters that concern the great *Cartoon* destined for the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio. He was much employed by the Emperor Charles V, and produced a great number of statues and statuettes, some in alabaster, for retablos,¹ as well as many wood-carvings (*e.g.*, choir-stalls at Toledo).

As we have seen in the last section, the richly decorated *plateresque* architecture was succeeded by a severely bare style, based nominally on Cinquecento principles—the style in which the huge Escorial, founded by Philip II, is built. Under this king, whose reign extended from 1556 to 1598, statuary art languished in Spain, being practised only by a few foreign sculptors,² while native artists confined themselves mainly to wood-carving. Of these wood-carvers the most notable were Gaspar Becerra (1520–70) and Gregorio Hernandez. Becerra's masterpiece—the retablo at Astorga—is said to show wonderful specimens of coloured wood-sculpture, and works of a similar nature by Hernandez, as well as his wonderfully carved choir-stalls, now in the museum of Valladolid, excite the admiration of competent judges.

Questions connected with material and colour arose when we were considering Egyptian and early Greek statues; and reasons suggest themselves, besides the mere lack of durability, to account for the dissatisfaction that one feels with even the best wooden statue, coloured or uncoloured, especially if it is of life-size. It seems to us in most cases a mere effigy rather than a work of art; and such wood-sculpture is certainly apt to degenerate into a means of satisfying the craving for sensational realism. Now and then, however, such objections do not present themselves to our minds—perhaps because they are met half-way by our admiration for the sincerity and graciousness of the work. There are works of this nature in Egyptian and other ancient art, and there is one at least (there may be others unknown to

¹ Not only was the use of full-sized statues for decorative purposes due to the cult of Michelangelo, but his principles of contrast and harmony in sculptural composition were followed and resulted in attempts to group and otherwise to bring into relation the multitudinous figures in retablos, etc.

² *E.g.*, Leoni of Arezzo, who made statues of Charles V and Philip II for the Escorial, and Tacca of Florence (pupil of Gian da Bologna), who cast the equestrian statue of Philip IV, copied from a picture by Velasquez, that is in the Plaza de Oriente, Madrid.

SPAIN

me) in Italy. It is a *Deposition*, consisting of several life-size figures, in Volterra Cathedral. It dates evidently from the thirteenth century, and is believed by some to be from the hand, or the design, of Niccolò Pisano himself, whom tradition asserts to have enlarged the original building.

These remarks apply when we compare the ordinary coloured wood statues of Spain—many of which are mere effigies, without any artistic value—with the work of an artist such as Montañes.

Martinez Montañes (*d.* 1649) was a contemporary of Velasquez, or, rather, of the painter Pacheco, the teacher and father-in-law of Velasquez. No one who has seen the *Christ* of Montañes at Seville, says Sir Edmund Head, ‘can doubt that coloured wooden statues may possess power, although the effect is too often painful and the method alien from the true principles of art.’ Besides this very beautiful *Christ on the Cross*, which is in the sacristy of Seville Cathedral, there is a fine *Baptist* in the museum and a powerful, but unattractive, *Dominic*. These are perhaps the best of the numerous works of ‘the great carver,’ as Montañes has been called. We are told by Pacheco that he painted many of the wooden statues of his friend Montañes. Those which Montañes painted himself seem to show somewhat crude and glaring colours.

A pupil of his, Alonso Cano (1601–67), was also a pupil of the painter Pacheco, and, being gifted in both arts, was able to give his coloured statues more artistic unity than Montañes could easily attain; indeed, some of his painted wood-sculptures are very wonderful, such as the busts of Adam and Eve and St Paul at Granada. A *Virgin in Blue*, also at Granada, is described by Ford, in his *Handbook*, as exceedingly beautiful; but he rather chills one’s enthusiasm by remarking, justly enough, that the head of St Paul is uncommonly like an anatomical specimen. Cano seems to have been indolent (especially after becoming a prebendary of Granada Cathedral¹) and from lack of energy failed to accomplish any great work.

¹ His ordination as cleric seems to have been long delayed on account of his having married a widow—which was an act of ‘bigamy.’ He was, moreover, accused of having murdered his wife, and was long a fugitive.

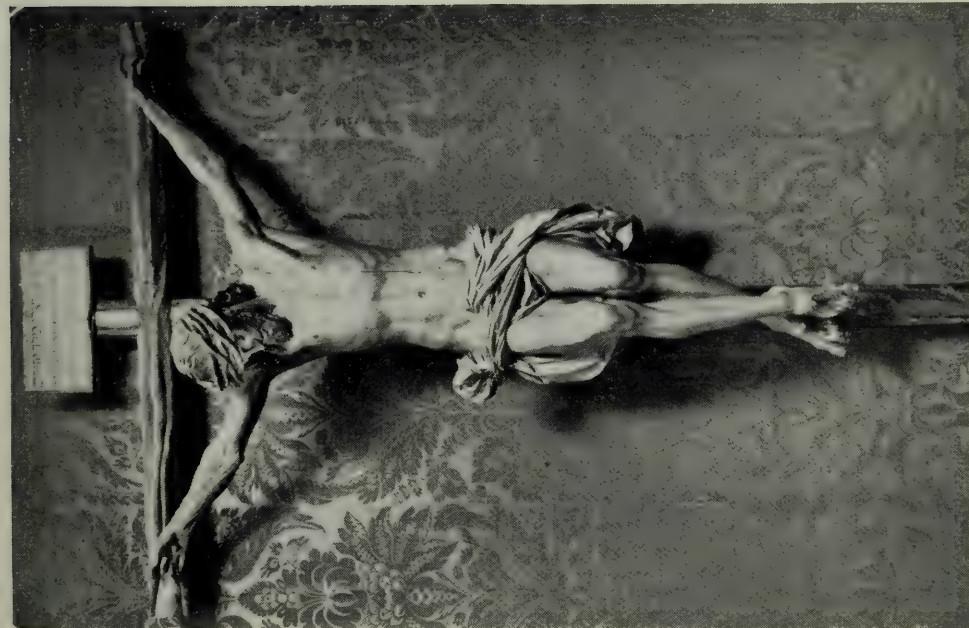


121. THE BAPTIST

By Montañés

Museum at Seville

Photo Anderson



120. CHRIST ON THE CROSS

By Montañés

Sacristy of Seville Cathedral

Photo Anderson



122. VIRGIN AND CHILD

By Morales

Madrid, Prado. Replica in National Gallery, London

Photo Anderson

SCULPTURE (FROM 1500)

By the middle of the seventeenth century the late barocco and rococo plague had begun its ravages in Spain. Even Montañes, in his latter days, had been to some extent affected by it, and ere long it was to cause a permanent degradation of Spanish statuary art. In architecture it produced monstrous overgrowths, ruining all the beauty and meaning that a building derives from its constructive features. In sculpture it ruined the appeal that a fine statue makes to our sense of pure form, and met the vulgar demand for a realistic effigy by producing (we are told) images of sacred persons furnished, like dolls, with means for moving the head and eyes and lips and bedizened with 'real dresses' and 'real human hair.'

Of a different character, but scarcely less lamentable, are some of the great, many-figured, rococo sculptures which are to be seen in Spanish churches, such as the so-called *Transparente* in Toledo Cathedral—'a barbaric but extraordinarily well executed *fricassée de marbre*', as Baedeker's handbook says, 'deriving its name from the opening by which light is admitted. . . . Amid the chaos of angels and clouds is the Archangel Raphael, kicking his feet in the air and holding a large golden fish in his hand.'

The name most closely associated with Spanish rococo is that of Churriguera, whose obtrusively ambitious and hideous decorations and sculptures disfigure many a church in like fashion as in Italy the monstrosities of late barocco have made the interior of many a fine building an eyesore for the art-lover and an object of genuine admiration for the unsophisticated.

At the end of the eighteenth and in the early part of the nineteenth centuries the Classical revival, initiated by Lessing and Winckelmann, caused a wave of Classical sentiment to pass over Spain, where the sculptor Alvares gained considerable repute as a successful follower of the style of Canova. Since that time French influence has reigned in the Peninsula, and realism and unrestraint have continued to assert themselves against the principles proclaimed by Lessing in his *Laokoon*.

CHAPTER II

SPANISH PAINTING (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1830)

THE era of the really great Spanish painters—an era of meteoric splendour—lasted scarcely more than a century.

After making some observations on the character of Spanish pictorial art I shall briefly consider the interesting, but not very important, schools and artists that preceded the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and the coming of Alonso Berruguete (follower of Michelangelo), of Morales, and of Vargas (*b.* 1502), these being some of the painters who helped to found that national school of which Zurbaran, Velasquez, and Murillo form the chief glory.

But before expressing any opinion as to the character and importance of Spanish paintings, whether of later or of earlier date, it will be only fair to allow that many, perhaps very many and very fine, pictures have disappeared. Some of these have been destroyed or carried off by invaders, who never restored them, as was done in the case of Italy after the Napoleonic wars; others have been ruined by neglect; others have been sold by the priests.

In the year 1844, after the secularization of convents, a royal decree ordained the collection and preservation of ‘monuments historic and artistic.’ But the revelations published by the Royal Commission were heartrending. Many pictures which were mentioned in the rare and carelessly kept records had vanished mysteriously; many were found in a state of hopeless deterioration; hundreds were known to have been stolen from galleries and churches, especially after the War of Liberation (which we call the Peninsular War), when the country swarmed with adventurous and unscrupulous foreign collectors of art treasures.

Long before this time some large galleries had been founded, notably the Academia de Bellas Artes (in 1752)

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

and the famous Museo del Prado, both at Madrid. The last-mentioned was begun by Charles III (*c.* 1780) and finished by Ferdinand VII, whose crown was passed over, in 1808, to Joseph Bonaparte. But these galleries and museums were for the most part in a deplorable state, and very imperfect lists of the pictures were kept, so that many were easily stolen. Also long after the Peninsular War this continued, as may be seen from the fact that in 1839 a museum was formed at Granada and soon possessed 884 pictures and sculptures, but by 1844 many of these had been already stolen. However, new galleries were formed here and there in the secularized convents after the decree of 1844—for instance, at Seville, Valladolid, and Valencia—and the older museums were put into order and placed under stricter surveillance.

When one speaks of the character of Spanish painting it is necessary to distinguish. The only genuine Spanish painting—wholly independent and native—is to be found in the works of the great masters of the seventeenth century. In them we find a vigorous originality, derived mainly from that direct observation of nature which (as Leonardo da Vinci reminds us) is the one source of all that is great in art. We might therefore with considerable show of reason accept the works of, say, Velasquez, Zurbaran, and Murillo as the sole representatives of the real character of Spanish pictorial art. But in doing this we should ignore certain not very attractive national characteristics which are sometimes discoverable even in these great seventeenth-century artists, and are to be found plentifully in earlier Spanish painters—not only in those who were affected by French and Flemish influences, but also in those who, during the era of the Renaissance, were so entirely under the sway of contemporary Italian art that they might seem to have lost completely their birthright: such men, for instance, as Berruguete, as Juan de Juanes, as Ribalta, and even as Ribera, who flocked to Florence, Rome, and Naples, and became as Italian in their style, and seemingly also in their sentiments, as Michelangelo himself, or Raphael, or the Carracci, or Caravaggio.

In almost all Spanish paintings we can note, more or less pronounced, certain unhealthy symptoms. The Aethiopian

SPAIN

cannot change his skin, and the morbid religious temperament of the Spaniard—like that *deisidaimonia* which so strongly characterized primitive ‘Aegaean’ art—was more than skin-deep. Even before the coming of the Vandals and the Visigoths Spain—later the country of Dominic and Loyola—was the home of fanaticism. It was a Spaniard, they say, who was the very first Christian sectarian done to death by the orthodox, in the age of that most sternly religious Emperor, the Spaniard Theodosius, who on account of his persecutions and his institution of ‘Inquisitors of the Faith’ was named ‘the Catholic,’ as was, eleven centuries later, that famous Ferdinand of Spain whose great-grandson won a world-wide infamy by his holocausts of heretics.

The predominant characteristics of Spanish painting are accurately touched in the *Histoire Générale des Beaux-Arts* of Roger Peyre. *Elle présente*, he says, *un mélange singulier d'exaltation mystique et de réalisme brutal, d'ascétisme et de sensualisme, de distinction suprême et de trivialité, d'amour et de férocité.* There was in the Spanish painters but little love of the natural world¹ or of the natural human being. Man, as saint, or martyr, or warrior, is their favourite subject. Solemnity, grandeur, religious gloom, religious ecstasy, asceticism, fanaticism—such words intimate the spirit that finds expression most frequently in their works, the finest specimens of which are perhaps portraits and sacred pictures.

A striking proof of the spiritual bondage to which Spanish art was subjected is given by the fact that in the year 1618—when Velasquez and Zurbaran were young men and Murillo a child a year old—a very able painter, Francisco Pacheco, father-in-law and teacher of Velasquez, was commissioned by the ‘Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition’ (of which his brother was a Familiar) to inspect and report upon ‘all paintings of sacred subjects that stand in shops or other public places’; and from Pacheco’s *Arte de la Pintura*, which he published some forty-five years later, we learn quite enough to show that Spanish painters, if they did not care to risk defying the Inquisition—which Velasquez

¹ Animals and sea-coast scenery seem sometimes to have attracted them. Murillo said that Iriarte was worthy to paint the scenery of Paradise. Possibly; but his earthly scenery is unnatural.

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

seems to have done—were obliged to submit to regulations scarcely less stringent than those which (as we saw in a former chapter) were imposed by the Eastern Church on Byzantine artists.

Thus nakedness in any sacred painting, even in a picture of the Last Judgment, was denounced as an abominable outrage on religion—a verdict that reminds one of the Sistine Chapel and the critics of Michelangelo's mighty fresco.¹ Secondly, fiends were not to be depicted with wings, for devils are formed of such brute elements that they 'cannot possess lightness and agility.' Thirdly, it was forbidden, as 'highly indecent,' to furnish angels with beards. Fourthly, the dress of the Virgin and other sacred persons was to be strictly in accordance with the facts revealed by visions accredited by the Church, and any representation of mundane fashions was threatened with very severe punishment. Lastly, there were many severe decrees against the 'heresy of the three nails'—*i.e.*, the representation of the crucified Saviour with both feet pierced by one great nail—for the *stigmata* of St Francis of Assisi, which were not merely holes in the flesh but nail-like protuberances, proved indisputably that four nails were used. The submissiveness with which almost all Spanish artists accepted these regulations is remarkable. Many of them are described as very pious; some were apparently genuine ascetics, and it seems to have been not uncommon to get shriven and to do penance before beginning a sacred picture—a practice that, although it does not seem to have been common among Italian painters, recalls Vasari's remark that Fra Angelico 'never took up his pencil without a prayer.'

Pictures painted in Spain before about 1500 are of so little importance both as artistic and as national products that in my first volume, where I described early Spanish architecture, the subject of painting was barely mentioned, because it seemed better to treat this early period in connexion with what is of real importance, namely the short but splendid era of the great Spanish painters.

¹ To paint the Virgin with bare feet was a scandalous offence against decency, and also against truth—for one of her shoes was the most precious relic possessed by Burgos Cathedral.

SPAIN

The exceedingly scanty and untrustworthy records and the wholesale disappearance of paintings perhaps do not allow us to form a fair opinion as to what may have once existed, but what remains of early work need not occupy us long. There are vague allusions to what were doubtless very rude attempts at painting even before the advent of the Moors. In the tenth century a good deal of illuminating work seems to have been done. To judge from survivals, the ornamentation may have had an Irish source, while the very primitive drawings of figures are evidently of the so-called Byzantine (really degraded Romanesque) type. Somewhat later a good deal of Moorish design was used, as well as attempted representation in miniature and in fresco of splendid Moorish buildings with many-lobed horseshoe arches, as seen in the huge mosque (now the cathedral) of Cordova.¹ Then, dating from the eleventh century (the era of the Cid), there are still to be seen in Asturias and other mountainous regions of North Spain a few old Romanesque frescos in what Spanish writers call 'Byzantine' style. Here and there, too, old mural paintings of French type are to be found.

One of the very first Spanish painters mentioned by old records is a Master Peter of Spain (de Hispania), who, about 1253, was in England, employed at the court of Henry III. Another, named Rodrigo Estéban, was court-painter to King Sancho IV about the year 1290. Between this date and 1500 a very considerable amount of painting, of a sort, was indubitably produced, for in many outlying villages retablos exist which, with their lean figures, Northern features, rich colours, and profuse gilding, show (when not too much altered by 'Churriquera' restoration) unmistakable Flemish, or sometimes French or German, influence; and in the museums of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Leon, and Segovia there are considerable collections of paintings dating from these two centuries. But almost nothing is known of the painters except a few names, and the very great diversity both in conception and in execution proves that there was no real national school of artists, but only a national gift for adopting foreign styles.

¹ This habit of using Moorish ornament and Moorish architecture in mural paintings persisted for about five centuries.

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

Among the importers of these foreign styles two are very interesting personalities, namely Starnina and Jan van Eyck.

Starnina (*b.* 1354) is said by Vasari to have been the teacher of Fra Angelico and also of Masolino—that ‘little Tom’ who owes his fame mostly to his pupil Masaccio, the big or ‘hulking Tom’ (as Browning calls him) from whom not only Fra Angelico but Michelangelo and Raphael and many another great artist drew inspiration. He is described as an overbearing and violent individual. He was exiled for participation in the Ciompi riot and went to Spain (*c.* 1380). There he was patronized by King John I of Castile and doubtless painted much; but all has disappeared, unless some paintings at the Escorial, very questionably attributed to him, are authentic. What influence he had on Spanish artists is unknown,¹ but, if we are to believe Vasari, the courtly manners of the Spaniards so strongly influenced him that on his return to Florence all his former enemies competed for his friendship. Also in his native country his works have perished, including some frescos in the famous Carmine church at Florence into which he is said to have introduced personages in Spanish costume.

As for Jan van Eyck, we have seen (Vol. I, pp. 319–320) how in the year 1428 he accompanied a political mission to Portugal and remained fifteen months there and in Spain, where he even paid a visit to the Moorish king at Granada. Nothing remains of what he may have painted during these months, but his influence is apparent in various pictures by Flemish artists in Spain, as well as in a fine retablo at Barcelona painted in 1445 by Luis Dalmau (of uncertain nationality), in which several of Jan van Eyck’s motives, such as the singing angels in the famous altar-piece at Ghent, are reproduced.²

We have already arrived at the era of the Early

¹ There are frescos of Giottesque type in the cloisters at Toledo. These may be due to French pupils of the Sienese Simone Martini (Vol. I, pp. 360–361), or to a certain John of Burgundy, who introduced into Spain a style like Ghirlandaio’s.

² Somewhat later (*c.* 1520) a very popular and much-imitated work of another well-known Flemish artist, Roger van der Weyden, was sent to Spain, namely the fine *Descent from the Cross*. It is in the Prado, but there are copies, or replicas, in other Spanish museums. According to an old chronicler, Van Mander, it was sent from Louvain to Spain by Marie of Hungary, Spanish regent in

SPAIN

Renaissance (say 1425-70), when Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi were painting in Italy. The next phase, that of the Middle Italian Renaissance—a period of only about thirty years—produced in Italy a large number of splendid Quattrocento paintings, such as the best works of Giovanni Bellini, Mantegna, Botticelli, Perugino, Ghirlandaio, Francia, and Leonardo da Vinci. These *quattrocentisti* do not seem to have appealed to the Spanish taste very strongly, but at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, after the union of Castile and Aragon (1479), we find a Castilian school which was evidently influenced more or less directly by Italian art. To this school belonged that Juan de Borgoña (John of Burgundy) who has been already mentioned as an imitator of Ghirlandaio; and with him we find associated, as court-painter, Pedro Berruguete, noticeable as the father of the much more famous Alonso Berruguete, who was one of the early founders of that school which, after passing through a phase of mere imitation and mannerism, produced the great Spanish painters of the seventeenth century.

It was admiration for the works of Michelangelo and Raphael that first made Italian High Renaissance art become the ideal of the Spanish painters of the sixteenth century. Many of them migrated to Italy and spent long years there, studying the works of these two great masters, and later the works of their successors, such as Giulio Romano, Correggio, and the great Venetians. Very little, almost nothing, has been recognized as their work in Italy; but the effect that their influence had in their native land was very remarkable. At first, as was natural, blind admiration led to a great deal of mere imitation, so that the Italian Cinquecento is contemporary with what in Spain is called the age of the Spanish Mannerists—some of whom, however, certainly show an originality (as was the case with the Italian Eclectics) that

the Netherlands, and was washed ashore after a shipwreck. The Flemish influence lasted long at Seville, which became perhaps the chief centre of the later great school of Spanish painting; and possibly Northern vigour and seriousness, as exemplified in the works of Juan Sanchez de Castro and Alejo Fernandez, exercised a favourable influence on the imitation of the Italian Cinquecento masters which was introduced there by Vargas, Cano, and Zurbaran. The virile vigour of Velasquez may be to some extent due to this Northern influence. Van der Weyden's *Entombment* is in the Uffizi (see Vol. I, Fig. 247 and p. 321). This, and much else, he painted in Italy.

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

deserves a better name. And little by little the more vigorous and permanent qualities of native genius, further invigorated by persistent Northern (especially Flemish) influences, overmastered the merely imitative tendency. The following are some of the chief artists of this period of transition.

Alonso Berruguete (*c.* 1480–1561) (for whom see previous page and pp. 149, 154–155) was an enthusiastic follower, if not a pupil, of Michelangelo, whose famous *Cartoon* (meant to be used for the fresco-decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio) he is said to have studied and copied at Florence.¹ According to Vasari he also partly finished the last painting of Fra Filippo Lippi, and at Rome he made a wax copy of the *Laocoön* for a bronze cast, but Raphael chose for the purpose one made by Sansovino. Berruguete's paintings, or what pass as such, are to be seen at Salamanca and Valladolid. They are decidedly fine imitations of Raphael's manner. As architect (in the *plateresque* style) I have mentioned him elsewhere. As wood-carver and inlayer he is well known through the splendid stalls that he made for Toledo Cathedral —a part of the Alta Sillería ; and statues by him adorn the gates of that city.

Luis de Morales (1509–68), of Badajoz, worked mostly at Toledo. He is sometimes called the 'Spanish Perugino,' and has been given the title 'il Divino,' probably because his pictures almost always introduced the person of Christ or that of the Madonna. Some of them attain considerable beauty and dignity (see Fig. 122). There are six fine specimens at Madrid, and there were sixteen at a village near Merida, and six at his birthplace, Badajoz ; but during the Peninsular War many were carried off by the French.

Luis de Vargas (1502–68) was the founder of the school of Seville, his native city, where he painted frescos (now ruined) on the Giralda. He is said to have lived twenty-eight years in Italy. His most famous work (in Seville Cathedral) is called *La Gamba*, on account of the wonderfully depicted leg of Adam, who figures with Eve in the picture as the first human ancestor of Christ. Other fine sacred paintings by Vargas are at Vienna. His style shows Correggio's influence,

¹ Vasari says in 1503 ; but the *Cartoon* was not finished till 1504 at the earliest. (See Fig. 60.)

SPAIN

as does that of his followers in the Seville school, even down to the days of Alonso Cano (1601–67), who was called the ‘Spanish Correggio.’ Another famous Sevillian painter, Juan de las Roelas (1558–1625), studied long at Venice under Titian and Tintoretto; and from him his pupil Zurbaran learnt rich colouring, which he sacrificed later to striking effects of light and shade such as remind us of Caravaggio. Among Sevillian artists should be noted that Francisco Pacheco (1571–1654) whom I have already mentioned as the writer of an *Arte de la Pintura* and as Commissioner of the Inquisition for the examination of pictures. As teacher of painting he is notable, for Velasquez, his son-in-law, was his pupil.

Valencia was the native city of the notorious Borgia family, and the popes Calixtus III (1455–58) and Alexander VI (1492–1503) had transferred thither not a few specimens of Italian Quattrocento masters.¹ This may partly account for the fact that Valencia became an important centre of art during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The earliest Valencian work of Italian type is probably a large retablo in the Seo (cathedral) of Valencia painted by a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, Ferrando de Almedina.

But the earliest famous Valencian Mannerist was Vicente Juanes. As he was not born till 1523 he could not have been, as has been asserted, a pupil of Raphael’s, but he seems to have acquired the Raphaelesque style at Rome, possibly under Giulio Romano. There is, probably by him, at Madrid a fine series of paintings representing the martyrdom and burial of St Stephen, and in the Louvre a very Raphaelesque *Holy Family*. According to Kugler the treatment and execution of the Madrid pictures are genuinely Italian, and others show ‘beautiful Raphaelesque heads’; and of a portrait by Juanes he says that it is worthy to be compared with Raphael’s best portraits.

The last of these Valencian Mannerists that I shall here mention is Francisco Ribalta (1551–1628). Not only is he (or perhaps his son Juan, whose works seem indistinguishable from his father’s) noteworthy as probably the first teacher of the great José Ribera (Spagnoletto), but he is

E.g., works of Pinturicchio, who painted so much at Rome for Alexander VI.

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

also to be remarked as a most able painter in the style of the Roman (Raphaellesque) school, especially in that of Sebastiano del Piombo.¹

Before passing on to the famous trio of seventeenth-century painters we must note some great paintings that were produced during the sixteenth century at Madrid.

Madrid was first made notable by being chosen by the Emperor Charles V as his residence after he had reduced it to submission. Here he was holding his court when, after the battle of Pavia, in 1525, the captive French king, Francis I, arrived and was imprisoned in the Alcazar, which Charles seems to have restored and made his palace (burnt down in 1734). Now in 1530 there took place at Bologna the famous Council at which Charles placed on his own head the iron crown of the Lombard kings and condescended to accept from the hands of Pope Clement VII the golden coronal and the ridiculous title of *Imperator Romanorum*.² At this Council was present Tiziano Vecelli da Cadore, the great Venetian artist, who acquired the special favour of the Emperor and painted for him many fine pictures.³

It seems certain, although it is not always mentioned by writers on Titian, that he visited Spain—either in 1533 or in 1548, or perhaps in both these years—and remained for a considerable time at Madrid, during which he evidently worked assiduously, for the huge building of the Escorial, which Philip II erected (1563–84) some thirty miles distant from his capital, as well as the Royal Palace of Charles at Madrid, contained (besides frescos and altar-pieces by far inferior Italian painters, such as Zuccari, Cambiaso, and others) an amazing number of his works, as well as works of Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and other Italian, especially Venetian, painters. Many of these pictures (forty-two by Titian) are now in the Madrid gallery (the Prado), which, with the doubtful exceptions of the Louvre

¹ The altar-piece of the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, is by him. The old writer Cean Bermudoz tells us that Ribalta, being rejected by the father of a Valencian girl, went off to Italy, perfected himself by studying great Italian masters, and on his return finished so superbly a painting begun by his wished-for father-in-law (his former teacher) that he was at once accepted.

² See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 469.

³ The story of Charles picking up Titian's brush is at least a proof of the notoriety of his admiration for the painter.

SPAIN

and the Dresden Gallery, can boast of the finest collection of Venetian paintings outside Venice.

Madrid, now the capital of Spain, attracted not only Italian artists. Antonis Mor,¹ of Utrecht, a very able portrait-painter, after gaining a name in Flanders and Italy, won great favour at the imperial court about 1551. He visited England in order to paint Philip's bride, Queen Mary, who perhaps knighted him. One of these portraits (Fig. 123) is in the Prado Gallery at Madrid, and another is at Hampton Court. He died at Antwerp in 1576. After his death a pupil of his, Alonso Sanchez Coello (said by some to have been a Portuguese), became a very successful portrait-painter at Philip's court. Another interesting personality connected with this imperial court of Madrid was a dumb Navarese painter known as Fernandez Navarette el Mudo (1526-79), who made a name as Mannerist, but was so impressed by what he saw in the Escorial that he adopted Titian as his one master and produced some really fine Titianesque work.²

Here we may note Domenico Theotokopoulos (*c.* 1548-1614), better known as 'El Greco,' a Cretan, by some regarded as an important Spanish painter. At Venice, perhaps under the guidance of the aged Titian, he acquired with great imitative ability the bold and rhythmic design and splendid *colorito* of the Venetian masters, and after exciting in Italy a nine days' wonder by audacious exaggeration of these characteristics he made his way to Toledo, where his paintings, offering amidst rich retablos and *plateresque* decorations a great contrast to the meek *Madonnas* of the not long before deceased 'Spanish Perugino,' Morales, won immense applause, and doubtless by their vigour and their new colour harmonies influenced for good the gloom and morbid pietism of Spanish art. His chief works in this style are at Toledo—an *Assumption*, the *Espolio* (*Disrobing of Christ*), and the *Burial of Count Orgaz*, in which the dead man is being lowered into a vault surrounded by prelates and statesmen, while above

¹ Known also as Antonio Moro and Sir Anthony More. See pp. 339-340.

² Some state that he knew Italy and had worked under Titian. Having painted a cat and dog quarrelling in the presence of the Holy Family he was forced by the authorities to promise never again to introduce 'indecent trivialities' into sacred scenes. Pacheco was shocked by his bearded angels.



123. QUEEN MARY
By Anthony More (Antonis Mor). See also pp. 339-340

Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson



124. APOTHEOSIS OF ST THOMAS AQUINAS

By Zurbaran. *Seville Museum*

Photo Anderson

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

them hovers a weird throng of supernatural beings. After finishing this picture (1584) he adopted a very different style, in which fantastic intimations of the spiritual are combined with bizarre travesties of the natural world—as may be seen in his *Agony in the Garden* (National Gallery). By virtue of such productions he has become an idol in the sanctum of impressionists—to whom, with hopeful anticipation, may be addressed the friendly comment of Mephistopheles on the self-assurance of the Student :

*Wenn sich der Most auch ganz absurd geberdet,
Es gibt zuletzt doch noch 'n Wein.*

Faust, II

We have now to treat of the three pre-eminently great Spanish painters of the seventeenth century. With them is sometimes associated Ribera, and it is true that by birth and by character and artistic proclivities he was a genuine Spaniard. But his works have been discussed under the heading of the Spanish-Neapolitan school.¹

Francisco Zurbaran (1598–1661) was born at a country town of Estremadura, and became a pupil of Roelas at Seville. There he was doubtless strongly influenced by the works of Italian masters as well as by those of Ribera, many of which were sent thither by Spanish-Neapolitan viceroys. He is often called ‘the Spanish Caravaggio,’ but, although some of his works certainly show a tendency toward the Caravaggesque, many others are almost Titianesque in their splendid colours, as well as in their conception and execution. While still a young man of twenty-eight he painted what is perhaps his master-work, the *Apotheosis of St Thomas Aquinas*, now in the Seville Museum. In this picture the foreground is certainly crossed by dark shadow, but the upper part is full of light and colour. Above one sees Christ and the Virgin with St Paul and St Dominic in glory, and below is St Thomas Aquinas with various other doctors of the Church, while in front kneels Charles V in imperial vesture.

Zurbaran was invited to Madrid through the influence of Velasquez (his junior by one year), and here he worked mainly during the rest of his life. He was a favourite of King Philip IV—who is said to have called him *Pintor del*

¹ Numerous ‘Riberas’ are in the Prado. His *Immaculata* is at Salamanca.

SPAIN

Rey y rey de los pintores—and found generous patrons among the prelates and heads of monasteries, for whom he painted a large number of very striking realistic pictures of monks, especially Carthusians. For many the uncompromising and unimaginative realism of Zurbaran, although it is often refreshingly unconventional and puts him on a level very different from that of a mere imitator of Italian painters,¹ is not only unattractive but even repellent. His angels are sometimes little but ordinary *gamins*, his saints and martyrs are evidently copied from loafers and beggars, or (when women) are rouged and vested in more or less fashionable female attire—all of which was in flagrant contravention of the Inquisitorial regulations laid down after Pacheco's official report of 1618.

As was the case with other great artists (Correggio, for instance, and Turner), Zurbaran seems to have been fascinated by the problems of light and shade—of penumbra and semi-transparency and shade upon shade, and their effects on colour. He was naturally attracted to the so-called *scuola dei tenebrosi* which had been founded by Caravaggio and continued by Ribera, Guercino, and others, many of the works of whom are characterized by striking effects of chiaroscuro, and by the rather cheap device of obtaining high relief for certain figures by strong side-light, clear-cut shadows, and almost inky backgrounds. Like Guercino, Zurbaran latterly abandoned these devices and adopted soft, misty gradations of light and colour (*sfumatezza*) and indistinct outline. Besides the *Apotheosis of St Thomas Aquinas* there are several fine works of his at Seville (cathedral and Carthusian convent), and one at Cadiz, and another in the Cartuja (Carthusian convent) at Xeres; fourteen (ten *Labours of Hercules*, etc.) are at Madrid; and many paintings and drawings are in the Spanish Museum of the Louvre, and several are in England and at Munich.

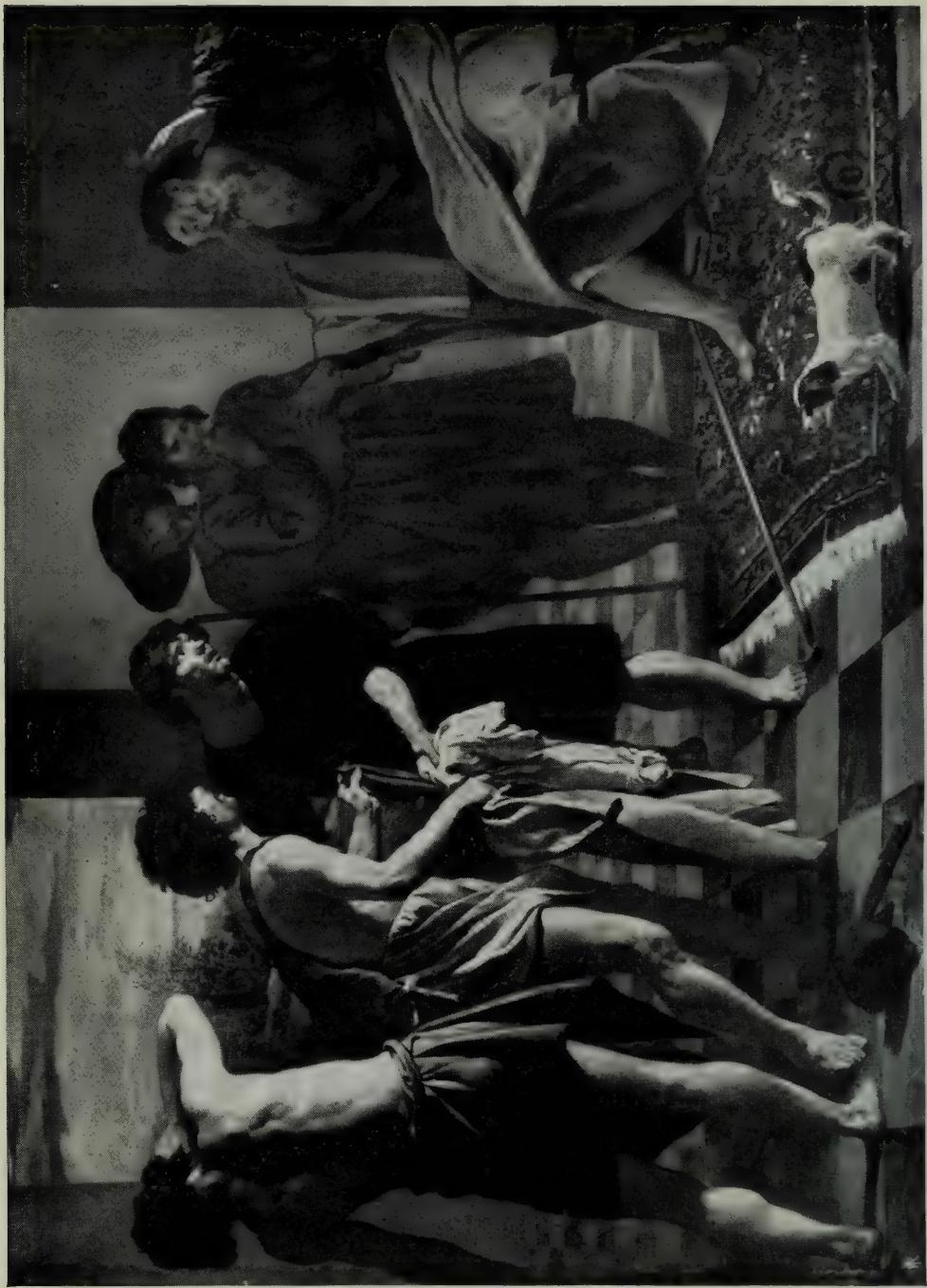
Diego Velasquez de Silva (1599–1660), partly perhaps of Portuguese origin, was born, as was also Murillo, at Seville, which, although it had by this time ceded to Madrid

¹ But the realism of the Italian Caravaggio was quite as uncompromising. 'In his horror for what he called the ideal of stupidity he never altered any defects in the models that he picked up in the streets' (Stendhal).



125. THE DRINKERS

By Velasquez. *Madrid, Prado*
Photo Anderson



126. JOSEPH'S COAT BROUGHT TO HIS FATHER

By Velasquez. Escorial

Photo Anderson

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

much of its political and to Cadiz some of its commercial importance, was still the most gay and attractive city of Spain.¹

The main facts of his life are as follows. At first he was a pupil of Herrera the Elder at Seville, a violent-tempered artist who had unquestionably great gifts as a painter, but indulged in extravagances such as are so often wrongly accepted as proofs of original genius. As we shall see, Velasquez, although he was doubtless stimulated, was too veritable a genius to be misled by the audacities of his teacher, and of too noble a nature to be influenced by his coarseness.²

His second master, and subsequently his father-in-law, was Francisco Pacheco, of whom as painter and writer and 'examiner of paintings' for the Inquisition we have already heard. During these years at Seville his dissatisfaction with the conventionalities of earlier Spanish artists led him to an earnest observation of all objects and phenomena familiarity with which might aid him in his art—human beings, animals, vegetation, scenery, perspective, chiaroscuro. And, like Leonardo da Vinci, he studied things both from the scientific and from the artistic standpoint: he learnt anatomy in order better to observe and depict the various ways in which the human face and body express emotion.

Besides some clever *Bodegones*, or *Tavern Scenes*, most of which have been dispersed, the chief work of this early period was the *Adoration of the Magi*, painted in 1619 and now in the Madrid gallery. This picture, where we find realistic portraits of Sevillian magnates and a peasant-girl Madonna, seems little in accord with the Inquisitorial principles of old Pacheco, from whom doubtless he learnt nothing but academic rules and tricks of the trade. But in spite of his audacious naturalism (the freshness of which, due to his original studies, made him differ from Ribera and from all his Spanish predecessors) he was saved from the coarse realism of Zurbaran and the repellent extravagances

¹ Its great prosperity was due to the discovery of *las Indias* (America), of the trade with which it had almost a monopoly. Under the Bourbons it rapidly declined, Cadiz taking its place as port, and the great yellow Guadalquivir being allowed to silt up.

² In Sir Edmund Head's edition of Kugler I find it stated that Herrera 'used to direct his maid-servant to smear colours on the canvas with a broom and then formed them with his brush into a picture.'

SPAIN

of Herrera by his genius as a great artist. On visiting Madrid he was deeply influenced by the works of great Italian and Flemish painters (*e.g.*, Titian, Tintoretto, and Rubens), which, as we have seen, had been brought thither by Catholic kings and Neapolitan viceroys ; but, while drawing inspiration from them, he did not become, as so many Spaniards had become before him, an imitator. He assimilated in order to re-create.¹ In the year 1623 he determined to settle at Madrid. Here he ere long painted a portrait of King Philip IV—which he is said to have exposed in public for criticism, after the manner of ancient Greek artists. Philip, who was a good judge of art, soon learned to appreciate Velasquez at his true worth ; but he showed his usual diplomatic ineptitude by conferring on him high offices at court, and thus depriving the world of many a masterpiece.

During this first Madrid period (1623–28) Velasquez painted a number of fine portraits—*e.g.*, of Philip, of Don Carlos, of the Infanta—and two famous pictures, viz., *The Drinkers*¹ and the no longer extant *Expulsion of the Moriscos* (*i.e.*, by Philip III, in 1609). These were painted in 1628. In this year Rubens came to Madrid for the second time, and on his advice Velasquez decided to visit Italy and devote himself to ‘higher subjects.’ He is said to have made Ribera’s acquaintance at Naples, and to have studied at Rome especially the *Last Judgment* of Michelangelo and the Stanze frescos of Raphael, and at Venice the grand paintings of Tintoretto in the Scuola di S. Marco.

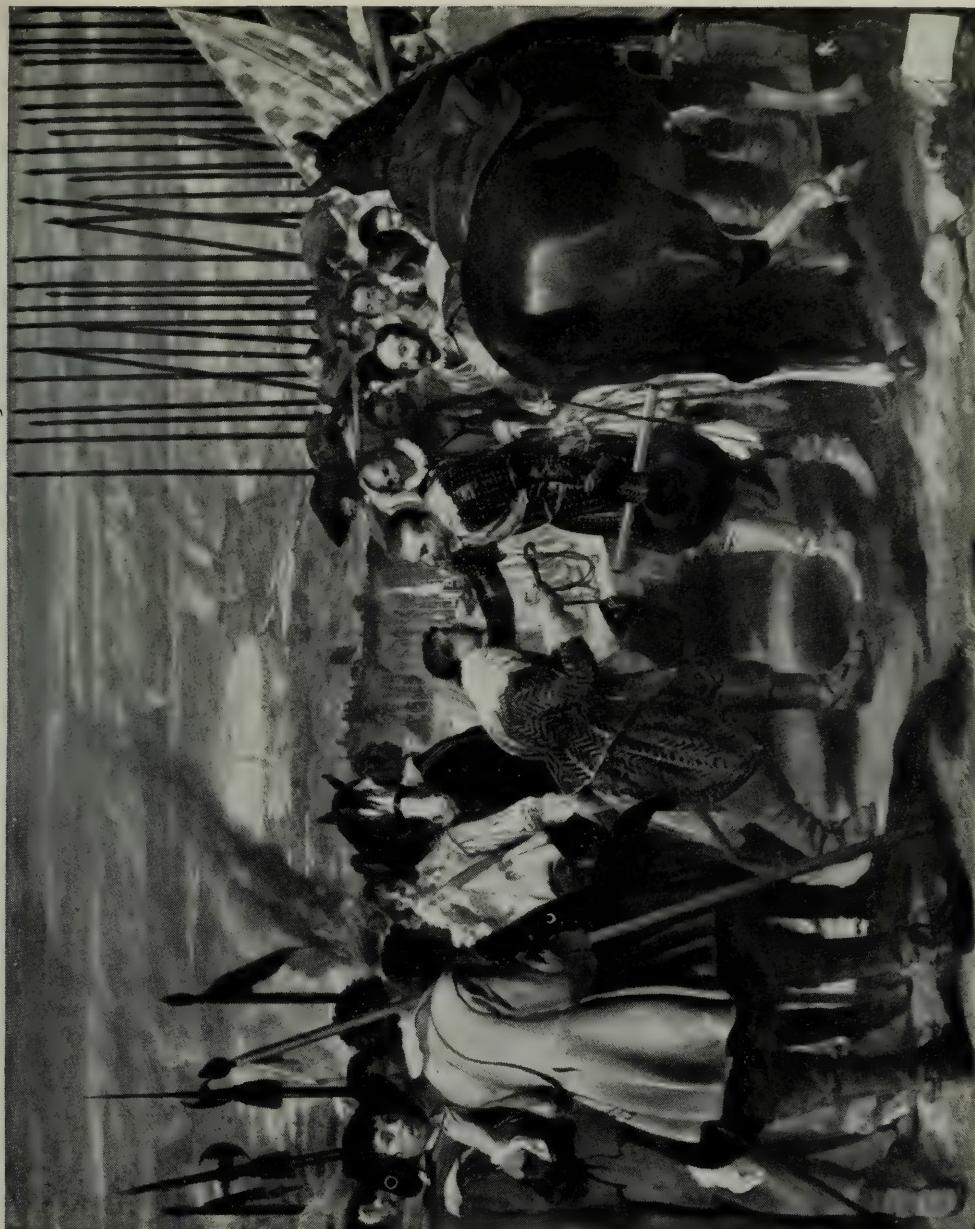
But, as if to assert his own powers in the very presence of these sublime imaginative works, he painted while still in Italy, or soon after his return, two impressive, powerfully realistic pictures, viz., *The Forge of Vulcan* and *Joseph’s Coat brought to his Father* (Madrid and Escorial)—the former of which shows some very striking nude figures of the Cyclopean thunderbolt artificers.

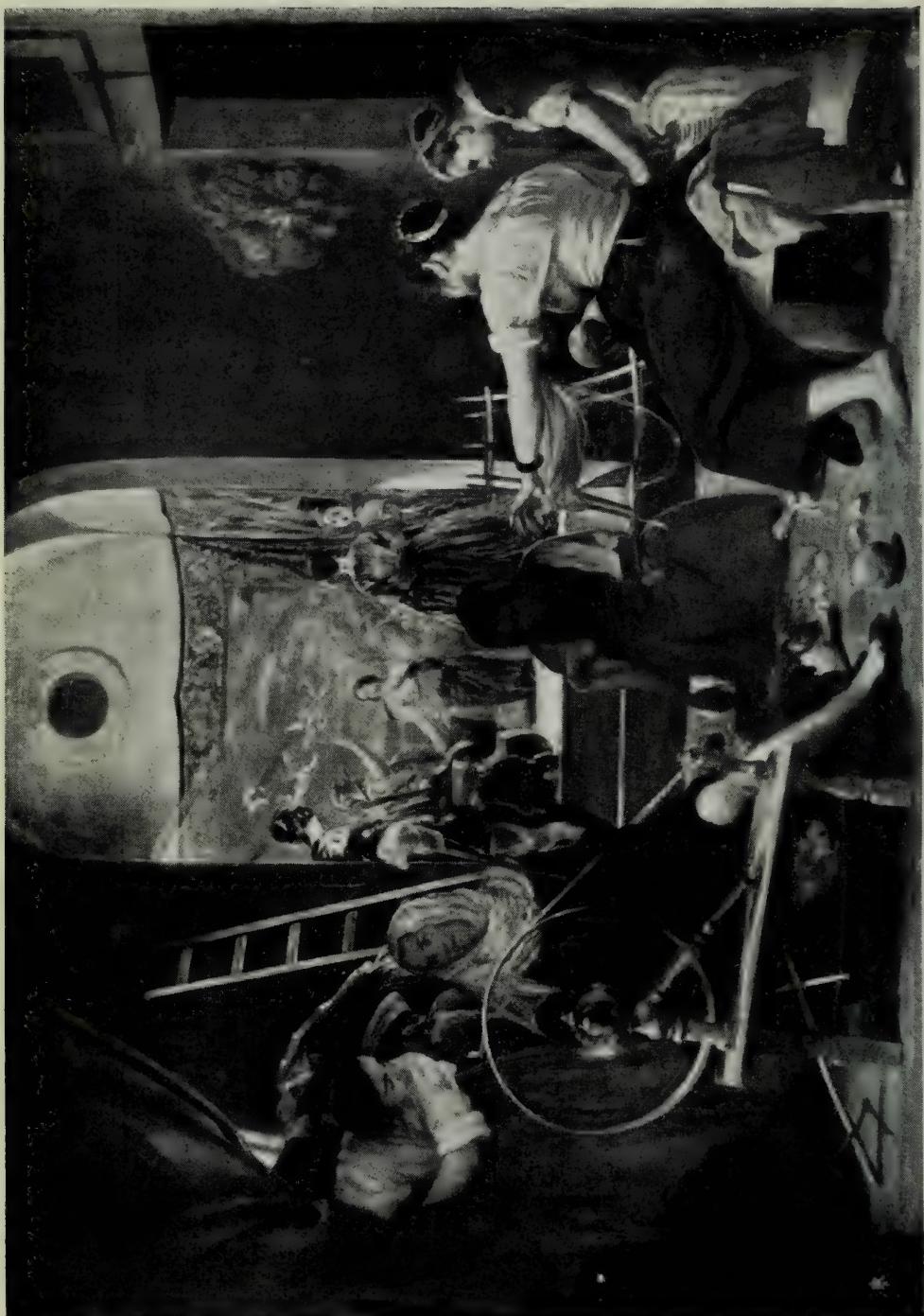
Another result of this first visit to Italy (perhaps suggested by Gian da Bologna’s work, or by Verrocchio’s *Colleoni*, or the

¹ *The Drinkers (Bebedones)* is evidently a satire on the investment of a knight. He is said to have sketched a portrait of our Prince Charles when he came to Madrid in the fruitless quest of a bride. The sketch is lost. A complete painting of Charles at a more advanced age has been put forward as this sketch, but its claim is evidently unfounded.

I27. THE SURRENDER OF BREDA
'The Lances,' By Velasquez
Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson





I28. THE SPINNERS

By Velasquez. Madrid, Prado
Photo Anderson

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

famous ancient statue of Marcus Aurelius, fifty years before placed on the Capitol by Michelangelo) was the well-known picture of Philip IV on a rearing horse, from which a wooden model was made for the bronze equestrian statue (cast by Tacca, pupil of Gian da Bologna, at Florence) which stands in the Plaza de Oriente at Madrid. The original painting is lost, but there are other equestrian pictures of the King, evidently of similar design and possibly by the hand of Velasquez. One of these, at Florence, has symbolical female figures which are due unquestionably to the influence of Rubens and have led to the attribution of the work to his school; but the rest of the painting, which is almost Titianesque in colouring, has many characteristics of the great Spanish painter.

The twenty years or so which followed this first visit to Rome form the period of the second style of Velasquez. His works in this style include many fine portraits, the subjects being for the most part court personages and King Philip himself. Various hunting scenes of this period display a mastery in colour effects, in grouping, and in landscape which puts him unquestionably on a level with the greatest of the Venetian school.

In 1648 he again visited Italy, commissioned to collect pictures and antiquities for Philip. Here he met Ribera and Poussin. To Poussin he was largely indebted in regard to landscape; also he seems to have been indebted to the works of Correggio, and possibly also of Murillo, for the combined vigour and delicacy of his third style, which he developed after his return to Spain.¹ In this style is also discernible a 'facile mastery' such as Vasari rightly attributes to the foremost Italian masters of the Cinquecento; and, like some other great artists, in his latter years he attempted to secure effects by audaciously rapid, almost 'impressionist,' methods. His chief works in this last period (c. 1648-59) are the *Hermits*

¹ The influence on each other, at different periods, of Murillo and Velasquez is an interesting subject. Murillo was eighteen years the younger, but by 1648 his style seems to have been permanently formed, and Velasquez may have learnt much from his *protégé* in regard to harmonious colouring and delicate modelling. An exquisite example of his Titianesque skill in delineation, modelling, and harmony in design and in colour is the *Rokeby Venus*—one of the most beautiful pictures in our National Gallery (see Fig. 129).

SPAIN

in a Rocky Desert (Madrid), a painting especially admired on account of the landscape; *The Surrender of Breda to Spinola*—called also *The Lances* on account of the conspicuous array of lances carried by Spinola's escort—a work inspired by a noble feeling, and wonderful in its execution; *The Spinners* (*Las Hilanderas*), a picture surprisingly modern in its sentiment and subject, viz., women working in a factory at Segovia; and the so-called *Meninas*, of which the scene is the studio of the artist. Here the somewhat stupid Infanta Margarita is depicted amidst her ladies, jesters, etc., while Velasquez himself is represented at his easel. In spite of the stiff and ugly dresses the picture is greatly admired by artists for the natural, unaffected air and attitudes of the various persons.

At Madrid Velasquez was now, unfortunately, given official posts at court. In 1659 he took part as a functionary in the ceremony of handing over the Infanta Maria Theresa as bride to Louis XIV. This ceremony took place on an island of the river Bidasoa, the frontier between France and Spain. Here the great artist contracted a fever, of which he died soon after his return to Madrid—a fact which recalls the death of Dante.

Bartolomé Estéban Murillo (1617–82) was probably born, and certainly passed the first twenty-five years of his life, at Seville, where he seems to have learned the elements of painting from a certain Juan del Castillo; and it is said that, being an orphan and in poverty, he produced in early years a great number of religious pictures for export to the Spanish-American colonies and was thus enabled to carry out his cherished project of moving to Madrid, which he reached on foot. Here he was received in a friendly fashion by the already famous Velasquez, and during a couple of years he studied with enthusiasm the great Italian and Flemish masters, such as Raphael, Titian, Van Eyck, and Van Dyck, not a few of whose finest works had found their way thither and to the Escorial. After his return to Seville in 1645 Murillo began that wondrous activity as a great painter which has made his name deservedly well known in all parts of the world—and not only his name, for many of the pictures painted by him in what may almost be called



129. THE 'ROKEBY VENUS'

By Velasquez

London, National Gallery

Photo Mansell



130. THE CHARITY OF ST JAMES

By Murillo

Madrid, Academy of S. Fernando.

Photo Anderson

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

a lifelong seclusion at Seville have been dispersed to other countries by the rapacity of invaders and the avarice or neglect of his compatriots. His death took place in consequence of a fall from the scaffold while he was painting an altar-piece (*a Betrothal of St Catharine*) in the church of the Capuchins at Cadiz.

Although, as we have seen, Velasquez in his later period was possibly influenced by the delicate beauty of Murillo's work, and Murillo in early days was doubtless influenced by the powerful and original genius of Velasquez, the differences between the two great Spanish painters, in regard both to subjects and to style, are very striking. Speaking generally, we may say that Velasquez chose for his subject the natural, and Murillo the supernatural. Of about sixty paintings in the Prado attributed to Velasquez only three are religious pictures; and when he does choose a Biblical scene, as in his *Joseph's Coat*, he treats it as realistically as possible—the brothers of Joseph and the old Jacob being pastoral nomads of a very commonplace type. But of Murillo's paintings almost all treat religious subjects, and treat them in such fashion that, despite the favour accorded to one or two pictures of street-boys and flower-girls, his name is wont at once to recall some enchanting vision of transfigured humanity, such as that revealed to us by the *Vierge Immaculée* of the Louvre.

Content to spend his life to a great extent in solitary devotion to his art amidst the narrow-minded clerics of an old-fashioned Spanish city, Murillo dedicated his genius ever more earnestly to the revelation of the supernatural in the natural—to an attempt to transfuse humanity with a light that 'never was on sea or land,' or to set the human face and form against an infinitely profound depth of celestial radiance. Three distinct styles are distinguishable in his works. They are named the cold (with hard outlines and dark shadows, like Zurbaran's style), the warm, and the misty. Of the middle, or warm, style, the finest example is held to be the *St Anthony receiving in his Arms the Infant Christ* (Seville), which was painted in 1656. In the last, or misty, style the influence of Rubens is noticeable. Outlines become undefined, and instead of grey shadow, for purposes

SPAIN

of modelling, iridescent colour is used, by means of which a wonderfully warm illumination of objects is obtained, so that sometimes—as in the *Vierge Immaculée* (the *Conception* of the Louvre)—we have an effect as of translucency, or, rather, of a human figure floating in circumambient light.

Of pictures painted in youthful days at Seville—those numerous *Madonnas* and *Saints* of his which were exported to the New World, and some of which may still exist there—nothing is known.¹ After the return from Madrid in 1645 a series of episodes from the life of St Francis of Assisi seems to have made the Sevillians realize the genius of their townsman, now about thirty years of age. The Franciscan convent for which these pictures were painted was burnt in 1810, but some of them escaped the flames and fell into the hands of Marshal Soult, whose appropriation of Spanish art treasures was very extensive, and have found their way to France, England, and New York. Two remain in Spain (Madrid Academy), namely *The Celestial Violinist* (*St Francis listening to the Music of an Angel*) and *The Charity of St James*.

Of his second, or warm, style fine examples (besides the above-mentioned picture of St Anthony²) are *The Archangel Raphael and the Infant*, *St Felix and the Infant*, a *Conception*, an *Adoration*, and various *Madonnas* (all in Seville Cathedral and Museum); *The Madonna of the Rosary* (Fig. 135), a *Holy Family*, *The Good Shepherd*, and another *Conception* (all at Madrid); and *The Birth of the Virgin* and a *Holy Family* (in the Louvre).

In his last, or misty, style we have, besides the *Vierge Immaculée* of the Louvre, the celebrated *Moses striking the Rock* and *The Miracle of the Loaves*—the two chief relics of a cycle³ painted for a hospital outside the walls of Seville called La Caridad—pictures especially admirable for

¹ Sir Edmund Head, in his edition of Kugler (1854), describes several *Madonna* pictures, and others, seen by him at Seville, about 1833, which were believed to be early works of Murillo. Some showed 'little or no promise of the artist's future excellence'; others showed the influence of Zurbaran and Roelas and are described as very beautiful. What has become of these paintings I cannot say.

² In 1874 the figure of St Anthony was cut out and carried away to America by a thief; but it was recovered and has been reinserted in the picture.

³ Four were carried off by Marshal Soult. Two (*Abraham and the Angels* and *The Prodigal Son*) were sold to the Duke of Sutherland.



131. MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK

By Murillo

Seville

Photo Anderson



132. THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES

By Murillo

Seville

Photo Anderson



133. THE ROMAN PATRICIAN'S DREAM

By Murillo

Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson



134. THE TELLING OF THE DREAM TO POPE LIBERIUS

By Murillo

Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

the way in which the crowds are depicted ; also *The Roman Patrician's Dream*¹ (Prado, Madrid), and the *St Elisabeth of Hungary* (or *St Isabel of Portugal*) *washing Lepers* (Academy, Madrid), and the charming picture given in Fig. 136.

In galleries and private collections outside Spain there are very numerous 'Murillos'—many of them genuine. The chief of those in the Louvre have been mentioned. In our National Gallery, besides peasant-boys, etc., there is the fine *Holy Family*, with Christ between the Virgin and St Joseph, and above, in the clouds, the Divine Father—a representation against which, we are told, a deputation endeavoured to remonstrate with the Trustees. At Dulwich, besides the charming *Flower-girl*, there is an attractive *Jacob and Rachel* and a *Virgin and Child in Heaven*. At Munich is the popular picture of two beggar-boys eating fruit. In the Hermitage Gallery (Petrograd) there were about twenty of Murillo's works, including a celebrated *Prodigal Son*. Finally, many private collections, in England and elsewhere, possess specimens, large or small, of Murillo's art, to give the names and the present whereabouts of which would be a difficult task.

Since the days of Velasquez and Murillo Spain has produced no really great painter, unless we may call Goya really great. Besides him there have been during the last three centuries very few Spanish painters whose names need mention in a book which does not profess to register any but important artists—important by reason of their works or because they determined, or exemplify, some important development in the history of art.

Among the contemporaries and immediate followers of Velasquez and Murillo were some clever imitators. One of these was the half-caste slave of Velasquez, Juan Pareja (*d.* 1670), of whose fidelity and modesty touching stories are told, but whose artistic gifts are shown by a big picture in the Prado (*The Call of St Matthew*) to have been nothing remarkable. Also the pupil and son-in-law of Velasquez, Del Mazo (*d.* 1687), employed his master's methods with such success that it is sometimes difficult to

¹ I.e., the dream of a fall of snow which led to the choice of a site for S. Maria Maggiore (ad Nives) at Rome in the year 350.

SPAIN

distinguish their works. Landscapes and portraits by him are to be seen in the Prado Gallery.

Curiously enough, Murillo also had a slave—a mulatto—named Sebastian Gomez, who learnt his master's style so well that some of their work found a place side by side in the Capuchin church at Seville. Another gifted imitator of Murillo was the intimate friend in whose arms he died, Villavicencio, a Knight of Malta. There is at Madrid a picture by him of street-boys gambling and quarrelling—just such a picture as might easily pass in popular judgment as a typical 'Murillo.' But Alonso Miguel de Tobar (1678–1758) is regarded as perhaps the cleverest of all the school of Murillo. Not a few of his paintings (as is also the case with those of Villavicencio) have passed, and perhaps will continue to pass, as genuine works of the great Sevillian master.

At first the academy founded by Murillo at Seville was zealously supported by his pupils and admirers, but Madrid attracted genius, and the combined influence of the school of Velasquez and that of the Italian and Flemish masters ere long made the already powerful capital of Spain the centre of Spanish art.¹ Among the foremost painters of this Madrid school we hear of Carreño (1614–85), who succeeded Velasquez as court-painter. His portraits (of Charles II, of Don John of Austria, etc.) show not only the influence of Velasquez but that of Van Dyck. Carezo (1635–75) was a pupil of Carreño. He is noted for the fine colouring for which he was indebted to the works of Rubens.

But the best known of the Madrid school of the later seventeenth century was Claudio Coello (1630–93). He too imitated successfully the rich colouring of Rubens.² In the Prado he is represented by *St Louis IX of France adoring Christ* and by a portrait of Charles II of Spain. His chief

¹ Belonging to neither of the two great national schools, of Seville and Madrid, were a few gifted painters of this period who, like the earlier Mannerists, were entirely under foreign influences. Among these was a contemporary and fellow-pupil of Murillo, Pedro de Moya (1610–66). He became such a devoted admirer of Van Dyck that he went to London to study under him, but Van Dyck died shortly after the arrival of Moya. There are six pictures by this artist (*The History of Joseph in Egypt*) in the Prado.

² There are nearly seventy paintings by Rubens in the Prado Gallery, and more than twenty by Van Dyck.



135. THE MADONNA OF THE ROSARY

By Murillo. *Madrid, Prado*

Photo Anderson



136. THE CHILDREN JESUS AND JOHN

By Murillo. *Madrid, Prado*

Photo Anderson

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

work screens the relic of the 'Bleeding Wafer' (the 'Santa Forma') in the sacristy of the Escorial church. The great painting shows, with many portraits, the grand ceremonial that took place at the arrival of the Wafer, which is said to have bled when trampled upon by Zwinglian soldiers in Holland. Coello took seven years to finish this picture, and so great was his chagrin when the painting of the ceiling of this same church was entrusted to the Italian artist Luca Giordano instead of to himself that it caused, they say, his death; and perhaps Sir Edmund Head is right when he asserts, in his edition of Kugler, that Coello's death was the death of Spanish art, for we now come to a period of rather more than a century, between the advent of the Bourbons and the War of Liberation (the 'Peninsular War'), during which foreign influences extinguished almost every spark of native genius.

Luca Giordano was, as we have seen in a former chapter, a Neapolitan painter of astounding productiveness and gifted with such rapidity that he was nicknamed *fa presto*. The character of his vast and commonplace, though grandiose, decorative frescos at Naples, Rome, Florence, and Venice has been already noted. In Spain he decorated the Madrid Palace and the Escorial, where he filled eight of the great compartments of the vaulted ceiling of its immense church with a large number of Biblical scenes—a work that was accomplished in so short a time that we cannot wonder at poor Coello's fate.

After him came another of the famous barocco *affrescanti* of Italy, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, whose sometimes really fine paintings at Venice and in many other cities—for he worked not only in Italy—have been noted elsewhere. His influence in Spain, where he decorated with a great ceiling-fresco (c. 1762) the Royal Palace at Madrid for Charles III, the Bourbon king, was doubtless more elevating than that of Giordano. It was perhaps also favourable to the development of native genius, for his long sojourn there (till his death in 1770) was followed by the formation of a school which fostered principles of such vitality that they resisted the deadening influence of the Teutonic Neo-Classicism, preached and practised in Spain by Raphael Mengs, and

SPAIN

probably contributed to the development of the vigorous growth of Goya's art.

Goya (1746–1828) is by some denounced as ‘brutal,’ but there is no denying that he had power, if not the strong self-restraint of true genius. His talent for seizing, and for presenting vividly in their essential features, the phenomena of human existence has very rarely been surpassed. His etchings of bull-fights and other scenes of Spanish life are famed, as are his tapestry cartoons, of which the Prado possesses numerous specimens (*Vintage*, *Flower-girls*, *Washer-women*, *Card-players*, etc.). Also about twenty striking, if sometimes rather coarsely realistic, portraits are to be seen there. Among these is the *Family of Charles IV*, in which with powerful satire he depicts the despicable Bourbon who in 1808 resigned the Spanish throne in favour of Joseph Bonaparte. Some of the works in which Goya depicts the horrors of war (*Desastres de la Guerra*) will doubtless remain a permanent and terrible record of the so-called Peninsular War.

One of the highest gifts vouchsafed to artistic genius is assuredly the power of revelation. But high gifts may be used ignobly. Goya's brush and etching-needle were used with amazing skill and vigour, but they were used in a spirit of bitter satire, in order to reveal the brute within the man—an object seemingly kept in view by a well-known British painter of to-day.

While still a young man Goya, as furnisher of designs for tapestries, came into connexion with the Spanish court. Ere long he became *Pintor del Rey*, and about 1788 was made Director of the Madrid Academy of Painting. But he was at heart a deadly foe of all potentates. The royal group mentioned above (see Fig. 137) is an example of the satirical insolence with which he treated kingly commissions.¹ Most of the religious pictures too for which he received orders from ecclesiastical magnates are repulsively irreverent and vulgar parodies of works of the old masters or satirical medleys of the sacred and the profane. In his etchings,

¹ In his *History of Modern Painting* the Breslau professor, Muther, calls Goya's portrait of Queen Marie-Louise ‘frankly grotesque,’ and describes this royal group as ‘a shopkeeper family that has won a big prize in a lottery and is being photographed in its Sunday clothes.’

PAINTING (FROM c. 1500)

especially in *Los Capriccios*, he goes even further than this, so that it may well be difficult to imagine such a *Pintor del Rey* and such a Director of a Royal Academy in the land of the Inquisition and of the divine right of kings. What a contrast to the attitude of earlier Spanish artists! His *Capriccios* were indeed seized by the Inquisition; but he escaped by dedicating the collection of his etchings to the King—whom he had insulted by his caricatures! In his *Desastres de la Guerra* the satire and vulgarity seem less odious—perhaps because the presentation of the horrors of war in a repulsive form may seem a more legitimate function of art.

That Goya was capable of seeing in human nature something besides what is contemptible or disgusting is evident from some of his work, such as his *Flower-girl* and *Reaper*, and *Breakfast on the Grass*, and several other clever, vivid, and carelessly executed paintings. Moreover, though we may feel justified in making a rather large allowance for patriotic bias in the voluminous monograph of the late Señor Beruete, it is impossible to deny that many of Goya's later portraits, especially those painted or drawn during and after the long Spanish War of Independence, possess astonishing vitality. Among these are several portraits of Wellington. Children too were sometimes painted by him with an insight and sympathy almost rivalling that of Reynolds. The picture of his grandson is cited as very fascinating, as is also that of the child-Queen of Sicily (in the Prado Gallery). In our National Gallery is his *Isabel Corbo del Porcel*—a striking portrait, but not without that tendency toward the revelation of what is vulgar in human nature which is to be found in so much of his work. A characteristic example of this tendency is his double portrait of *The Maja Nude* and *The Maja Clothed* (Academy of S. Fernando). When we recall the beautiful *Rokeby Venus* of Velasquez (Fig. 129), or even the recumbent *Venus* of Titian or of Giorgione, surely this much-admired work of the 'last of the great Spanish painters' must fill us with disgust.

Of painters subsequent to Goya one may mention Madrazo (1815–94) as foremost in the Spanish class of the

SPAIN

'pseudo-Classical Mengs-David, German-French school, with its swaggering, attitudinarian, theatrical ancient heroes,' as it is described by Mr Ford in his well-known *Handbook*. In the last half of the nineteenth century we find in Spain, as elsewhere, numerous clever artists, some of them (such as Pradilla) indulging their genius in slapdash ' broad impasto,' others (*e.g.*, Fortuny) devoting themselves to *genre*, with a tendency toward pre-Raphaelite detail; but in all of these, as well as in those of the present day, so conspicuous are Parisian influences that one can scarcely say that any genuine modern Spanish pictorial art exists.

137. CHARLES IV OF SPAIN AND HIS FAMILY

By Goya. *Madrid, Prado*

Photo Anderson

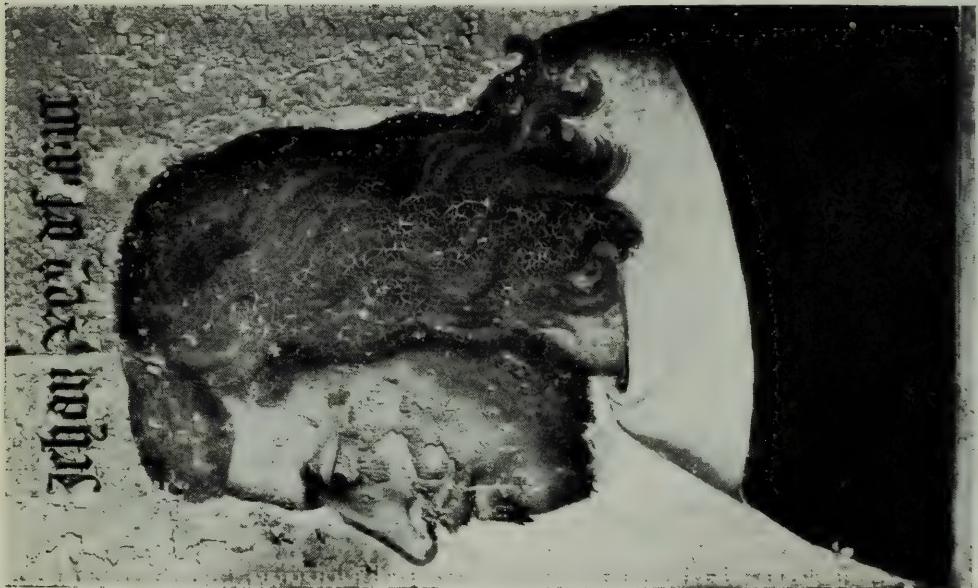




I 39. CHARLES V

See p. 190

Photo Alinari



I 38. JEAN II (LE BON)

See p. 195 n.

Photo Giraudon

PART IV

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

PRELIMINARY

FRANCE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

THE ORIGINS OF FRENCH PAINTING

IN the first volume of this book the course of French art was followed to about the beginning of the sixteenth century. We noted the rise and the splendid development of Gothic architecture and Gothic sculpture ; but there was very little to say about painting. I shall now recall the state of things in France toward the end of the fifteenth century—that is, toward the end of the so-called Middle Age of the Christian era—and shall then point out the origins of French pre-Renaissance painting. These origins we shall find to be very different from those of the French architecture and sculpture of the same period, which were almost entirely Gothic and show only faint traces of more distant influences, Romanesque, Byzantine, and classical. An event of great importance in the artistic, as well as the political, evolution of France was the so-called Hundred Years War. To a large extent it determined the character of the art, especially the painting, that existed in France shortly before the close of the fifteenth century. A few words, therefore, about this long-drawn-out war will perhaps help me to explain the nature of primitive French painting and to clear the ground for the consideration of the subsequent Renaissance or, as it is sometimes rather loosely called, Classical period.

The war was caused by the claim to the crown of France made by our Edward III against the Valois branch of the Capetian dynasty. It began in 1337. The chief victories of the invading English armies were Crécy (1346), Poitiers

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

(1356), and Agincourt (1415). For many years the French court suffered banishment from Paris and the Ile-de-France and had to take refuge in cities south of the Loire, of which one was Bourges. The turning-point was reached when Charles VII, excluded after Agincourt from the French throne in favour of our Henry VI, was crowned at Reims in the presence of Jeanne d'Arc (1429). Nominally the war ceased in 1453—some twenty-two years after Jeanne's tragic death—when the English were ejected from the whole of France except Calais ; but hostilities between France and Burgundy, the dukes of which had been our allies, did not end until the Burgundian duke, Charles the Bold, was defeated at Nancy in 1477 by Louis XI, the warlike son of Charles VII, and lost his life in the battle—whereupon Burgundy was incorporated in the kingdom of France.¹ This event put an end to a state of things that one might believe to have been very prejudicial to French art, not only because in war art generally suffers, but also because during the greater part of a century that region of France which had produced most of the magnificent architecture and sculpture of the Gothic period had been in the possession of English or Burgundian invaders, and the Flemish and Italian artists who would otherwise have flocked to Paris were diverted to the courts of the hostile Burgundian dukes or to Avignon, which even after it lost its popes in 1377 remained an art centre, or to Provençal Aix, the city of the 'good King René.'

But perhaps this long-drawn-out war was for French art a blessing in disguise. Perhaps it helped to keep alive that native genius which had already produced so much in architecture and in sculpture, and which was yet to put forth vigorous growths when the irrigating influences of the Italian Renaissance spread to France.

The first noticeable ripples of this fertilizing flood did not reach France until quite the end of the fifteenth century, and the inundation did not rise to its full height until nearly

¹ It is useful to remember that the war began in the year of Giotto's death, and that by 1477 Lorenzo il Magnifico was established in power (as was proved by the results of the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478) and had gathered round him a brilliant throng of Quattrocento artists and writers. The primitive French painters thus correspond chronologically with the *giotteschi* and with the *quattrocentisti* down to the days of Botticelli.

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

the middle of the Cinquecento. During the Hundred Years War, indeed until the end of the reign of Louis XI in 1483, the art of France—of that central and monarchical France which was ere long to absorb into a single realm its refractory feudatory provinces—remained genuinely medieval and Gothic. Then, in 1494 and 1499, came the futile expedition of the half-witted Charles VIII and the capture of Milan and of its duke, Lodovico il Moro, by Louis XII—events that were followed by a French supremacy of some twelve years in North Italy; and so deep was the impression made by the splendours of Italian art on the Northern invaders that one may justly compare it with that made by the art of the Greeks on their Roman conquerors :

*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio . . .*

And French enthusiasm for the art of Italy seems not to have been lessened by their expulsion from that country, nor by the triumphs of the Spanish-Austrian ‘Holy Roman’ Emperor, Charles Quint, nor even by the capture at Pavia of the French king, Francis I, which took place in 1525. It was, indeed, this same Francis I who, on his return from imprisonment at Madrid, proved the first French monarch to favour enthusiastically the introduction of Italian art. It was at his invitation that Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, and Benvenuto Cellini visited France—where Leonardo spent the last three years of his life—as well as Rosso of Florence and Primaticcio of Bologna, some of which Italian painters he engaged to decorate his great castle-palaces of Fontainebleau, Blois, and Chambord. And it is interesting to note, as we shall have occasion to do later, that the influx of these foreign artists did not result in mere sterile imitation, but that a genuine Renaissance took place—a revival of that love for classic art which seems to be imperishable in France, and which has often directed her aright amidst many extravagances and eccentricities—whereas in Spain the native school of painting was, before the coming of Velasquez, almost totally choked out of existence by the presence of great Italian and Flemish artists.

But this is looking somewhat far ahead. Let us return to our subject, namely the state of things in France toward

FRANCE (c. 1500–c. 1820)

the end of the fifteenth century, when the long supremacy in matters artistic of medieval influence—that of papal magnates, of the priesthood, of monasticism, pietism, and chivalry—had given way before that of powerful feudal princes, who were themselves in turn overthrown and absorbed by a central monarchy¹ and were now at last to a large extent being replaced in the social order by the wealthy and influential *bourgeoisie* of the great cities.

The French architecture of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries well illustrates these political and social changes. Up to about 1300 scarcely any important buildings were erected except churches and the fortress-castles of kings and more or less independent and refractory nobles. Of the magnificent thirteenth-century French Gothic cathedrals some have been described in the first volume of this book, as well as some fine examples of that Gothic sculpture which was devoted almost exclusively to the decoration of these edifices. Of the old, often very massive, and, before the invention of artillery, impregnable castle-fortresses a striking Norman (Romanesque) relic is the huge ruin of Château Gaillard, which was built by Richard Cœur-de-Lion in order to obstruct access to Normandy through the Seine valley. Another is the castle of Coucy—a mighty pile of somewhat later date. It has been much damaged by earthquake and by the Germans, who, with more than Vandal savagery, blew it up during the last war. Its keep was over 180 feet in height—about as high as the towers of Notre-Dame—and its walls were 33 feet thick.

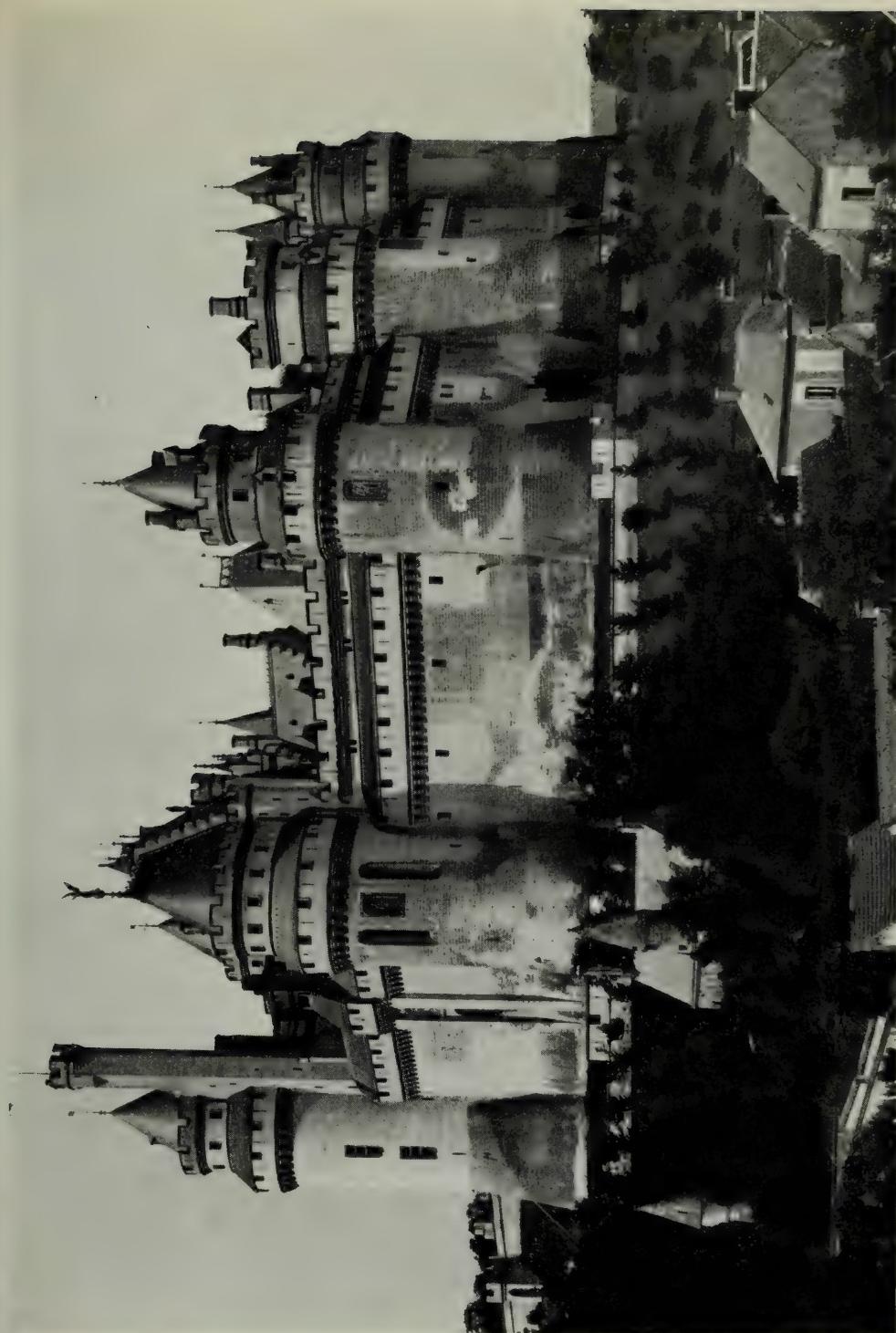
Other vast French buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, exceedingly impressive for their ‘Cyclopean’ masses of stonework and their grand simplicity of form, are the mighty ramparts of Aigues-Mortes (Vol. I, Fig. 223), erected on the Mediterranean shore (c. 1260) by King St Louis and completed by his son, and those of Carcassonne (c. 1280), and those of Angers, and the huge palace and ramparts of Avignon, built during the ‘Babylonish Captivity’ of the popes (1309–77). Relics of similar fortifications are also to be seen at Dinan and Saint-Malo, in Brittany; and from old

¹ The latter part of the Hundred Years War was practically a civil war—a struggle between the French monarchy and recalcitrant feudatory princes.

140. CHÂTEAU DE PIERREFONDS

Built c. 1410; restored in nineteenth century

Photo Mansell





142. CHARLES VII
By Fouquet. See p. 195

Photo Giraudon



141. HOUSE OF JACQUES CŒUR, BOURGES
See p. 188

N.D. Photo

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

miniatures we have an idea of a great Gothic fortress, the original Louvre, built by Charles V (le Sage) at Paris, as well as of the much older Parisian stronghold of St Louis, of which La Sainte-Chapelle is the only relic.

By the beginning of the Hundred Years War (1337) the building of great cathedrals had much decreased. Long before this date the simpler early French Gothic had been developing—some would say that it had been deteriorating—into the decorated or ‘radiating’ (*rayonnant*) style. At first this French ‘radiating’ style was of a rather rigid and frigid character,¹ corresponding to the early (geometrical) Decorated style of English architecture; but during the long period of hostilities, when few great buildings were begun, but some of the unfinished cathedrals were completed, this *rayonnant* style assumed an ever richer decorated character, and before the end of the war, probably influenced by the extravagance of English late Decorated, it had developed into full-blown *flamboyant*.

During this century and more of continuous warfare it was natural that the castles of the nobility should increase in size and in number. They had long ceased to be only big, rudely built fortresses (‘brutal obstructions of masonry,’ as M. Hourticq calls them), and were fine Gothic edifices. The *châteaux* of the fifteenth century erected after the re-establishment of peace and of the monarchy began to be ever less and less merely gloomy fortresses and developed an ambitious and picturesque style of Gothic, notable for its clusters of great, round, pointed towers.² One of the earliest and finest of these was the castle of Pierrefonds, originally founded, about 1410, by Louis d’Orléans, nephew of Charles VI. It has been well restored to what it looked like externally in the fifteenth century by Viollet-le-Duc, the celebrated French architect and archaeologist, who died in 1879.

A few less ambitious residences of nobles and wealthy burghers have survived, more or less intact, from the latter

¹ Of this the nave of Saint-Ouen, at Rouen, is a fine example. It was built about 1310-20. The large windows and other parts of the building are later and show a decidedly *flamboyant* character.

² The old strongholds consisted of a square or circular rampart surmounted by towers. Inside this was the keep, or donjon, and in the centre a building for habitation. It was this central building which in course of time became a splendid and luxurious Gothic *château*.

FRANCE (c. 1500–c. 1820)

period of the Hundred Years War. A very attractive example is the mansion which Jacques Cœur, the banker of Charles VII, built for himself (c. 1435) at Bourges, where for years Charles held his court. It shows a geometric, decorated, Gothic style, modified later by Renaissance influences. In Paris there are the Hôtel de Sens and the Hôtel (hostel, or town residence) of the abbots of Cluny—both fine specimens of Gothic house architecture of this period. Among the surviving municipal edifices are the, comparatively rare, French town halls (Hôtels de Ville), such as those of Compiègne and Saint-Quentin, and the Law Courts (Palais de Justice) of Poitiers and Rouen. The last-mentioned shows great wealth of the graceful and restrained ornament created by early decorated French Gothic. ‘Superb mouldings enframe the high windows. Between these, buttresses, recessed for statues, mount to the dormer windows, over which they throw flying buttresses, and on the lofty roof the stone turns and curls in an exuberant florescence of pinnacles and pierced gables’ (Hourticq).

But although this Rouen Palais de Justice, built some years after the end of the war, is more richly decorated than the earlier French public buildings mentioned above, it is less flauntingly luxuriant and *flamboyant* than the far earlier Flemish communal edifices, such as the Brussels Hôtel de Ville (built c. 1405–40); and it is interesting to note that this comparative sobriety of French public buildings is evidently due to the fact that they were not in any sense of the word palaces such as a proud democracy erects for its own glorification, but merely utilitarian, and in many cases quite simply adorned, edifices built in certain cities of the Royal Domain for legal and municipal purposes.

French sculpture of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries has been treated already with some fullness in the chapter on Northern Gothic art, where note was taken of the exceedingly fine reliefs and statues used in the decoration of the great cathedrals, and the characteristics were described of the popular and innumerable Madonna images. But in connexion with our present subject, namely the state of French art toward the end of the Middle Age, two facts of special importance in regard to sculpture should be empha-

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

sized. The first is that during the monastic and communal (that is, the Romanesque and Gothic) eras, when the religious orders and the fervently pious communes of medieval Christendom raised mighty fanes to the glory of God, the subjects treated by sculptors in their architectural carvings were almost exclusively of a religious nature and generally of a symbolic or an ideal type. Only occasionally, as in some cases of Madonna images, was anything in the way of an independent statue not meant for architectural purposes produced. But when, after, and partly in consequence of, the Crusades, the rivalry between great feudal lords and sovereign monarchs became intensified the sculptors at the numerous courts were largely employed in carving monuments in honour of their princely and royal patrons, and thus the real statue (though still somewhat of an architectural appendage) and the realistic portrait statue were evolved. The effigies on the earlier of these monuments—which date from about the reign of St Louis (*d.* 1270)—although they are often realistically correct in regard to costume and weapons, show very little attempt at portraiture, the faces being of a vague generic type and expressionless, except for a slightly indicated smile, not unlike that of archaic Greek sculpture. The drapery, too, often lies in stiff parallel flutings, like those of a Greek column, as may be seen at Saint-Denis in the recumbent statues of Philip VI and Charles V—who died during the first half of the Hundred Years War. (See also Fig. 144.) But in the course of the fifteenth century, after the great war, very numerous sepulchral monuments were produced, and the statues became more and more realistic, both in face and in figure.¹

Another fact to be noted in connexion with our present subject is that during the war, especially after Agincourt, the realm of the French king, who was expelled from his Ile-de-France and bore the contemptuous name of the ‘King of Bourges,’ produced, as was natural, not much of

¹ On an early French tomb the recumbent figure (*le gisant*)—as distinguished from the standing mourners, *les pleurants*) has its folded hands and its feet propped against a diminutive lion (as in Lombard Romanesque)—or, in the case of a woman, against a dog. It is interesting to compare these sepulchral statues with those of Italy from the time of the Cosmati to that of Mino of Fiesole and the Venetian Pietro Lombardo (allowance being made for the great difference in material).

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

importance artistically. The artists of Bourges, Tours, and Moulins, under the patronage of the fugitive king and the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, formed what was called the Loire, or Touraine, school, in which were somewhat otiosely continued the old French traditions of plastic art, which in the next century were to be vigorously followed up by the great sculptor Michel Colombe—the veritable father of the modern French school of sculpture. But until the annexation of Burgundy and Provence by the triumphant monarchy (about 1480) very few important works of sculpture were executed by these genuine French artists. Madonna statues and statuettes, of stone and wood and ivory, were of course produced, as ever, by the *yimagiers*, and some remarkable relics of statuary have survived, such as a striking crowned head of Charles V (see Fig. 139) and statues of him and of Jeanne de Bourbon, once in the chapel of the Célestins and now in the Louvre; but the only really vigorous and original sculpture that may be associated with the history of French art of this period was that produced by Flemish artists under the patronage of the Burgundian dukes, who had become masters of wealthy provinces of Flanders and, as we have seen, had rebelled against their liege-lord, the French king.

This Flemish-Burgundian school of sculpture has been already discussed under later Gothic art, to which it belongs, and its exceedingly vigorous—sometimes almost brutally vigorous—productions, such as the works of the Dutchman Klaus Sluyter and his followers, have been described, especially the famous *Well of Moses* in the Carthusian abbey of Champmol, near Dijon. Here I need only add that the crude realism and the unrestraint (one might almost call it violence) displayed by these Northern sculptors, whatever skill and power they may show, offer a striking contrast to that spirit of French genius which, whatever may have been its eccentricities in its strivings after originality, has always returned, and doubtless will ever again return, to the true orbit of art. What M. Hourticq justly calls the ‘savage energy’ of this Flemish-Burgundian school is as essentially different from the audacity of Rodin as from that of Michelangelo—a fact that is apparent when we see pictured before

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

us the *Moses* of Sluyter, the *Moses* of the great Florentine, and the *Thinker* of the great Parisian. It must, however, be allowed that the work of these Flemish-Burgundian sculptors is sometimes exceedingly impressive. Few sepulchral monuments are more fraught with pathos than that which was erected toward the end of the fifteenth century to the memory of Philippe Pot. On a plain stone slab lies the figure of the dead man, clad in armour. The slab is borne by the figures of eight heavily and somewhat clumsily draped and hooded mourners (*pleurants*), each of whom carries a scutcheon—a motive ‘translated into sculpture’ from the alabaster reliefs that adorn the fine tombs (at Dijon) of two of the Burgundian dukes, Philippe le Hardi and Jean sans Peur. This Flemish-Burgundian monument to Philippe Pot (now in the Louvre) may be regarded as the last important specimen of Northern medieval sculpture.

When we turn to the French painting of this epoch we find a similar state of things. That is to say, we find that, while foreign influences prevailed strongly in Burgundy and at the court of the ‘good King René’ at Aix, in Provence, and also at Avignon, where an Italian school of painting had flourished under the popes of the ‘Babylonish Captivity,’ the central regions, in which the French monarchy was standing at bay against English invaders and Burgundian rebels, were almost entirely cut off from direct external art influences.

We have seen that the sculptors connected with the royal and ducal courts at Bourges, Tours, Moulins, and Orléans, although they did not produce much of artistic value, preserved some great traditions derived from the Gothic era, and transmitted what proved a vitalizing influence for later French sculpture. In the case of painting there were no great traditions. Northern Gothic had been unfavourable to pictorial art. Offering only narrow wall-spaces, it had almost put an end to that mural painting which Romanesque architecture had substituted for the old basilican mosaics.¹

¹ In Italian Gothic, with its broader wall-spaces, mural painting had far more free play. Thus we have (instead of the Northern stained-glass windows) the famous frescos of Giotto and the Trecento *giotteschi*, such as those in S. Croce and the Spanish Chapel at Florence, in S. Francesco at Assisi, and in the Arena Chapel at Padua.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

The colour decoration of the interior of Northern Gothic churches was supplied by the painted glass transparencies of the great windows, with which no frescos could compete in brilliance ; but glass-painting, however magnificent its kaleidoscopic effects, has very limited pictorial possibilities. The figures of the best Gothic glass-painters are very inferior to those of the best Gothic *yimagiers*. The latter not rarely, although often at a great disadvantage because their material was coarse stone instead of Parian or Pentelic marble, show a beauty of form almost rivalling that of ancient Greek sculpture, while the former generally retain the angular and uncouth types of old Roman-Byzantine ikons and other sacred pictures introduced by the Benedictine missionaries, such as best accorded with the exigencies of the leaden outlines used in Gothic glass. Evidently no genuine pictorial art could be developed from such a method of decoration. One has to look elsewhere for the origins of fifteenth-century French painting ; and it seems more than probable that they are to be found in the art which, as Dante tells us, ‘was called illuminating in Paris’—by which he intimates that at Paris especially this art was practised in his day.¹

And yet it seems as if, after all, the glory of the stained-glass windows of Gothic cathedrals did contribute indirectly to the rise of that school of painters of Central France from which later French painting was mainly derived ; for the Parisian *enlumineurs* of the thirteenth century were indubitably stirred to emulate the splendid colours of the glass-painters,² and this led to developments affecting pictorial art, for miniatures themselves began now to be more pictorial. The figures and faces were more lifelike and the surroundings more natural. Even in the fourteenth century (before and after the outbreak of the Hundred Years War) had appeared non-religious illuminated books, which gave views of towns, portraits, feudal ceremonies, etc. ; and early in the fifteenth century landscape, rural occupations, and hunting scenes became common. The gold backgrounds also now gradually

¹ *Purg.* xi, 80. The usual Italian word is *miniare*—i.e., to paint in red lead, or *minium* (whence *miniatura*). The French idea, that of illuminating, is of course quite different.

² In the *Psalter of St Louis* the glow of colour, says M. Hourticq, almost resembles that of La Sainte-Chapelle (built by that king).

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

whom was the Sienese painter Simone Martini, so highly praised by Petrarca in one of his sonnets for his portrait of Laura.

By the latter half of the fifteenth century—the period that we are here considering especially—Avignon had long been deserted by the papal court, but its school of painting, still Italian in its main tendencies, though influenced by Flemish art and by the new oil medium, continued to exist. Among the supposed relics of this school (besides half-obliterated frescos in the Palais des Papes) is a most curious, and evidently ancient, *Virgin of Pity (Pietà)*, in which the group of mourners bewailing the dead Saviour seems almost as if inspired by some old Gothic relief rather than by any Italian or Flemish conception of the scene. Another relic (found, like the *Pietà*, at Villeneuve, opposite Avignon) is a somewhat Flemish *Coronation of the Virgin by the Father and the Son*, attributed to a painter named Charonton.

A third centre was Aix, in Provence, the capital of that *bon roi* René (called ‘Reignier’ by Shakespeare) who for years was the ‘Old Pretender’ in the French-Angevin claim to the crown of Naples. At Aix art was royally patronized. Indeed, it used to be believed that King René himself was an important painter,¹ and that the picture of *The Burning Bush* (Aix Cathedral), with the portraits of him and his queen, was his work. But this painting—the rich colouring and the minute detail of which remind one of the Van Eyck school—is now attributed to Froment, as also the *Raising of Lazarus* (Uffizi) given in Fig. 148. He was a French artist at the court of René, whose portrait he has left us. Now doubtless after the close of the Hundred Years War, and even during this war, some of the methods and motives of these painters at Dijon and Avignon and Aix must have found their way to Bourges and Tours and Moulins; but this school of the Loire, which, as we have seen, consisted mainly of artists connected with the courts of the fugitive king and of the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, seems to have preserved a large measure of independence until quite the end of

¹ There is a story that when the news came of the total overthrow of his son Jean at Troja (Italy) he was occupied in painting a partridge, and calmly continued painting—a story that reminds one of the Emperor Honorius and his hens when news came of the capture of Rome by Alaric.

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

disappeared, giving way to blue skies, green meadows, and woodlands ; and in calendars the months are distinguished by the aspect of the sky and of vegetation, as well as by the seasonable labours of peasants or the tourneys and other amusements of nobles. The most famous of such illuminated manuscripts is a parchment prayer-book richly illustrated by pictures in thin body colour by three artists who hailed from Limburg. It is called *Les très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. This Duke of Berry was an active partisan of Charles VI and Charles VII during the great war. The miniatures of his splendid prayer-book (of 1416) give very interesting views of various medieval, royal and feudal, castles, such as the old Louvre, the Palais de la Cité, the castles of Poitiers, Vincennes, and others.

But artistically developed miniatures are not the sole source of that painting which we find in Central France at the end of the Middle Age. In that part of the country which was independent of, and mostly hostile to, the monarchy, and by which the monarchy found itself long isolated,¹ there were several centres to which Flemish and Italian artists were attracted; and by their work French painting was in course of time influenced to some extent.

At the court of the Burgundian dukes, who were then masters of a part of the Netherlands, not a few fine paintings were produced by artists of the Flemish school, among whom were the famous Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden ;² and the new method of oil-painting invented by the Van Eycks was introduced and practised here and in other parts of France long before it was accepted by the school of the Loire and Touraine.

Another centre was Avignon. Here, from 1309 to 1377, the popes had resided. About 1336 Benedict XII, it is said, invited Giotto to decorate the newly finished Palais des Papes ; but Giotto died before he could undertake the task. Other Italian artists were then invited, one of

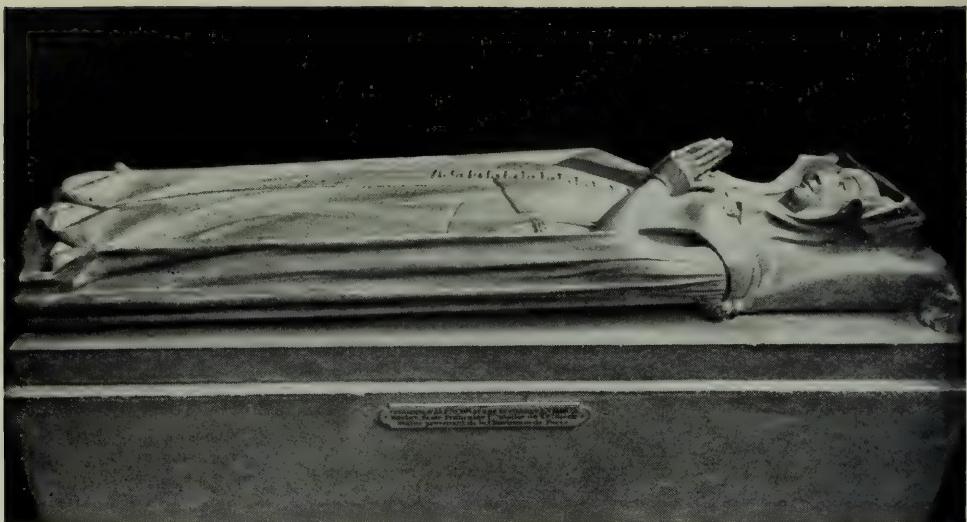
¹ In the Hundred Years War, as we have seen, the King became a fugitive from Paris and held his court in the dukedoms of Berry and Bourbon. It was not till the sixteenth century that the monarchy had annexed all the ducal provinces and the kingdom of Provence.

² This Flemish-Burgundian school was exotic and died out. Examples of the sculpture remain at Dijon, but the paintings of Malouel (see Fig. 146), Broederlam, Baerse, Van Eyck, and others have gone—some to the Louvre.



143. PALAIS DE JUSTICE, ROUEN

Photo Giraudon



144. MONUMENT TO CATHERINE D'ALENÇON

See p. 189

Chartreuse de Paris

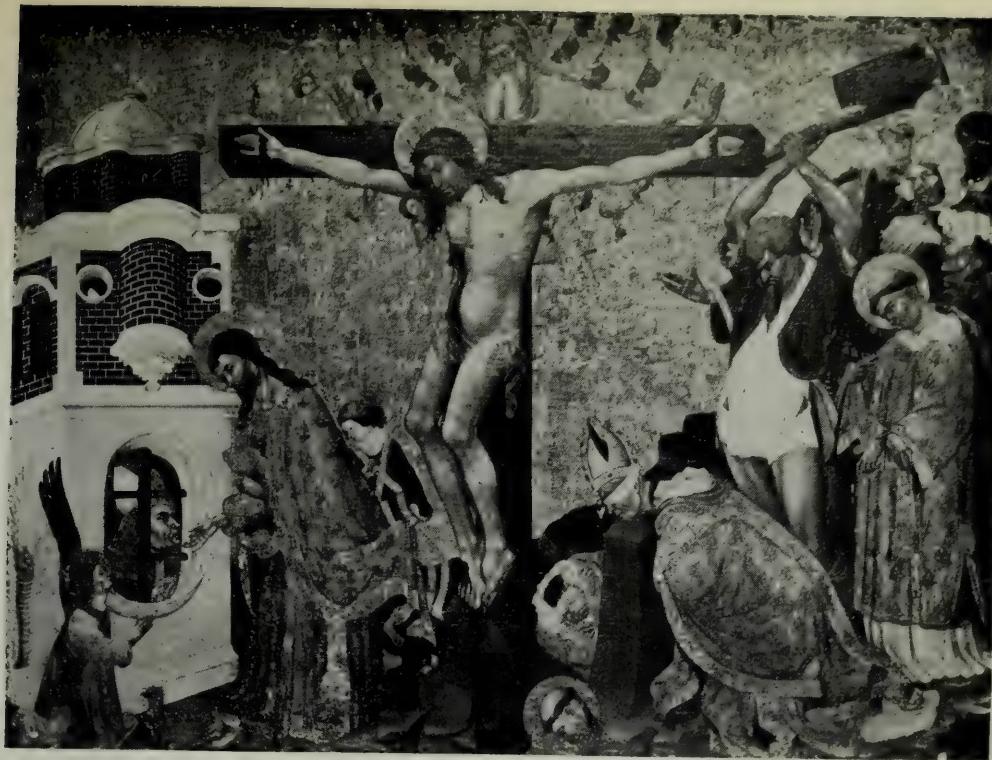
Photo Alinari



145. MONUMENT TO PHILIPPE POT

Abbaye de Cîteau. Now in Louvre

Photo Alinari

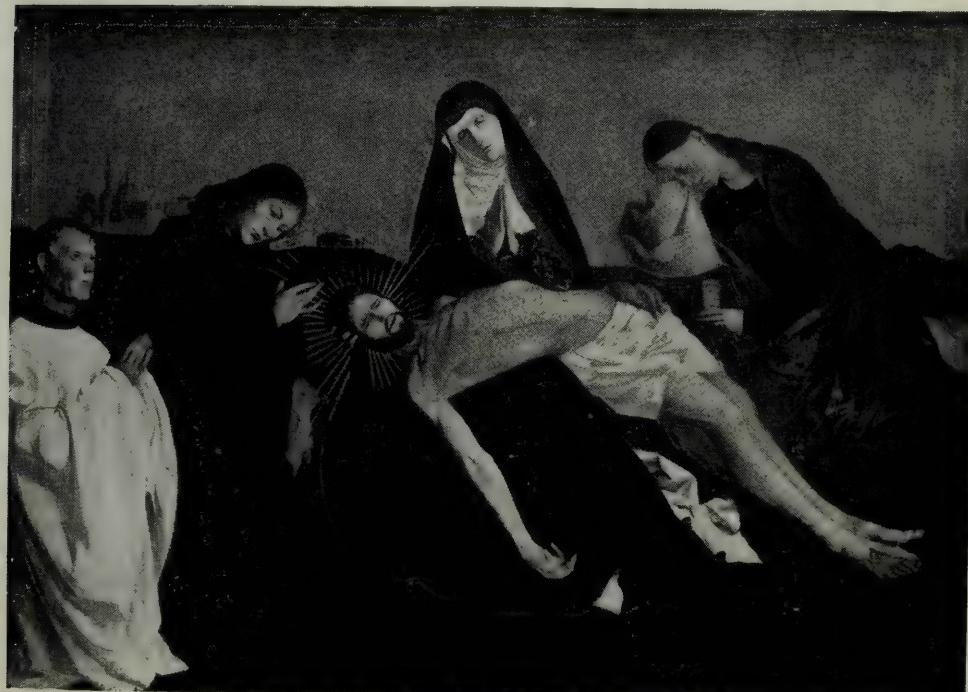


146. MARTYRDOM OF S. DENIS

By Jean Malouel (Burgundian school). Or by Bellechose of Brabant?

Louvre (from Dijon)

Photo Giraudon



147. PIETA

School of Avignon. *Louvre*

Photo Alinari



148. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

Attributed to Froment
Florence, Uffizi
Photo Alinari

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

the fifteenth century, when the influences of Umbrian and Middle Renaissance art began to come direct from Italy.

The chief painters¹ of this school of the Loire are Jean Fouquet, Bourdichon, and an artist who goes by the name of the 'Master of Moulins.' Fouquet was a skilful miniature-painter. The Book of Hours that he illuminated for Étienne Chevalier is full of little views and scenes that give a very good idea of the country of the Loire and of medieval life and buildings.² He has also left some striking portraits, of which one (in *tempera*) is of Charles VII (Fig. 142), and another (in enamel) is of himself.

Bourdichon seems to have confined himself mainly to miniatures. The Book of Hours that he illuminated for Anne of Brittany contains not a few minute sacred pictures worthy of comparison with similar scenes painted on a larger scale by Flemish and Italian artists. But it is just possible that, besides his miniatures, he painted large and very fine pictures; for he may be identical with the above-mentioned Master of Moulins, to whom is attributed a number of remarkable paintings. The largest and perhaps the finest of these is a triptych³ in Moulins Cathedral which shows the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon adoring the Virgin and Child enthroned amidst a glory of angels. This central group reveals Umbrian influences and unquestionably a Peruginesque, or early Raphaelesque, manner. Evidently this Master of Moulins, whoever he may have been, had visited Italy—as Fouquet had done—or had studied very sympathetically Umbrian pictures, brought to France perhaps by some followers in the train of Charles VIII. In the Louvre there are other paintings by this unknown artist, namely a very dignified *St Peter*, with the Duke of Bourbon doing reverence, and a *St John*, with the Duchess in a similar

¹ The earliest of all genuine French painted portraits is probably one (by an unknown artist) of the 'good king John,' who was captured at Crécy in 1346. See Fig. 138.

² In his illuminated *History of the Jews* (Josephus) the backgrounds show Loire scenery and Gothic castles.

³ Lit. 'thrice-folded'—used to denote a picture with two folding wings. This triptych is sometimes attributed to Jean Perréal, the possible designer of the famous tomb of Francis II, Duke of Brittany, at Nantes, and also probably the architect of the church of Brou. He accompanied Louis XII to Italy, in 1507, as his official painter. The triptych was formerly thought to be by Ghirlandaio. See Fig. 149.

FRANCE (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

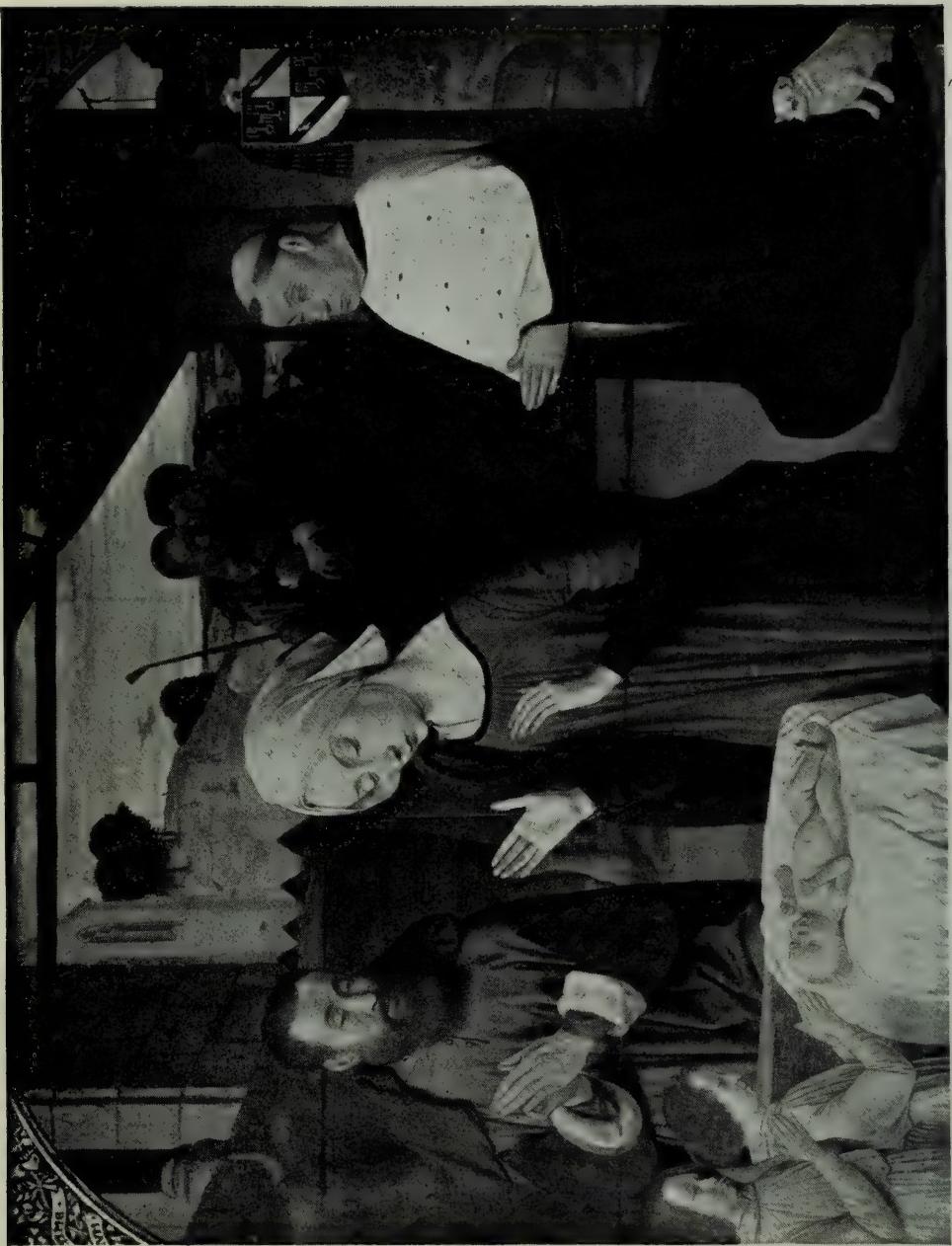
attitude. In the episcopal palace at Autun is a picture of the Nativity which, if it is by this Master of Moulins, many will be inclined to call his masterpiece. Certainly, on careful inspection, it does exercise a wonderful charm by the tranquillity and unaffected dignity of the scene ; and one is struck by the almost Naturalistic vigour shown in portraying the two shepherds who have just arrived—while in the distance a flying angel is still proclaiming to their comrades the tidings of joy, and the little town of Nazareth, with its Gothic church, nestles amidst the woods and hills of the Cher or the Loire (see Fig. 150).

Having thus glanced at the state of things in France at the close of the fifteenth century, and having investigated the origins of the French painting of that epoch, we can now pass on to a review of the various phases of French art after the full establishment of the monarchy over the main part of what forms modern France. I shall divide this great subject into two eras, namely the era of transition and of Classical art, from the reign of Charles VIII until the accession of Louis XIV—say, from about 1483 to 1643—and the era from 1643 to about 1820, including the periods of Louis Quatorze and his successors and that of the Revolution and the Empire down to the time when Neo-Classical art begins to yield to the Romantic movement of the early nineteenth century.

Moulins Cathedral
Photo Giraudon

149. TRIPTYCH ATTRIBUTED TO THE 'MASTER OF MOULINS' (OR TO JEAN PERRÉAL)





150. THE NATIVITY

Perhaps by the 'Master of Moulin's'

In the Episcopal Palace at Autun

Photo Girandon

CHAPTER I

FRENCH ART FROM CHARLES VIII (*acc.* 1483) TO LOUIS XIV (*acc.* 1643)

See Vol. I for accounts and illustrations of French Romanesque and Gothic architecture.

(a) Architecture (*c.* 1500–1643)

DURING the hundred and fifty years or so over which our present subject extends very great changes took place in French architecture; and there was also a rather long period of evolution between medieval Gothic, which was still in full force in the reign of Louis XI, and that Classical style which we shall find full-blown, indeed considerably over-blown, at the accession of Louis Quatorze.

As we have seen in the prefatory note, during the greater part of the fifteenth century Central France was almost entirely cut off from foreign influences, so that it was scarcely affected at all by Italian Quattrocento art; but toward the end of this century and in the early years of the next the French monarchs, now at last the sovereigns of a re-established French nation, led their armies across the Alps and returned with not only a considerable quantity of Renaissance art treasures but with many drawings and descriptions of Renaissance and ancient buildings. The enthusiasm thereby aroused, not only in the central regions of the monarchy, but in the newly annexed provinces (where both Flemish and Early Renaissance Italian art had been imported already), produced remarkable effects. These manifested themselves at first in the same way as they had done in Spanish *plateresque*. Pagan mythological subjects and classical ornamentation began to be substituted in reliefs and mouldings and capitals¹ for the religious

¹ Also in miniatures, ceramic, enamel, tapestry, metal-work, ivories, etc., the new classical ornamentation soon won its way. Moreover, we must not forget

FRANCE (c. 1500–c. 1820)

and allegorical imagery of medievalism. Then classical columns, entablatures, pediments, etc., were introduced, and finally, after the return of Francis I from captivity in Spain, the new French Italian style completely ousted the Gothic.

Before this happened, however, during a transition period of about fifty years, the old style held its own valiantly, not only producing some very fine purely Gothic buildings, but evolving, in self-defence, an exceedingly picturesque transition style, in which round towers, high roofs, sharp pinnacles, tall chimneys, and a low-pitched pointed arch (called *l'arc en anse de panier*) were combined with some of the main features of Italian Renaissance architecture.

It is the architecture of this transition period (say 1500–50) that first presents itself to our notice. We shall find that some of its finest specimens are *châteaux* and *hôtels* (castles and city mansions of monarchs, nobles, and wealthy burgesses)—no longer mere strongholds, as in Gothic days, but artistically built and decorated palaces. And here we should note that when Italian architects and painters were brought, or invited, to France by Charles VIII and Louis XII and later by Francis I, or by the rich nobles who accompanied them on their Italian expeditions, it was but natural that they should be mainly employed in building and decorating castles and erecting splendid tombs and other monuments for royalty or the aristocracy rather than in raising great cathedrals. There were, indeed, a few fine ecclesiastical edifices—most of them mainly Gothic, with Renaissance decorations—built during this period and even later, such as the Tour de Beurre of Rouen Cathedral and the *flamboyant* churches of Saint-Maclou (Rouen) and Saint-Nizier (Lyon), the beautiful, pure Gothic, façade of the cathedral of Toul, the cathedrals of Rodez and Sens, the church of Brou, with its fine Gothic tombs, the porches of the cathedrals of Albi and Mantes, and the Notre-Dame de l'Épine near Châlons, and Saint-Eustache (Paris), copied partly from Notre-Dame; and, as we have seen when con-

that what is called Renaissance influence was by no means merely artistic; in fact, art merely exhibited outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual influences.

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

sidering the Late Gothic epoch and the end of the Middle Age, there were also some fine French communal buildings erected in France during the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, of which the well-known Palais de Justice at Rouen is a striking specimen. But on the whole this was not the age of religious or communal edifices, nor of religious subjects in decoration ; it was an age of royal and princely courts and patronage, and an age of splendid and luxurious palaces, castles, and mansions. Many of these were new, built by Italians, or by French architects who fused the native Gothic with the style of those Renaissance buildings which they had seen in Italy or had learnt to admire in drawings and paintings brought from Italy. Not a few *châteaux* were transformed from old Gothic fortified castles, the huge blind walls being perforated by large square Renaissance windows, and the battlements, towers, moats, and other fortress features being kept as ornamental survivals and combined into a picturesque whole with Renaissance portals and porticos and superimposed open or blind arcades of classic columns or pilasters, while in some cases (but less frequently than in ecclesiastical buildings) Roman vaulting again appeared in the place of Gothic.

The following are a few of the finest of such *châteaux* of this transition period. It is noticeable that, the age of constantly renewed war having seemingly given place to one of assured government and peace, castles were usually no longer built on hill-tops but often on the banks of some placid lake or river, in the waters of which many still reflect themselves.

The castle of Chaumont was built originally in the thirteenth century, by the noble family of Amboise. In 1475 it was rebuilt, probably by Louis d'Amboise, Bishop of Rouen. It stands, like most older feudal castles, on a steep eminence, and dominates the Loire. It has four massive round towers crowned with sharp conical roofs, and its entrance is provided with a drawbridge. Inside a rather defiant exterior, as is often the case in these old *châteaux*, the architecture is less stern. There are graceful Late Gothic turrets and façades with Renaissance ornamentation. An interesting proof of how the old castles

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

were changed into ‘pleasaunces’ is the fact that one side of Chaumont was pulled down to afford a view over the Loire valley.

The Château d’Ussé, completed as late as 1538, resembles Chaumont, but is much less like a grim old fortress, having been designed in the old style evidently for aesthetic, not defensive, purposes. The inner court shows attractive ornamentation on façades, balconies, etc.

The famous Château d’Amboise was built, or greatly enlarged, by another Louis d’Amboise, who became afterward (1502) Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen. It passed into the possession of the kings of France, and was often the residence of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I. Its celebrity is partly due to the fact that the foolish Charles (it is said), while wandering along one of its dark passages, ran his head against a beam and killed himself; but it is still better known because it was here, in the cloister of the castle’s chapel, that Leonardo da Vinci was probably buried (see p. 63 n.). The so-called ‘Apartments of King Charles VIII’ are in a part of the castle which is purely Gothic. There is also a huge round battlemented tower of the same age. The later parts stand higher and exhibit a style of architecture for the most part purely Italian—a fact doubtless due to the presence of Leonardo and other Italians invited by Francis I. The building suffered greatly from restoration in the Napoleonic era.

The castle of Blois is ancient, and still contains a great hall of the thirteenth century; but it was rebuilt by Louis XII (who was born at Blois), and Francis I added a fine wing which has four tiers of arcaded galleries and possesses a remarkable open staircase of Gothic type that winds upward within a structure formed by tall Renaissance columns adorned with statues.

The reign of Francis I (1515-47), which was not long interrupted by his captivity after the battle of Pavia in 1525, may be regarded as the last period of this transition between Gothic and Renaissance (or Classical) French architecture. Typical castles, or palaces, of this epoch are those of Chambord, Chenonceaux, Azay-le-Rideau, and Fontainebleau. These we will consider in turn, and then, as an



151. CHÂTEAU DE CHAUMONT

Photo Giraudon



152. CHÂTEAU D'AMBOISE

Photo Giraudon



153. CHÂTEAU DE CHAMBORD

North front

Photo Giraudon



154. CHÂTEAU DE CHENONCEAUX

West front

Photo Giraudon

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

example of the now victorious Classical style, which in its hour of victory and naturalization seems to have lost almost all the beauty and grace due to its Southern origin and to have assumed the gloom of Northern skies, we will finally take the earliest portion of the modern Louvre.

Chambord—‘the Versailles of the sixteenth century’—is the largest of the late transition *châteaux*. It was begun by Francis I in 1523. It stands on the bank of a wide and placid river (Cosson). It consists of a symmetrical four-sided central building flanked by great towers, such as are found in Gothic strongholds; and the high roof, crowded with lofty chimneys and pinnacled dormer windows, gives it a Gothic appearance; but externally the main edifice is Italian in its chief features and decoration, and the cupolas and elevated lanterns that top the great towers are characteristically High Renaissance. The building was doubtless interrupted by the disaster of Pavia, and its decided Renaissance characteristics are due to the enthusiasm conceived by Francis for everything Italian after his Spanish captivity. It was not finished till the reign of Henry II (*c.* 1550).

Chenonceaux, a massive square castle, is built in a most picturesque situation, islanded amidst the waters of the river Cher. It was begun in 1515 by Bohier, Finance Minister of King Francis, and came later into the possession of Henry II. The main building has Classical features, but the favourite high-pitched roof, with its many round and pointed turrets and lofty chimneys and pinnacles and dormer windows, makes the impression of a Gothic castle. On a stone bridge that connects it with the river’s bank rests the somewhat later, purely Renaissance, portion of the castle built by Philibert Delorme.

Azay-le-Rideau was built (*c.* 1520) by another treasurer of Francis I and confiscated by that monarch. It is less ambitious, its high-pitched roof being far less crowded with turrets and Gothic dormer windows. It also lacks a picturesque water-side situation; but it is exceedingly well-proportioned and refined in appearance.

Fontainebleau Palace (Fig. 156) was built for Francis I. It is architecturally not equal to many others of this period.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Although it is of vast extent the general height of the various buildings of which it is composed is insufficient to make it really impressive. But in richness of decoration it has few rivals. Francis himself had it furnished by French and Italian builders and sculptors with a great profusion of architectural adornments—galleries and staircases and porches and statues and reliefs—and ere long we shall come to the school of Fontainebleau painters, mostly Italian, who were employed by this king and by his son to decorate the great halls and galleries with mural and ceiling and other paintings.

We have now reached the phase in this transitional palace architecture when, toward the end of the reign of Francis I, Gothic features had almost wholly disappeared. As we have seen, the Gothic characteristic that survived longest was the high-pitched roof, with its turrets, its battlements, its lofty chimneys, and its dormer windows. All this now gave place to low, unpretentious, unornamented roofs.¹ Great façades became the main feature, and these were ornamented with monotonous symmetry—all Gothic irregularity and *unexpectedness* (as it has been called) being eliminated.² The decoration consisted, with an imitation of antique models more pedantically Vitruvian than that which prevailed in Italy itself, of long lines of windows enframed in tiers of superimposed Doric,³ Ionic, and Composite columns or pilasters, and surmounted by classic pediments or entablatures. Henceforth, for the rest of the century—until the advent of the dome and the Pantheon or Palladian (“colossal”) style—the interest in royal and civic French architecture was chiefly centred in the more or less effective methods of decorating the façades of great

¹ The sombre and graceless palace of Saint-Germain, built for Francis I by two French architects (Chambiges and Guillain), has a flat roof which is adapted as a terrace, in Southern fashion. It has monstrously large and high round-arched windows and externally affects features of Classicism, but has Gothic ogival vaulting and buttresses to support the thrust. An odd mixture!

² This feature of a Gothic edifice is of course not due to arbitrary lawlessness. True Gothic obeys the law (violated in *baroque* and in *flamboyant*) that ornament and constructive form are organically one; and in obedience to this law it has the power to develop luxuriant growth and even accept all kinds of grafts, while a Greek temple is a completed organism.

³ The very debased Tuscan Doric used by the Romans and perpetuated (from patriotic motives?) by the Italians, from medieval times up to the present day, was unfortunately often adopted in French architecture.



155. PART OF LESCOT'S FAÇADE OF THE LOUVRE

Porte Jean-Goujon

Photo Giraudon



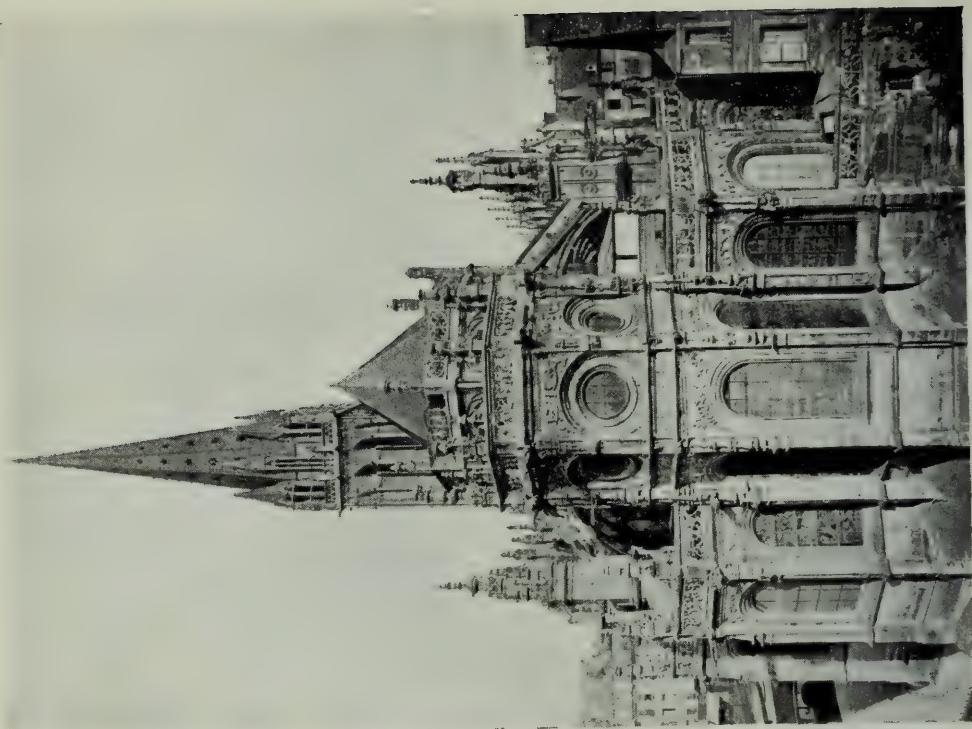
156. FONTAINEBLEAU

La Cour des Adieux

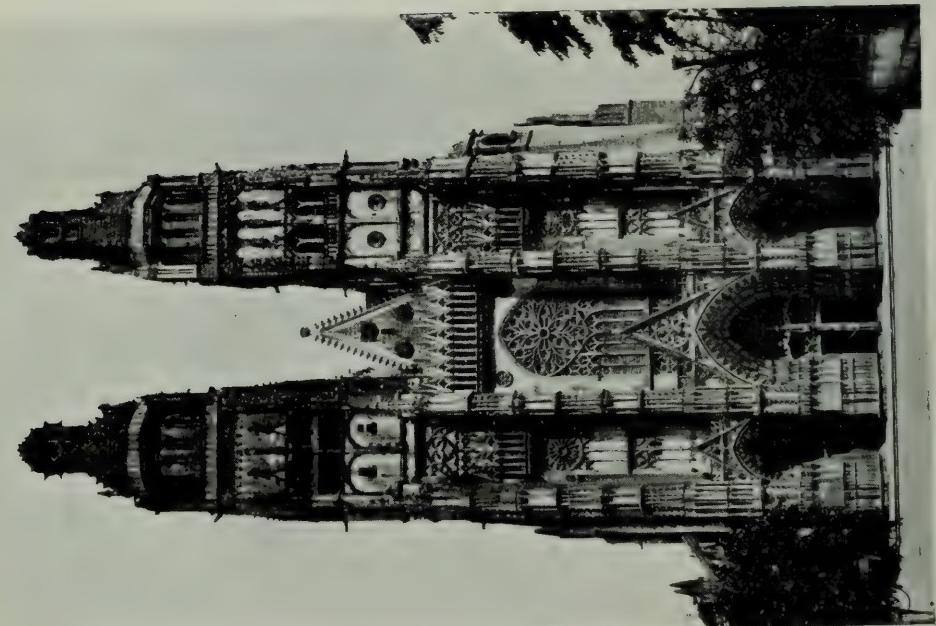
X Photo

158. SAINT-PIERRE, CAEN

N.D. Photo



157. CATHEDRAL OF TOURS
Twelfth to sixteenth centuries



FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

buildings with various combinations of classical columns and their appurtenances.

A striking illustration of this is what is called Lescot's Louvre. Pierre Lescot was a councillor of State who, to the amusement of his fellow-functionaries, took to architecture and surprised them by becoming the foremost French architect of his day. He was commissioned by King Francis to demolish the old fortress-palace of Charles V and build a new Louvre. This was begun in the last year (1546) of the reign of Francis I, but although Lescot lived till 1578—having survived the accession of four more kings—he built only the two blocks that form the south-west corner of the present Louvre, and completed only one (the western) façade—a fact probably due to the expenditure lavished on the building of the (original) Tuileries Palace by the widow of Henry II, Catherine de Médicis, during the reigns of her three weakling sons.¹ Lescot's portion of the Louvre has been imitated more or less closely by all those who during the next three centuries worked at its completion. His famous western façade, with all its wealth of pilasters and pediments and balconies and niches and tiers of columns, and all the sculptures with which the great artist Goujon embellished it, presents a rich but somewhat artificial aspect and cannot compare in attractiveness with the best High Renaissance work in Italy.

Although, as I have said, this was an age of castles and palaces and grand mansions rather than one of cathedrals and churches, there were some notable religious edifices erected even during the tragic period of the religious wars that were due to the long and sinister supremacy of the Medicean Queen-mother. Some specimens of obstinately persistent Gothic church-architecture have already been mentioned. The following examples show how Gothic was gradually eliminated—much more gradually than in the case of the *châteaux*—during the later transition period, say between 1525 (the capture of King Francis I at Pavia)

¹ The eldest, Francis II, husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, died very soon after succeeding to the throne. Catherine's architect, Philibert Delorme, enjoyed great reputation, but his works have perished, except parts of the *châteaux* of Anet, Fontainebleau, and Chenonceaux, and except treatises in which he advocates principles like those of Bramante and Sansovino.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

and 1589 (the death of Henry III, the last and most despicable of the three sons of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis).

The cathedral of Tours is a Gothic building finished in Renaissance style—a far less artistic hybrid than the Romanesque churches topped with Gothic pinnacles and steeples of which there are so many examples; for the lower portion is in the lighter style, but as the walls rise higher the more cumbrous Classical style prevails, and the great Gothic towers, which were evidently meant to bear spires, are surmounted with tall, top-heavy Renaissance lanterns.¹

A smaller but very much more satisfactory specimen of Renaissance addition to a Gothic church is the wonderfully proportioned apse and choir of Saint-Pierre at Caen. The architect, Hector Sohier, must have had an almost Greek sense for the beauty and dignity attainable by the harmony of parts to the whole and to one another. An effect of richness is produced in keeping with the *flamboyant* Gothic ornamentation of the rest of the church by using as roof-decorations galleries and pinnacles freely composed of Italian Renaissance elements.²

A very different specimen, again, of the French Italian Renaissance style is Saint-Étienne du Mont, Paris. It is a strange medley of an almost Gothic high-pitched roof with a lofty, graceless campanile surmounted by a stilted, domed, Renaissance lantern, and with an ill-proportioned congeries of heavy Classical constructions that form the main body of the church. As a curiosity—a rare, unlovely hybrid—it is interesting for those who delight in difficult classification. In its gay ‘decorative amenities’—to use an expression of M. Hourticq—it is really almost Byzantine.

Finally let us take as a fine example of the fully developed French Italian Renaissance architecture the grandly designed and exquisitely proportioned church of Saint-Michel at Dijon. The façade, with its three nobly arched portals and

¹ Renaissance topped with Gothic, though perhaps more artistic, is chronologically like inverted geological strata. Of this Orléans Cathedral offers an example.

² The three chapels of Saint-Jacques at Dieppe are attributed to Sohier or his pupils.

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

its two great towers—of the same type as that of the Parisian Saint-Étienne, but incomparably more beautiful—is a triumph of pure form and satisfies one's sense of proportion so entirely that it is easy to believe the (oft-questioned) tradition that the architect, Hugues Sambin, was a pupil of Michelangelo (see Fig. 159).

We have now traversed the period of transition, in which the enthusiasm for ancient architecture, revived (after the long Gothic interval) by Italian influences, produced much of a mixed character ; and we have arrived at an epoch of about fifty years in which French architecture evolved a more definitely Classical form. This evolution reached its climax during the reigns of Henry IV (Henry of Navarre, who ascended the throne as a Protestant) and Louis XIII —*i.e.*, between 1589 and 1643. The period was not very productive in comparison with later periods, but it is of great interest because in it originated in its pristine vigour that Classic spirit which, in spite of frequent defiance, has ever since been, for good or for evil, a ruling power in French art and French literature, often regaining its supremacy under some new form or name.

The evolution of a distinctly Classical style in French architecture was doubtless a result of the Italian High, or Classical, Renaissance. It is true that at Rome the Classical Renaissance, which had begun very early in the sixteenth century with Bramante's Tempietto, had degenerated into barocco even before the death of Michelangelo in 1564. But at Venice it was now at its best—for Venice was always tardy in adopting any new style—and the dates of Sansovino and Palladio correspond very fairly with those of Lescot and Bullant.¹

Lescot we know already. His contemporary, Jean Bullant, is also notable, for he introduced (he surely did not invent, as is sometimes asserted) the Palladian device, seen in the Casa del Diavolo at Vicenza, of using very lofty columns, free or attached, reaching from the ground to the roof, instead of a tier of smaller columns for each storey.

And here we may remark in passing that, although this 'colossal' or Palladian style was evidently an instinctive

¹ Sansovino *d.* 1570. Palladio *d.* 1580. Lescot and Bullant *d.* 1578.

protest against the false method of using otiose, superposed columns merely for decorative purposes (of which the Roman Colosseum itself is guilty), it is itself false in principle when used decoratively in a building of several storeys and not in one where the gigantic columns have some honest work to do in supporting a heavy entablature or pediment or portico-roof. And a proof of the falsity of principle in such cases (*i.e.*, in buildings of several storeys intended for habitation) is that the external columnar decoration often formed no organic whole with the internal architecture,¹ so that it proved an awkward task to dispose the habitable parts in accord with the exigencies of the so-called Classic façade—a task that, as far as we can infer from Pompeian and other such relics of private houses, was not attempted by the Romans and does not merit the title ‘classic.’ This difficulty was evidently one of the main reasons why many of the palaces of this period (*e.g.*, the Luxembourg) and of the municipal buildings (*e.g.*, the Hôtel de Ville at Lyon) and of the *châteaux* and mansions (*e.g.*, Fouquet’s Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte² and the Château de Cany) renounced the great columns, or pilasters, of the so-called Classical façade,³ while, on the contrary, the churches, for which the ancient Greek and Roman temple architecture was naturally far better suited, developed great Pantheon-like porticos and superposed tiers of ancient orders supporting heavy pediments or buttressing the drum of a dome—for domes came now again into vogue, introduced from Italy, where their use had been revived in the days of Brunelleschi and had continued through the Early, Middle, and High Renaissance (Michelangelo’s dome of St Peter’s at Rome being the mightiest of this period) and had been eagerly adopted by barocco builders in the extravagant Jesuitic

¹ Likewise many sixteenth-century French churches have a Gothic nucleus enclosed in a Renaissance shell.

² Nicolas Fouquet was a minister of State. His vast *château* perhaps inspired Louis XIV to build his splendid palace at Versailles.

³ After his victory at Ivry and the general reconciliation caused by his renunciation of Protestantism, having established himself at length in Paris, Henry IV encouraged the rebuilding of some quarters of the city. Impoverishment caused by war was doubtless the cause of the adoption of plainer architecture, the façades of houses being of brick and stone decorated slightly with classical pilasters. This continued through the reign of Louis XIII. The Place Royale (des Vosges) still shows this style.

160. L'ÉGLISE DU VAL-DE-GRÂCE, PARIS

See pp. 207, 235

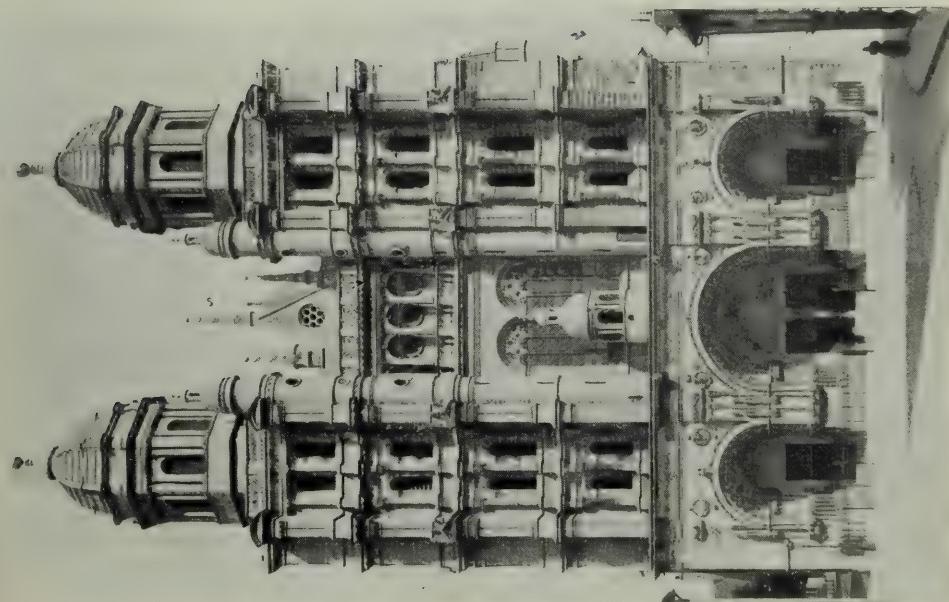
206

X Photo



159. SAINT-MICHEL, DIJON

Photo Giraudon





161. SAINT-LOUIS DES INVALIDES, PARIS

See p. 234

Photo Giraudon

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

style as a splendid field for grandiose fresco decoration. Fine examples of these French Classical churches built during the reign of Henry of Navarre, the regency of his widow, Marie de Médicis, and the reign of their son, Louis XIII, are those of the Sorbonne, the Invalides, the Val-de-Grâce, and the chapel of the Collège des Quatre-Nations, now the Palais de l'Institut.¹

Besides these striking characteristics the churches of this High Renaissance and Jesuitic period of French architecture had features due to the long and fierce battle that still raged between Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation. Christendom was no longer wholly content with splendid ceremonials at which vast congregations assisted mostly as uninitiated spectators, like the multitudes that in earlier ages had crowded the Hall of Mysteries at Eleusis. It was no longer content never to dare to discuss the reason of its faith. Mariano and Tetzel had in their day endeavoured publicly to confute the heresies of Savonarola and Luther, and now French Catholicism, forced by the Edict of Nantes to abandon for nearly a century (1598–1685) the extirpation of the Huguenots by such means as the Inquisition and the Massacre of S. Barthélemy, betook itself to the rhetoric of its Oratorians, and churches adapted themselves accordingly. They renounced the great areas and lofty vaultings of Gothic cathedrals and became smaller and lower, in order to be acoustically and otherwise better suited to the convenience of the pious or inquisitive audiences who came to listen to the polemics and philippics of popular preachers. But what they lost in area they gained by means of their sometimes majestic domes and Pantheon-like exteriors.

The establishment of Henry IV at Paris after his promulgation of religious liberty by the Edict of Nantes (1598) marks the beginning of that period of ‘monarchical’ art during which royalty appropriated more than ever the patronizing of the great French architects. Saint-Germain, Fontainebleau, Lescot’s Louvre, Amboise, Blois, Chambord,

¹ The Sorbonne church was built by Lemercier, Saint-Louis des Invalides by Brant (the dome by Jules Mansard), the Val-de-Grâce by François Mansard, and the Collège by Le Vau, all of whom worked during the reign of Louis XIII and a part of that of Louis XIV.

and other great palaces and *châteaux* had been built, or begun, or acquired by kings, especially by Francis I; the (original) Tuileries had been built by Delorme for Catherine de Médicis, Queen of France, and had been connected with the regal palace of the Louvre; and now another Medicean Queen of France, Marie, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and wife of Henry IV, had the great Luxembourg Palace built as her residence. Her Florentine home had been the huge Pitti Palace—first designed by Brunelleschi (c. 1440) in the almost ‘Cyclopean’ style of Florentine *rustica*, and furnished more than a century later with Renaissance windows and pediments, but without any Classical columnar decoration. The main features of this building she adopted in erecting her new home;¹ and this somewhat bare but impressive Luxembourg Palace had doubtless considerable influence in the reaction against those misnamed ‘Classical’ façades which a misguided enthusiasm had used decoratively even in domestic architecture.

. (b) Sculpture (c. 1500–1643)

In the preliminary note to this Part we considered the state of French art at the end of the Middle Age; that is, about 1490. The effect of the Hundred Years War had been to isolate monarchical France, but before the end of the century the monarchy had extended its authority over the greater part of the nation, and the Italian expeditions of Charles VIII and Louis XII, from which many returned full of enthusiasm for the wonders of architecture and painting that they had seen, helped Renaissance influences to permeate rapidly nearly the whole of what ere long was to be the united kingdom of France. There were, however, outlying regions where medieval sculpture held its own even after Classicism had firmly established itself in the great cities. One of these regions was Brittany. Here there are to be seen some curious relics of the first half of the sixteenth century, among which are notable the so-called *Calvaries*—groups of large statues representing the scene of the Crucifixion. A very remarkable example is at Pleyben,

¹ Built 1615–20, from the designs of Salomon de Brosse.



162. L'ENSEVELISSEMENT DU CHRIST

About 1495

Abbaye de Solesmes
A.G. Photo,



163. MISE AU TOMBEAU

By Ligier Richier

Saint-Mihiel, Lorraine

A.G. Photo

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

and another is at Plougastel. They are both mounted on massive basements, and stand under the open sky. In the latter, although it dates from the reign of Francis I, or even of Henry II, the conception, costumes, and treatment are still almost purely medieval.

Of somewhat similar character, but ensconced in recesses within churches, are the *Sepultures*—sculptured scenes of the Entombment. One in the abbey church at Solesmes (c. 1496) and another at Saint-Mihiel, in Lorraine, of about 1520, show great differences in conception and treatment, the former having scarcely any Renaissance feature except some classical pilasters and being of the placid and heavily draped type common in Gothic sculpture, and the other showing such mastery in form and such vigour in action that we are not surprised to hear that its maker, Ligier Richier, is said to have studied under Michelangelo. But many, I think, will feel that the old surpasses the new in pathos and dignity. (See Figs. 162, 163.)

For some half-century this contest between the old and the new sculpture continued, the subjects in the native (mostly provincial) school, which worked mainly for the Church, being Biblical and the treatment medieval, literal, and somewhat *triste*,¹ while the Italian, or Italianized, school, which was mostly Parisian and worked mainly for kings and nobles, adopted an almost pagan joyousness, or indifference, in regard to the mysteries of existence, and used myth and allegory instead of, or combined with, Scriptural scenes and saintly personages.

A really important French sculptor of this period, Michel Colombe (*fl. c. 1500*), shows medieval seriousness draped, as it were, in Renaissance garb. Among the numerous anonymous works attributed to him two seem almost certainly his, although they are of very different character. The *St George and the Dragon* (see Fig. 167) is medieval in subject and conception, and, although of marble—hitherto a rather rare material in Northern France—the forms have the heaviness of Gothic sculpture. A far

¹ A fine example of this is the *Ste Anne* of Fig. 164. The dominant note of the Renaissance was joyousness at liberation from the bonds of medievalism. The *joie* of the troubadours was a faint and early heralding of this.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

greater work (c. 1507) is the fine tomb of Francis II of Brittany and his wife, at Nantes.¹ Here the recumbent figures, with hands clasped, have no air of gloom; there is no cumbrous armour or oppressive drapery; the *pleurants* have changed from big, sinister, hooded figures to little ornamental figurines, and at the corners of the monument are standing four allegorical statues, representing the four cardinal virtues. These statues, although they lack real dignity and grace, are interesting as perhaps the earliest important specimen of the use in France of that personification in monuments which, practised already by Florentine *quattrocentisti*, was to prevail later so largely at Rome in barocco and Neo-Classical days (see Fig. 166).

And here we must note the sculptor, of unknown name, evidently a contemporary of Colombe, to whom we owe what seems to be one of the last and most beautiful of the statues produced by that school of French sculptors to which are attributed the *Calvaries* and *Entombments* above mentioned, as well as many a touching *Pietà* and not a few Madonna images. This so-called *Vierge du Château d'Olivet* (Fig. 165) both in face and in attitude—so different from that of the sometimes awkwardly lopsided Gothic *Madonnas*—surely excels greatly Colombe's *Virtues*. Although of marble, her drapery has not the delicate folds and tissue of Italian workmanship, but the graciousness and dignity of form and face are surpassed but rarely in Italian sculpture.

In connexion with the Nantes tomb may here be mentioned some others. From St Louis onward many French kings had tombs erected to their memory in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, and it is there possible to follow the evolution of French sculpture and to observe the very different sentiments of various generations in regard to mortality and fame. Some of the Gothic royal tombs in Saint-Denis have been noted in a former chapter. It is not surprising that the first king whose tomb (by an Italian) shows a pure Renaissance style is Louis XII, the conqueror of Milan and the captor of its duke. Here, instead of a recumbent dead body and mourners, we have a vigorous portrait statue

¹ Some have attributed the design of this tomb to Jean Perréal (see p. 195 n.), but he seems merely to have procured the Italian marble for it.

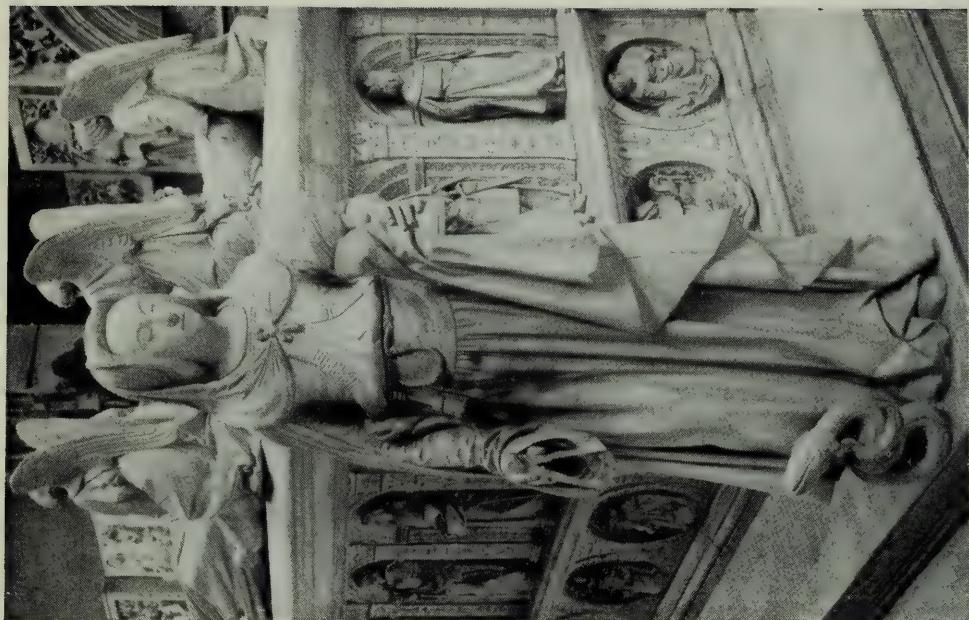


164. STE ANNE ET LA JEUNE VIERGE

Stone ; early sixteenth century

Château de Chantelle

Photo Alinari



165. LA VIERGE DU CHÂTEAU D'OLIVET

Marble; sixteenth century

Louvre

Photo Alinari



166. LA PRUDENCE

By Colombe. See p. 210

Nantes Cathedral

Photo Giraudon

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

kneeling on a late Quattrocento structure crowded with allegorical and other figures.¹ The tombs of Francis I and Henry II are still more decidedly Classical in style, although by Frenchmen. The former is a triumphal arch (designed by Philibert Delorme), with commemorative reliefs by Pilon; the latter is adorned with bronzes, also by Pilon, whose *Three Graces* (or *Theological Virtues*), bearing on their heads the tripod casket that was intended to hold the hearts of Henry II and his consort, Catherine de Médicis, is one of the most famous of early French Renaissance sculptures (Fig. 170).

Another church that contains fine monuments is the ducal mausoleum at Brou, near Bourg, in Burgundy. Here too, as in Saint-Denis and in Westminster Abbey, we find rich Gothic architecture and some very fine Late Gothic tombs (*e.g.*, those of Marguerite of Bourbon and Margaret of Austria²), as well as some in Italian Renaissance and others in German and Flemish style.

Finally, in Rouen Cathedral are two very fine, almost purely Classical, monuments, the one—that of the two famous Amboise Cardinal-Archbishops of Rouen—dating from about 1515, the other, that of the Duke of Brézé, from not much earlier than about 1550, if it really was designed by the great sculptor Goujon (see Fig. 169). The latter is interesting because it combines characteristics of three epochs—the recumbent statue of the dead man, rigidly outstretched, as on Gothic tombs; the columns, entablatures, and Caryatides of advanced Cinquecento tombs; and another statue, representing the Duke as alive and mounted on horseback. This last feature introduces us to the fact that toward the end of the sixteenth century the erection of magnificent tombs inside churches went to a great extent out of vogue; and these tombs were not seldom replaced, in the case of kings and illustrious men, by equestrian statues—this fashion having been perhaps initiated by the renown of such works as Donatello's *Gattamelata* and Verrocchio's *Colleoni* and encouraged by the erection (1538) on the Roman Capitol

¹ In French, as in Italian, Renaissance tombs the dead man is sometimes sculptured as rising on his elbow and looking around him in astonishment—a fashion justly derided by Ruskin.

² The church was built (1511–36) in order to hold these tombs.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

by Michelangelo of the ancient equestrian statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. However that may be, neither Henry IV nor either of his sons had monumental tombs in Saint-Denis, but Henry and all his successors had their statues, often equestrian and often erected in public places.¹ Monumental busts too had become fairly common by the latter part of the century, evidently suggested by those of Italian sculptors, who had revived the type of the classical busts of Imperial days. Some of the best early French marble busts of this character are those of Charles IX, Henry II, and Henry III (Louvre) by the sculptor Pilon, whose other works will be considered later. Also a very charming bust of a child by him is to be seen in the Louvre.

Having now noted in a general way the phases through which French sculpture passed during the sixteenth century in its transition from the Gothic into the Classical style, I shall add a few words about some of the principal sculptors. There are several, such as the maker of the *Vierge du Château d'Olivet*, about whom nothing is known, and of none do we know much. We have already met Colombe, who on the strength of his Nantes monument may, I think, be regarded as a great artist.

Rather later than Colombe—somewhere between 1515 and 1590; that is, between Francis I and Henry IV—lived Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon. Goujon, of Normandy, we have met before. He supplied sculptures (nymphs and Caryatides) to decorate Lescot's Louvre façade; he executed the reliefs on the doors of the *flamboyant* church of Saint-Maclou at Rouen, and a sculptured *Entombment* for Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, and the famous reliefs of the *Nymphs* for the Fountain of the Innocents at Paris (c. 1547). But the work by which he is best known to fame is the recumbent statue of Diana (now in the Louvre) which once adorned a fountain of the Château d'Anet, a mansion given by Henry II to Diane de Poitiers (on whom he bestowed also Chenonceaux). This work, for which the fair Diane,

¹ Some grand monumental tombs were erected by rich and noble families during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII. Of these that of the Duke of Montmorency, at Moulins, is a well-known example. It is in the usual heavy, Classical-allegorical style of this period. Many monuments were, it will be remembered, destroyed during the Revolution.



167. ST GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

By Colombe. See p. 209

Louvre



168. DIANA AND STAG

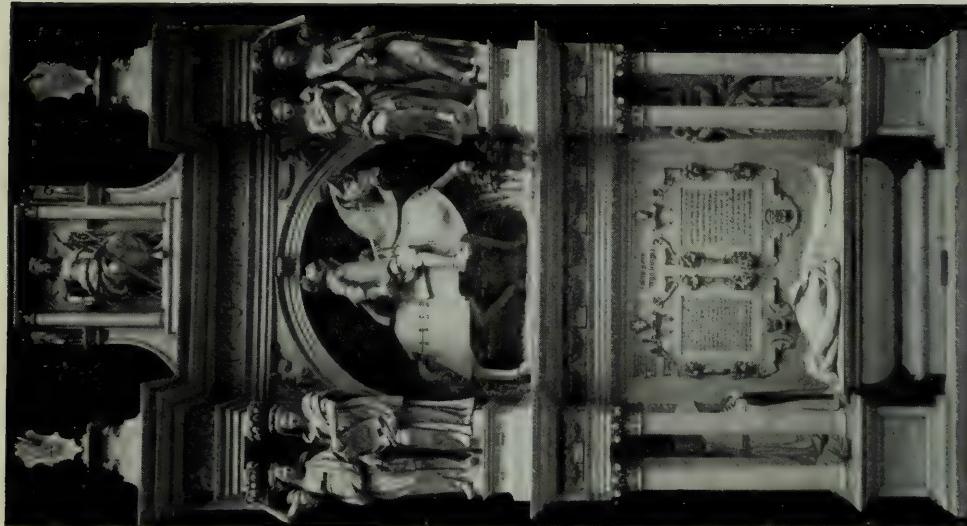
By Goujon. *Louvre*

Photos Alinari



169. MONUMENT OF THE DUC DE BRÉZÉ
By Goujon (and Cousin ?). See p. 211
Rouen Cathedral

A.G. Photo



170. THREE GRACES, OR VIRTUES

By Pilon. See also p. 211

Louvre (originally L'Église des Célestins) 213

Photo Alinari

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

elaborately *coiffée*, evidently sat, or lay, as model, is very much admired, and for technique may be admirable, but surely for no other reason. Here and in other of his works—we are assured—the almost Italian beauty of form, the graceful attitude, small and delicately moulded extremities, long and supple limbs, and (in the case of the *Nymphs*) the undulating or clinging draperies, are said to prove a study of Primaticcio's Fontainebleau paintings.¹ But Goujon seems to have settled in Bologna about the year 1563 and to have died there in 1569. It is therefore not unlikely that he may have studied in Italy before making his *Diana*.

The last important French sculptor of the sixteenth century is Germain Pilon, whose birth date, given by some as 1535, was more probably about 1525, as he seems to have come to Paris about the middle of the century and to have executed then, in co-operation with Bontemps, the sculptures for the tombs of Francis I and Henry II, the architecture of which had been designed by Delorme and Lescot. His *Three Graces* (or *Virtues*), already noted in connexion with royal tombs, proves Pilon to have possessed in no small measure Hellenic genius for plastic art. The figures are full of grace and beauty, and it is to be regretted that they have to act a part even less pleasant than that of Caryatides. Pilon's busts have been already mentioned. His skill in portrait sculpture is shown also by his dignified kneeling statue of the Chancellor René de Biragues (Louvre).

A few other, less eminent but talented, sculptors worked during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII. To one of these, whose name is unknown, we owe the very remarkable bronze head of Henry IV which is pictured in Fig. 172. Also Guillaume Dupré and the Gallicized Fleming Warin (mint-master to Louis XIII) executed some very beautiful bronze medals and medallions, worthy of comparison with the best work of Italian engravers. Of these the best known are the *Henry IV with Catherine de Médicis* by Dupré and Warin's *Richelieu*. Warin also made a fine bronze bust of the great statesman.

¹ It is interesting to compare Goujon's *Diana* with the *Diana of Fontainebleau* (Louvre), a bronze relief made by Benvenuto Cellini while at the court of Francis I.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

François Anguier was the sculptor of the monument of Henri de Montmorency already mentioned. Barthélemy Prieur's three bronze allegorical figures on the monument of Anne de Montmorency, Franceville's *Orpheus*, and Biard's statue of Henry IV (all in the Louvre) are some of the better specimens of the not very high-class sculpture produced toward the end of the sixteenth and during the first half or so of the seventeenth centuries; and Jacques Sarrazin's monument to Henri de Condé (now at Chantilly) is certainly one of the worst.

The lives of some of these sculptors extended well into the reign of Louis Quatorze. This was so with Simon Guillain (1581–1658), who made a large group that originally stood opposite the Pont-au-Change (Paris), but is now in the Louvre. It consists of bronze statues of Louis XIII (in the gorgeous garb of a field-marshall besprent with *fleurs-de-lis*) and Anne of Austria, between whom, on a dangerously high and narrow pedestal, is standing a figure which, if there is no anachronism, must be intended to represent a child of tender age—for this little dauphin, afterward Louis XIV, came to the throne when only five years old. The King's figure has some dignity, but the general effect of the group is depressingly heavy.

(c) Painting (c. 1500–1643)

We have seen that in French churches of the Gothic era painted glass took the place of mosaic and fresco decoration and thus rendered very improbable any such revival of painting as that which we associate with the names of Cimabue and Giotto. It is true that a native school of painting did exist in Central France at the end of the Middle Age, and we have noted how its art was mainly derived from that of the medieval miniature-painters and received various affluents from Flemish and Italian sources. But, interesting as the works of these French *primitifs* are for their quaintness and their occasional beauty and pathos, as well as for the influence that they undoubtedly exercised on later French art, they were, both quantitatively and artistically, of very much less importance than the very



I72. HENRY IV

Late sixteenth century
Louvre

Photo Alinari



I71. FRANCIS I

Middle of sixteenth century
Louvre

Photo Alinari



174. ELISABETH OF AUSTRIA
By François Clouet. See p. 219

215

Louvre
Photo Alinari



173. FRANCIS I
By Jean Clouet. See p. 219 and n.

Louvre
Photo Alinari

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

numerous and magnificent buildings and the often noble and beautiful sculptures of preceding centuries.

And when, toward the end of the Middle Age, France awoke from the long nightmare of the Hundred Years War, and painting, as well as sculpture, was in demand for the glorification of kings and nobles and for the decoration of their palaces, the native school of painters was quite unable to supply what was needed. These painters possessed no great art traditions and had received no such training as had been long enjoyed by the artists of Italy. It was therefore but natural that those who at the time of the expeditions of Charles VIII and Louis XII visited Italy, and had enough feeling for art to be profoundly impressed by the wonders of Italian architecture and sculpture and painting, should have especially noticed the very great difference between the Italian and the French painters, not only in scientific technique, but in imaginative conception and splendour of presentation. When Charles, in 1494, was received at Milan with magnificent festivities, and when at Florence and Rome and Naples he played the part of the victor, parading through Italy 'with wooden spurs and a bit of chalk in his hand,' as Pope Alexander VI said,¹ he and his followers had plenty of opportunity to see the finest works of the great Quattrocento painters; and when some four years later Louis drove the Moro out of Milan Leonardo da Vinci had just finished there his celebrated fresco of the *Last Supper*.

Even the silly Charles VIII had enough *flair* to admire Italian painting and to wish (as he wrote home from Naples) to bring back with him some Italian artists to adorn his Château d'Amboise, where not long afterward he died while supervising the work of decoration. Louis expressed the intention to employ Leonardo da Vinci at his court, but probably Leonardo did not care to be the *protégé* of the jailer of his generous patron the Moro.² However, when Francis I, in 1515, crushed the Spanish-Austrians and their Swiss mercenaries at Marignano, and recaptured Milan, and made a triumphal progress through North Italy,

¹ See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 248 n.

² Another Milanese artist, Andrea Solari (see p. 36), seems to have had no such scruples, for he was in France from 1507 to 1509.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Leonardo seems to have been persuaded to join his train and to have accompanied him willingly on his return to France, where, in 1519, he died near Amboise. Pupils of Leonardo, one of whom, Melzi, had been present at his death, still remained at the French court. Francis was, however, not satisfied with second-rate talent. He persuaded Andrea del Sarto to come; but Andrea found the climate and court life and absence from his dear Lucrezia insupportable, and, having been allowed to go home on his solemn promise to return, he broke his word.

Neither Leonardo nor Andrea produced work in France that had great influence on French art.¹ Leonardo perhaps brought with him his *Mona Lisa* and sold it to the King; in France he also may have continued working at the celebrated *Madonna and Child with St Anne*, which (unfinished) is, as well as the *Mona Lisa*, in the Louvre; and a picture of Leda painted by him is said to have existed for many years at Fontainebleau. Andrea, during the year that he remained in France, painted a portrait of the Dauphin (later Henry II) and a *Tobias with the Angel* and a *Judith*. On his return to Florence, being commissioned by Francis to buy up fine Italian pictures (a commission on which, it is to be feared, he wasted much of the King's money), he sent to Fontainebleau several more of his own works, among them probably the celebrated *Charity and her Children* that is now in the Louvre. Francis I was the first French monarch to make an important collection of paintings. His famous Fontainebleau gallery was much impoverished by some of the subsequent kings, especially during the supremacy of Catherine de Médicis, and lost many valuable pictures; but it was enlarged by Henry IV after the end of the religious war, extended during the visit of Rubens to Paris, and vastly increased (it is said from 200 to 2000 paintings) during the reign of Louis Quatorze; and finally it proved a precious nucleus of the gallery of the Louvre, to which building it was transferred after the great Revolution.²

¹ From a letter of 1516 we learn that Leonardo's right hand was partially paralysed.

² An old catalogue, of 1642, the year before the accession of Louis XIV, mentions pictures by Leonardo (*Vierge aux Rochers*, *Mona Lisa*, etc.), by Raphael, Michelangelo (a *Leda*), and other great Cinquecento painters.

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

Francis I reigned thirty-two years (1515-1547). His patronage of Leonardo and of Andrea del Sarto preceded by some years his capture at Pavia, and it was not till after his liberation and his second defeat by Charles that he decided to devote his attention to the arts and humanities rather than to war and conquest. During the latter half of his reign—from about 1530 onward—he employed a number of Italian artists to decorate his palace of Fontainebleau. This first school of Fontainebleau, which continued to exist for some time, comprised in its early days a follower of Giulio Romano and Correggio, Primaticcio of Bologna, and the Florentine painter Giovanbattista, known—from his use of reddish colouring—as Il Rosso.¹

By these and others who succeeded them the walls of the palace were covered with frescos and oil-paintings, of which little now remains. In themselves they were not of much direct importance in the evolution of French art, for this school of Fontainebleau never became naturalized, and in course of time died out, as is the way with exotics. But although the French painters did not adopt the Italian manner they became conscious of the fact that in order to attain beauty and nobility in their art—in order that their art should acquire the best means of expression—they must set themselves to learn the same lesson that had been learnt by these Italians and must go back to principles similar to, if not identical with, those that had guided Italian art; and, recognizing that similar principles underlay also classic art, they wisely preferred to go back to these fundamental principles instead of becoming mere Eclectics, or imitators of method. This was in the highest degree fortunate, not only because Rosso and Primaticcio, though highly trained apostles of the ‘creed of the beautiful and worship of the nude,’ were by no means capable of exhibiting what was greatest in Italian art, but still more because no great

¹ Called by the Parisians *le Maître Roux*. As is evident from his *Moses defending Jethro's Daughters* (Uffizi), he adopted a muscular and violent style in competition with Michelangelo, who is said to have been his master. The well-known *Three Fates* (Pitti), formerly attributed to, and surely designed by, Michelangelo, is now given to him. Very charming pictures by him are the red-winged *Angel playing on a Guitar* (Uffizi) and the *Contest of the Muses and Pierides* (Louvre). He poisoned himself at Paris (1541) in remorse at having wrongfully accused one of his pupils of theft.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

national art has ever been founded on imitation of a foreign style. French pictorial art took a long time to strike root, and it rose slowly at first, little growth being accomplished before the days of Poussin; but the stock was genuine.

Besides the frescos and easel-paintings of the Fontainebleau school there were already in France, and doubtless accessible for artists, not a few Italian pictures which must have opened the eyes of French painters to possibilities hitherto unrealized by themselves. The works of the early native French school had not been numerous, and, if we exclude the more or less imitative productions of such *primitifs* as the Master of Moulins, and Froment, and Bourdichon, they had been portraits, of which the finest examples were perhaps those painted by Fouquet, such as his *Charles VII*. The number of portraits turned out by later, mostly unknown, native artists was very great.¹ From the days of Francis I onward there was such a demand for them that likenesses in marble, stone, bronze, or paint exist of almost all the royal and noble personages of the French court for centuries. Most of the painted portraits are of very inferior workmanship—even worse probably than the average portrait of the Florentine Passaggio—and even the best, if we can judge from what is extant, were artistically much below the level of the busts and bronzes. One can therefore easily imagine what an impression must have been made on French visitors to Rome by such a portrait as that of Pope Julius II and what a sensation must have been caused in Paris by Titian's portrait of Francis I.

No wonder, then, that the Parisians greeted with applause the appearance in their midst of an artist who could produce a portrait of their monarch worthy of comparison with Titian's—an artist who, although Flemish by origin and training, was a naturalized Frenchman. This was

¹ The assiduity with which Francis added to his collections is exemplified by the fact that at great expense he had painted for a gallery at the Château de Chambord the portraits of all the learned Greek fugitives driven out by the capture of Constantinople in 1453. In French museums and elsewhere exist many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century portraits. At the Château Beauregard, near Cheverny (says Peyre), there is a collection of 380 portraits dating from Philippe VI to Louis XIII. Catherine de Médicis left at her death amongst her personalities 341 portraits, miniatures, and other paintings.

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

Jean Clouet, who probably hailed from Brussels, and whose *Francis I* is one of the treasures of the Louvre Gallery.¹

Jean Clouet's son, François Clouet (1500–72), was apparently an even better, or more successful, artist than his father. Some of his finest portraits are in England—e.g., the *Catherine de Médicis et ses Enfants* (Castle Howard)—but the most famous is probably that of Elisabeth d'Autriche (wife of Charles IX), which is in the Louvre. It was painted about 1565. The exceedingly rich attire acts wonderfully as a foil to set off the very delicately coloured face; and in this it is a characteristic 'Clouet,' for both father and son used for faces very delicate colouring. Many of their portraits are, indeed, devoid of paint, being merely chalk drawings. The Louvre possesses a great number of Clouet drawings and paintings, which, together with others of a similar type by another, less known, portrait-painter of the same period, Corneille de Lyon, give one a very full and clear idea of the various types of men and women and the various fashions in dress and coiffure that were to be seen at the French court during the reigns of Francis I and Henry II and Henry's three sons. This Cornelis de la Haye, who won his French appellation by working for years at Lyon, was evidently no more a Frenchman than was Jean Clouet; but he may pass as such. In his portraits the faces, even more delicately tinted than those of Clouet, stand out with somewhat unnatural distinctness against a dark (olive-green) background.

Contemporaneously with these Flemish-French portrait-painters were working in the Ile-de-France the somewhat academic French followers of Primaticcio and other Fontainebleau artists, and even in provincial museums and galleries are to be found pictures, nameless or by unknown painters, which evidently date from this period and show a close imitation of the Italian Renaissance style both in sacred and in mythological subjects. In the Rouen Museum, for instance, is a really beautiful *Diana and her Nymphs* which, except for certain details, might be mistaken for an Italian

¹ The portrait by Titian evidently dates from soon after the battle of Marignano, say about 1515, when Francis was in North Italy, and probably at Venice. Jean Clouet's may have been painted on the return of Francis to Paris (accompanied by Leonardo da Vinci).

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

picture, and the paintings of Biblical scenes by Simon of Châlons, in the sacristy of Saint-Agricol at Avignon, have strong resemblance to late Quattrocento work. Among the known painters in this Italian style is Jean Cousin. His best work is perhaps his painted glass, such as that in Saint-Gervais and in the chapel of Vincennes, where there is a *Last Judgment*—one of the last specimens of fine painted glass of that period. His chief oil-painting too is a *Last Judgment* (Louvre)—a scene crowded with innumerable figures and giving not unsuccessfully an impression of vastness, although it is a fairly small picture. The frescos with which Cousin adorned the castle of Chambord have disappeared.

We have now to consider the later period of the era treated in this chapter. This period (c. 1589–1643) is covered by the reigns of Henry of Navarre and his son Louis XIII. As with architecture, so also with painting, there was but little produced during the long religious wars, especially during the years that the Protestant king spent as an exile from his capital, fighting for his throne. French art had become to a great extent dependent on the king and the higher aristocracy, and could scarcely exist without their support. After Ivry and the Edict of Nantes (1598) we have general pacification and artistic revival.

Of genuine French painters of this period, unless we include Poussin under that heading, comparatively little is to be said. Poussin had, of course, a great influence on French art, but except for one short visit to Paris, whence he withdrew amidst the invectives and calumnies of his rivals, he lived for forty years at Rome; and it was during the reign of Louis Quatorze that he produced his chief masterpieces and won recognition among his countrymen as the greatest French painter of the day. It will, therefore, be better to reserve him and Claude le Lorrain, his companion at Rome from 1627 to 1665, for our next chapter.

In Paris and other French cities there was at the beginning of the seventeenth century a great deal of artistic activity. As we have already noted, there was a large demand for portraits—miniatures and other paintings and busts. Moreover, a large quantity of pictures was needed for the adornment of churches, seeing that the Classic (Jesuitic) architecture

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

offered much interiorly in the way of bare wall which was not used, as in Italy, by fresco-painters and was not otherwise illuminated, the art of glass-painting being now almost extinct. Easel-pictures were therefore in request as altar-pieces and for other decorative purposes, and it had become a prevalent fashion for the pious rich to make such offerings to churches ; for instance, in May—the month of the Virgin—a large picture used to be offered to Notre-Dame by the Parisian Guild of Goldsmiths ; and doubtless much competition and interest must have been excited by such events. But, except a few of these *Mais*, by Le Sueur, Le Brun, and other Parisian painters, there are scarcely any surviving memorials of this demand for religious pictures supplied by native artists.

On the other hand, there are to be found, especially in the churches of Southern France—at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, and Aix—many religious pictures of this period painted by the successors of those Flemish artists whose presence we noted in these regions in the age of the Van Eycks and of *le bon roi René* ; and also in Parisian churches there are Flemish pictures dating from this later period, some of them exhibiting attempts to use the new grand style of Rubens.

And here let us pause a moment to observe that the invasion of France by Flemish artists during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII is made memorable by the fact that this greatest of Flemish painters—one of the greatest of all painters—not only resided in Paris for a considerable time between 1620 and 1625, but produced there, or chiefly there, the most magnificent, perhaps, of all his works. The fact is one that need not here be dwelt upon, for it concerns Flemish art more than French, especially as the influence on French art was surprisingly small that was exercised by the splendid series of more than twenty vast canvases which he painted in glorification of the Queen-mother, Marie de Médicis.¹ A more permanent Flemish court-painter during the regency of

¹ She had summoned him to Paris to adorn her great Luxembourg Palace with memorials of herself and her late husband. They form now one of the great sights of the Louvre Gallery. There are at Florence also two immense paintings of his dating from this visit to Paris—viz., *Henry IV at the Battle of Ivry* and *The Triumphal Entry into Paris after Ivry* (an event not quite historical).

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Marie de Médicis and the reign of her son was Philippe de Champaigne, whose dignified full-length portrait of the great statesman Cardinal Richelieu (Louvre and National Gallery) is well known. He made portraits also of his royal patrons and of many court personages and furnished paintings for the dome of the Sorbonne. A very impressive work is his *Dead Christ* (Louvre).

Apart from the portraits and other non-religious paintings of these Flemish and Flemish-French artists, and apart from the *Mais* and other such pictures produced by these artists and by unknown painters, there are also the works of a small group which continued the methods of the Fontainebleau school in a weakly ambitious manner, mistaking grandiosity for grandeur, as did Luca Giordano and Pozzo and other of the Italian rococo decorators. The foremost of these was Simon Vouet. Like some earlier Fontainebleau artists he combined teaching with practice, and at one time he is said to have counted Louis XIII among his pupils.¹ He went early in life to Italy, where he studied with such success that he was employed at Rome as assistant in decorating St Peter's and S. Lorenzo. When thirty-seven years of age (in 1627) he was summoned to Paris by the King and did an immense amount of decorative work in *châteaux* and in churches, most of which has disappeared. About half a dozen of his paintings, of Biblical subjects, are in the Louvre, besides some allegorical pictures, e.g., *Faith* and *Wealth*. The kind of thing that he produced is well shown by Fig. 175. We shall find something similar when we come to his pupils, or followers, Le Sueur and Le Brun. In contrast to Vouet and other somewhat nondescript and feeble imitators of the Italian schools (La Hire, Bourdon, Valentin, *et al.*) we may note the brothers Le Nain as interesting predecessors, or early contemporaries, of the Dutch and Flemish *genre* artists. They took as their subject-matter the persons and surroundings of peasants and the *petite bourgeoisie*; but instead of the jollity and sometimes repellent coarseness of the Netherlandish

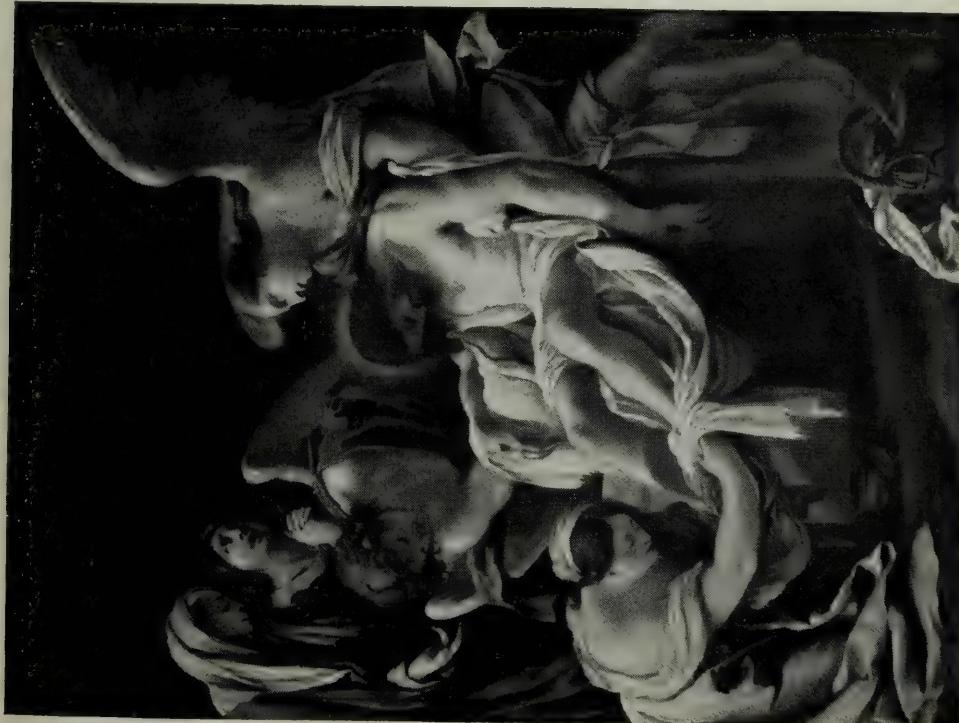
¹ Louis XIII was not such a fool as is often imagined. At Chantilly and at Nancy there are coloured crayon portraits by him, and (says Peyre) several musical works by him are extant.



176. ST PAUL AT EPHESUS
By Le Sueur. See also p. 252

222

Louvre
Photo Alinari



175. ENTOMBMENT
By Simon Vouet. See also p. 251

Louvre
Photo Alinari



177. COLONNADE OF THE LOUVRE
By Perrault



178. VERSAILLES

FROM CHARLES VIII TO LOUIS XIV

boors of Brouwer and Teniers these French peasants of the Le Nain trio exhibit, as a rule, a remarkable solemnity—perhaps due to the monarchic conditions under which they lived ; and this *tristesse* is deepened by the murky atmosphere and the dense shadows which the brothers borrowed from Caravaggio's school.

Before passing from this somewhat unproductive period to the exuberance that awaits us under the *régime* of the Grand Monarch, one should not forget certain realistic *genre* artists who did for the fashionable and military world of Paris what the Le Nain brothers did for the poorer classes. These were the engravers, whose popular works may be studied in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The best of them were Callot and Bosse. The latter gives us many graphic scenes of Parisian *bourgeois* and noble society. Callot (1592–1635), a native of Lorraine, spent years in Italy, where he worked as *acquafortista* of Duke Cosimo II. His twelve plates of the *Capture of La Rochelle* (done for Louis XIII) and his *Siege of Breda* and his *Fair at Florence* and others of his fifteen hundred works offer a panorama of contemporary civil and military life, while his *Misères de la Guerre* compete with similar works of Goya and Raemaekers, and possibly exercise as beneficent an influence. Bosse makes no pretence to possess such influence. He depicts realistically the domestic and public life of respectable Parisian citizens and their families.

CHAPTER II

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

Louis XIV, 1643–1715.

Louis XV, his great-grandson. With Regency, 1715–74.

Louis XVI, his grandson. Acc., 1774. Executed, 1793.

The Revolution, 1789.

The Republic, 1792–99.

The Consulate, 1799–1804.

Napoleon I, Emperor, 1804–14, 1815.

Louis XVIII. *Put on throne ('Louis XVII' having disappeared), 1814. Flees on the return of Napoleon, but is restored after Waterloo, and dies in 1824.*

Preliminary

WHEN Louis XIII died in 1643 his son and heir was only five years of age. The Queen-mother for eighteen years carried on the government as regent with the help of Mazarin, whom Richelieu had designated for this purpose and had created a cardinal. During this regency occurred the Fronde insurrection, headed by the Prince of Condé, and the disturbance, artistic as well as political, was not allayed until the total defeat of Condé by Turenne near Dunkerque in 1658. In 1661 Cardinal Mazarin died, and Louis Quatorze took the reins into his own hands and became the absolute ruler of France, which at that time was probably the most powerful state in Europe. His life lasted till 1715. He was for seventy-two years nominally king, and for fifty-four years an absolute monarch; and during about thirty years of his reign France was engaged in wars—against Spain—against England, Spain, and Germany—against the Protestant powers after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—and finally in a twelve years' struggle against our King William and his six allies, during

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

which France suffered greatly. While, during all these years, many thousands of Frenchmen were giving their lives to satisfy his greed for *la gloire*, or to aid him in religious persecution, the Grand Monarch, surrounded by servile throngs of his ministers and poets and painters and builders and courtiers, held state in his gorgeous palaces (first in the Louvre and later amidst the vast and splendid halls and galleries and gardens of Versailles) like some Babylonian potentate or Sicilian tyrant of pagan times. It is true that at Versailles licence and inhumanity did not take forms that they assumed at the courts of Semiramis and Phalaris or the Visconti, but in spite of all that vaunted luxury and elegance and so-called refinement, and in spite of all the patronage vouchsafed to art and to literature, surely one must admit that the ideals prevalent at the French court during the days of Louis Quatorze—ideals necessarily accepted by artists dependent on the royal patronage—were scarcely likely to inspire anything truly great in art. At times, doubtless, some free and noble spirits were to be found¹ amongst the throngs of *protégés* whose artistic education had been undertaken by the State and conducted according to the regulations of a State academy. Some real works of art were doubtless produced; but the number of these, in comparison with the immense output of *objets d'art*, was surely very much smaller than it was once believed to be.

A well-known phrase used by Louis XIV is *L'État, c'est moi*. And it is true that he was the ‘soul of the machine’ and that to carry out his ideas and satisfy his taste were ever the main objects of that art which he so zealously fostered by means of his academies, and which he and almost every one in his *entourage* (and some elsewhere) regarded as the genuine and natural product of French artistic genius, whereas it was nothing but a luxuriant parasite.

After the death of Mazarin in 1661 Louis’ chief minister for internal affairs, Colbert, soon proved most efficient in carrying out his royal master’s designs. An Academy of Painting and Sculpture had been founded as early as 1648. This not only received Colbert’s support, but was put on

¹ Poussin and Puget, for instance.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

what he deemed a more satisfactory basis, the whole system of instruction being regulated and placed under inspection. Also a branch establishment was founded in Rome, whither were transferred promising pupils; and these were allowed, when sufficiently skilled, to make copies of ancient statues and the masterpieces of Italian painting (such as could not be purchased), many of which were vouchsafed the honour of adorning the parks and the galleries or *salons* of their royal patron. And the Director of the Academy at Paris—the famous Le Brun—was commissioned to compile, after diligent study of the finest classical and Italian works and those of Poussin, a manual containing full instructions for turning out great painters and sculptors. Thus did the Grand Monarch and his minister take upon themselves an office not unlike that which in medieval days was claimed by the patriarchs of the Byzantine Church on the ground that it was not the artists but the Holy Fathers who had to decide the subject of a picture and the treatment. In the following pages we shall note the results of this method. Results were anyhow numerous—so numerous that we shall be obliged to limit ourselves to those which seem to have some sort of claim to be regarded as works of art; and we shall find that those which have the best claim to represent French painting during this period of Louis Quatorze—such as the works of Poussin and Claude le Lorrain—owed almost nothing to this official patronage.

Even during the latter years of Louis XIV French art had begun to lose its exclusively monarchical character and to regain a little independence. The old King got weary of his art enthusiasms and his court ceremonials and withdrew frequently to his retreats in the Trianon, adjoining the great Versailles Palace; and in the city wealthy Parisians had already formed art collections and were employing artists—especially for portraiture—and instituting art exhibitions, so that by the end of this reign there was a fairly well organized school of Paris, and also a vast output of that upholstery—*ébénisterie* and *marqueterie*—which, as well as the wonderfully decorative Gobelins and Beauvais *tapestries*, one associates with the name of Louis Quatorze.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

His great-grandson and successor, Louis XV, took an intelligent interest in things artistic as soon as his age permitted—for, like his forbear, he came to the throne at the tender age of five—but by this time French artists had to a large extent emancipated themselves from servile dependence on royal patronage. Ill-advised and disastrous wars then turned his attention in other directions,¹ so that his reign of nigh sixty years (including a somewhat long regency) was in itself of but little importance for the evolution of French art. The only important artists connected with his court were perhaps the painter Watteau (*d.* 1721) and the architect Gabriel (*d.* 1782).

Louis XVI, his grandson and successor, together with the Queen, Marie-Antoinette of Austria, during the seventeen years of his reign (which practically ended with his flight from Paris in 1791) lavished an enormous amount of wealth on the luxury and magnificence of his surroundings, but although really charming pictures were painted during his reign (landscapes by Robert, panoramic views by Vernet, and the sentimental, bucolic, and melodramatic works of Greuze), he himself cannot be said to have had real influence on art, except perhaps in so far as his mad extravagance and his frivolous personality helped to bring about that revolution which swept away (together with him and thousands of far nobler human beings) not only a great quantity of the *baroque* decorations and upholstery of monarchical art, but many fine pictures and statues and other monuments that reminded the infuriated revolutionists of the follies of kings and their own brutal and bloody deeds.

Even the Revolution itself, though Reigns of Terror are not favourable to art patronage, may have inspired its less ferocious supporters with a love of independence and an audacity in outlook which perhaps ultimately influenced French art for good. The immediate result, however, of this orgy of murder and madness was what the history of humanity might have led one to expect—a reaction from anarchy to absolutism. The Empire brought France back

¹ His claim to succeed to the Polish throne as son-in-law of the banished Stanislas involved him in a war with Austria and England. More disastrous still was the Seven Years War, which deprived France of her fleet and colonies.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

from belief in the Many to belief in the One, and this belief, while it lasted, banished almost entirely from French art the manifestation of that independence—that individualism and differentiation—so necessary for vital development, which might have resulted, and did afterward result, in new and vigorous growth. It imposed conformity to one single method of artistic presentation—the so-called method of the Greeks and Romans—which was wrongly held to be exclusively and eternally true, and was assumed to have been ‘statuesque’ even in painting.

Ideally, of course, perfection may be said to reside in the One and imperfection in the Many; and as pure form—as the directest ‘imitation of Real Existence,’ to use Plato’s formula—sculpture may be said to intimate the One and to approach nearer to Perfection (if one may speak of approaching what is infinite) than even the finest painting. It may be likened to that white radiance, unstained by the colours of the dome of Time, of which Shelley sings. But, superior as sculpture may be from this point of view, it is not by sculpturesque but by picturesque attributes that painting appeals to our transient human nature—by its accidents of multiplicity, variety, colour, contrast, distance, freedom for motion and emotion. It is ‘life’s *pictures*,’ as Whittier calls them, to which we turn with such yearnful affection and such tearful grief when we are doomed to leave them. The nature and the methods of the two arts being so essentially different, what are we to say to the ‘sculpturesque’ pictures of David and his followers, who, never having seen a Greek masterpiece of painting, imagined that they were working in the spirit of Greek art when they were copying the attitudes of Greek statues and producing paintings almost entirely devoid of the warm colours and atmospheric effects of the natural world?

When we come to David and his school we shall find that during the last years of the reign of Louis XVI he was already recognized as the chief leader in this Classical movement (the third of such movements in the history of French art, but the first that profoundly affected painting), and that he was also a leader in revolutionary politics and became an important member of the Convention. His election was

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

mainly due to his Classicism—for these bloodthirsty revolutionists were immense admirers of the ancient Roman republic and of those king-haters, the elder and the younger Brutus.¹ When the inevitable reaction came, David, like the Italian painter Appiani, devoted his talents to the glorification of Napoleon, and so zealously that at the Restoration (1815) he was compelled to leave France. He died at Brussels in 1825. Six years before his death the young Géricault had painted his *Raft of the Medusa*, the first great picture of that Romantic school which was to begin a new period in the history of French art. It is here—at the beginning of the Romantic period—that the era which I undertook to sketch in this part of my book comes to an end.

In the three following sections will be found briefly described the principal buildings, sculptures, and paintings of the period 1643 to about 1820, and a few biographical facts concerning their creators. As the lives of the artists and architects differed considerably in length and often overlapped into two reigns, or two art periods, it is frequently difficult to classify them under such headings; but with the help of the preceding historical outline and of occasional dates it will be fairly easy to keep everything in due perspective.

(a) Architecture (c. 1643–c. 1820)

As we have already seen, after the end of the Middle Age and the firm establishment of the monarchy, with Paris as its one all-important city, French art began to concentrate toward this point, attracted by royal patronage. And this was especially the case with architecture.

Painting was without much difficulty carried on at a distance from the capital, and a considerable number of obscure .

¹ The enthusiasm of the revolutionary leaders for Classicism was of course partly due to the general interest aroused by the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii and by the writings of Winckelmann (c. 1765). The above observations on the French Neo-Classics should be compared with what has been said in a former chapter about the Italian Neo-Classic artists. One must remember that Canova and his followers, whatever *their* faults may have been, were not on the same path as these 'sculpturesque' painters.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

provincial artists, influenced, when not actually taught, by immigrant Flemings and Italians, produced *saintetés* for churches and supplied the demand for portraits, while at Paris great Italian artists and great Italian pictures—to say nothing of Fontainebleau pictures and Clouet portraits—so entirely absorbed the favour of princes and public that it would have been a hopeless enterprise for native art to suggest recognition.

Sculpture, again, strong in an illustrious lineage which painting did not possess, held its post of vantage brilliantly. Almost unaffected by contemporary foreign influences (Italian or Burgundian), it proved its descent from the sculpture of French Gothic, and through this from that of Greece—as is testified by not a few fine provincial works, such as Colombe's noble monument to Francis of Brittany at Nantes, and such as the *Sepulture* of Solesmes, and by the most beautiful *Vierge du Château d'Olivet*, and perhaps not less (though here Renaissance influences modified the external form) by Pilon's *Graces*.

With architecture, on the contrary, the case was very different. The days were now past in which the piety of the masses contributed money and labour for the erection of vast cathedrals and other churches in cities such as Amiens and Chartres and Reims and Rouen, and many another. Instead of the Church it was now the King who mainly employed the master-builder and his workmen. First they built or transformed his *châteaux*, and then—when not only country *châteaux* but even Paris itself, with its royal residence of the Louvre, had to yield the palm to Versailles as the Palace of Art—they worked at the erection and architectural decoration¹ of this huge complex, with its magnificent array of halls and galleries and gardens, which probably surpassed in splendour, if not in size, the palaces and hanging gardens of ancient Babylon.

Versailles, with its extravagant decorations of gilded stucco

¹ Mainly internal, for, as we shall see, Versailles shows externally (with the exception of some markedly Classical portions, such as the Trianon and the later Petit Trianon) the simplified Renaissance style that had been introduced after the establishment of Henry IV at Paris. The façades, sometimes of brick, are simply adorned with classical pilasters and topped with the high slate roofs and dormer windows that get their name from their inventor, the Versailles architect Mansard.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

and its huge Le Brun frescos, fortunately did not affect seriously French church and palace architecture.¹ The affinity of French artistic genius to that of the artists of ancient Rome—and, to some extent, those of ancient Greece—while it has sometimes proved unfavourable to originality, has frequently saved French art from excesses and absurdities such as were rampant in Jesuitic churches and at Versailles. During the reign of Louis Quatorze not only was the noblest part of the Louvre built—a model for much that is fine in later French Renaissance architecture—but some very dignified and great Parisian domed edifices were erected in a style that competes with that of Agrippa's Pantheon and certainly outrivals that of Longhena's S. Maria della Salute.

Louis Quatorze was so taken up with his immediate surroundings that he seldom, and latterly hardly ever, entered his capital, his visits being almost entirely limited to occasions on which Paris was to be graced with some new effigy of his royal person or some building was to be founded in his honour. The erection of a royal statue, by the way, did not always result only in the monarch's glorification; it often exercised an influence on the city's architecture; for such a statue needed an appropriately regal site, and this necessitated the clearance of a very considerable space, which had then to be surrounded with buildings harmonizing with the style of the monument. It was to such a cause that we are indebted for the Place des Conquêtes—now called the Place Vendôme; and not a few great squares in other French cities owe their origin to the erection of similar statues, gifts sometimes of the monarchs themselves.

Dividing our subject, rather roughly, into periods corresponding with political divisions, we have now to consider the chief buildings erected during the long reign of Louis XIV. These are a part of the Louvre, most of the great complex of Versailles, some fine churches and other buildings in Paris, and a few in some other cities.

¹ House architecture was affected; and it being impossible to imitate satisfactorily in stone all the fantastic contortions of rococo, wood was sometimes substituted and painted to harmonize with the rest of the building.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

The original Louvre—a square, many-pinnacled, Gothic fortress¹ built by Charles V, about 1370—had been demolished and was partially reconstructed (as we have seen) for Francis I by Pierre Lescot, who built the south-west portion of the great quadrangle. The building was continued according to his design and in the same style (a simple, dignified Renaissance style with superposed orders) during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII, but the east side of the square was still wanting. In 1665 the famous Italian barocco architect and sculptor, Bernini, accepted the invitation of Louis XIV to come to Paris and make a design for this east side. He was received with honours almost royal, and for a time, as he himself wrote to a friend in Italy, ‘nothing in Paris was *à la mode* except the Chevalier Bernini.’ But it was a short-lived triumph. Perhaps it was the Italian’s amazing impudence in proposing to raze to the ground the whole of Lescot’s and Bullant’s and Delorme’s work in order to raise a Berninesque *chef-d’œuvre*, or perhaps Bernini found insufferable the presumption of the ignorant nobodies who wished to dictate to him; possibly, too, he really felt conscious that to complete the building in harmony with Lescot’s quiet and dignified work was a task distasteful and difficult for him. Moreover, he may have seen Perrault’s design and have realized that it was superior to anything he could produce. However that may be, he gave it all up and returned to Rome—in what was probably a somewhat mixed state of feelings. Perrault’s design was then put into execution, with a result that most of us have admired. As will be seen from the illustration, his façade (the Colonnade du Louvre) differs from Lescot’s façades in having not superposed orders but one line of lofty columns reaching from the basement storey up to the entablature which bears the gallery hiding the low roof. This so-called ‘colossal’ style was, as we saw in Part II, initiated by Palladio, and it was apparently introduced into France by Bullant. As already noted, in great buildings not intended for habitation, such as temples and churches, the groups and colonnades of

¹ Depicted in miniature in the celebrated *Tres Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry. See p. 193.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

great columns are often exceedingly impressive, and one's satisfaction is greatly increased by the fact that, anyhow apparently, these colossi have appropriate work to do. But in the case of a palace, such as the Louvre was, there was the unavoidable defect that the internal divisions of the building were ignored by the external—a defect that one feels to be a serious breach of the fundamental principles of architecture. Nevertheless, Perrault's addition to the Louvre (see Fig. 177) was rightly regarded as successful, and it exercised a very beneficial influence on the architecture of the later Neo-Classical school, for it made men realize that beauty and dignity lie in proportion—*i.e.*, in the perfectly harmonious relation of parts to each other and to the whole—a truth doubtless fully appreciated by Greek builders and sculptors, and probably put into practice by them according to canons which must have had a scientific basis.¹

Hardly was Perrault's colonnade of the Louvre finished (c. 1670) when Louis XIV, feeling cramped within the limits of his Parisian palace, determined to fix his residence at Versailles, where he could extend his buildings at pleasure and provide ample accommodation for his very numerous retinue and officials and surround himself with vast gardens and parks and woodlands. At Versailles there was already a royal villa of moderate size—a country house that had been built for Louis XIII by the architect Lemercier. This villa was made the central body from which radiated two great wings, in the same homely brick-and-stone simple Renaissance style, enclosing what is known as the Marble Court (see Fig. 178). This was the work of the architect Le Vau. The grander, more Classical, west façade, which faces the park, was built by Jules Mansard.

¹ See observations on the Parthenon in Vol. I. The building is said to have contained few straight lines. Most were, it seems, curved according to some recondite rule so as to correct the slight defects of normal human vision and to *appear* straight. A great Greek sculptor, Polyclitus, wrote a treatise (not extant) in which he evidently gave a scientifically reasoned account of the proportions of the human body, and his *Doryphorus* was accepted as the 'Canon'—the practical application of his rules.

² Jules-Hardouin Mansard (1646–1708) was now about thirty years old. He is frequently confused with his relative, François, who died some eight years before the Versailles palaces were begun. A third Versailles architect was Robert de Cotte. For Le Vau see later.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

The decoration of Versailles was entrusted to Charles Le Brun, who not only superintended all the artistic adornment of the great halls and galleries, and of the gardens and parks, but himself designed many of the statues and executed a large number of great ceiling- and wall-paintings, especially for the famous Galerie des Glaces, where, when still glowing with fresh colours and framed in brightly gilded stucco and supplemented by all the glories of splendid furniture and tapestries and statues, they must have produced an effect very different from that which is now given by the long vista of emptiness vaulted over with the blackened scenes from the life of Louis XIV. These and other paintings of his will be noted when we come to the painters of this period. It has already been mentioned that he was in great favour with Colbert and with the King and was made Director of the Academy of Painting, as he was also of the Gobelins factory, which produced not only tapestries, many designed by him, but a great amount of that *baroque* furniture that was a speciality of this reign.

In loose connexion with the great central group of buildings was the Trianon, a somewhat low edifice of considerable extent, with façades adorned with colonnades of attached classical columns, designed by Robert de Cotte. This was a favourite retreat of Louis XIV, as was also Marly, built by Jules Mansard—a diminutive Versailles. The Petit Trianon, with its idyllic ‘hamlet,’ was built later, by Gabriel, for Louis XV.

We now turn from Versailles to Paris. Some of the first buildings that I shall mention were begun during the reign of Louis XIII, or during the regency, and have been named by me before; but they belong to the domed and ‘colossal’ (Pantheon-like) class of Parisian architecture, which was a characteristic of the whole of this Louis Quatorze period. The church of Saint-Louis of the Hôtel des Invalides (Fig. 161), except the dome, was begun by Libéral Bruant (c. 1676). The graceful dome, light and strong, and of a shape that reminds one of Michelangelo’s masterpiece, the dome of St Peter’s at Rome, was designed by the above-mentioned Jules Mansard. It was painted interiorly by Le Brun, or his pupils, in the manner of the Italian decorators, such as Giordano and Pozzo,



179. LA PORTE SAINT-DENIS, PARIS

See p. 235

Photo Giraudon

234



180. LE PANTHÉON, PARIS

See p. 237
X Photo

235

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

with sprawling and wriggling human figures. Some thirty years earlier (1645) the elder Mansard (François) had begun the church called Le Val-de-Grâce, which with its less graceful dome and its two great pediments supported by columns is by no means so successful as the Invalides church. It was built at the request of Anne of Austria, the Queen-mother, and was finished, in 1654, by Lemercier (Fig. 160).

Somewhat similar in style—with a fine Pantheon-like façade, but with an undignified dome—is the church of the Collège des Quatre-Nations (now the Institut de France), built, or anyhow finished, by Le Vau, the Versailles architect, during the regency (c. 1660). Another church of the same type is that of the (old) Sorbonne, designed by Lemercier. Here the only thing that saves the best of these Parisian Classical churches from frigidity and heaviness, and makes them so greatly excel the average Italian barocco (Jesuitic) church—namely the beauty of their proportions—is conspicuously absent. A cumbrous temple-like edifice, bearing a big pediment, is supported on a solid columned substructure and is overtopped by a rather commonplace cupola.

Besides churches we have, dating from the reign of Louis XIV, or a little earlier, the Observatory (by François Mansard), the Cascades at Saint-Cloud (by Lepautre), and the fine Porte Saint-Denis (Fig. 179), modelled after a Roman triumphal arch, the work of François Blondel (1618–86). Blondel, like Vauban, who also belonged to this period (1633–1707), was famed as a military engineer. He held high military office under Louis XIV. In the provinces there were during this period a few fine buildings erected, such as the Hôtel de Ville at Lyon (by Maupin) and the Porte de Paris at Lille.

An interesting specimen of what one may perhaps call a backwater is afforded by Nancy, in Lorraine, where the banished King Stanislas of Poland—whose daughter married Louis XV—commissioned the architect Héré to build a new town side by side with the old one. Fine squares and avenues and arches, etc., adorned this new town, and some of the architecture, as, for instance, that of the great Place Stanislas, competes in classic dignity with that of

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Gabriel in Paris; but in many cases, conspicuously in the Fountain of Neptune, a very advanced and degenerate rococo style reveals itself externally, whereas in Paris such deformities were to be found only in internal decorations and in upholstery.

The chief builder of the reign of Louis XV, and of half that of Louis XVI, was Jacques Gabriel (c. 1705–82), son and grandson of architects, who was perhaps ten years old when the former king (five years old) came to the throne, and outlived him by eight years. He adopted frequently a simple form of that ‘colossal’ style which had been used by Perrault in his colonnade façade of the Louvre, sometimes with free columns and sometimes with attached pilasters. In the Place de la Concorde (then Place Louis XV) he built, on each side of the Rue Royale, two similar palaces (one now Hôtel Grillon), in which he imitated rather closely Perrault’s colonnade, with its ‘colossal’ free columns; but in his beautifully proportioned Petit Trianon, which, together with the idyllic ‘hamlet,’ he built for Louis XV behind the Grand Trianon, at Versailles, he used only pilasters; and in a very fine work of his, the central part of the great Parisian Ecole Militaire, a Pantheon-like portico is flanked by wings with arcades of superposed, not ‘colossal,’ columns. Gabriel also rebuilt the Château de Compiègne. He is also notable for several fine episcopal palaces built in the simplified Classical style—the heavy and ambitious Franco-Italian Jesuitic architecture being now, largely through his influence, in disfavour.

Fairly contemporary with Gabriel were some architects who, while using the Classical style, ‘colossal’ or Pantheon-like for great porticos and simplified Renaissance (dispensing to a great extent with heavy pediments, etc.) for the rest of the edifice, produced some very dignified buildings, most of them with some show of classic columns. Of these we have the Parisian Hôtel de la Monnaie, by Jacques-Denis Antoine; the Palais d’Élysée, built (1718) by Mollet; the Hôtel Soubise (Archives Nationales), by Boffrand; the Palais Bourbon (now the Chambre des Députés), built in 1722 by Lassurance and Girardini; and the Odéon (theatre), by Peyre and De Wailly, built between 1773 and 1782. The



181. LA BOURSE, PARIS
X Photo



182. L'ÉGLISE DE LA MADELEINE, PARIS
X Photo



183. ARC DE TRIOMPHE (DU CARROUSEL), PARIS
A.G. Photo



184. ARC DE TRIOMPHE (DE L'ÉTOILE), PARIS
X Photo

Bourse, begun by Brongiart (*b.* 1739), has an ambitious but too broad colonnaded front, with ill-proportioned entablature. Also in provincial towns the influence of Gabriel and his school made itself visible. A striking example is the very dignified and exceedingly well designed theatre of Bordeaux, which has been used as the model for almost all the best modern European theatres in regard to internal arrangement. It was built by Louis, who lived from 1735 to 1807.

There are two great buildings in Paris which date from the reign of Louis XVI and prove, if anything can, that the contemptible frivolity and empty display which were in vogue at the French court, and which might seem to have been likely to affect French art, had no influence on the leading Parisian architects—for these buildings are, although somewhat heavy and grandiose, very far removed from pretentiousness and still further from frivolity. They are the Panthéon and the Madeleine. The former, originally the church of Sainte-Geneviève, but now a vast and gloomy museum, or ‘Temple of Glory’—all the gloomier for the huge historical paintings which attempt vainly to illuminate it—was furnished by the architect Soufflot (1714–80) with a great Pantheon-like portico and a dome somewhat like that of St Peter’s. Soufflot had travelled in the Near East and had studied the Byzantine method of supporting a circular dome on a square, or polygonal, base by pendentives, and this method he employed. Externally the Panthéon is finely proportioned and impressive. Internally it is depressing; indeed, the hideous discords created by the constructive lines of the architecture clashing with the (nineteenth-century) pictorial decorations are intolerable. The fine sculptures of the pediment will be noted later.

The last French building that I shall mention of ante-Revolution period is the last great church of the Neo-Classical style in Paris—the well-known Église de la Madeleine. The portico, with its lofty Corinthian columns (eight in breadth, like Agrippa’s Pantheon and the Parthenon), is in general form similar to, though vastly greater than, the ancient Roman temple at Nîmes called the Maison Carrée (see Vol. I), which is pseudoperipteral—that is, it has columns (only 6×11) all round it, but ‘engaged’ in the masonry except

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

in the portico. The Madeleine was begun near the end of the reign of the unfortunate Louis XVI. The designer was Vignon. It remained incomplete during the Republic and the First Empire and was finished (by Huvé) after the Restoration.

The outbreak of the Revolution put a sudden end for a considerable period to all architecture of any artistic importance. The revolutionaries found ample space at their disposal in the vast edifices that they had appropriated, and while they ordered the wholesale destruction of royal statues and monuments they did not scruple to house themselves and their troops and dependents in royal palaces and other great buildings.¹ And when Napoleon came on the scene the nation was still too deeply engaged in its desperate struggle against its many enemies to spend thought and money on any architecture but what was necessary for military purposes. During the period of his wondrous success the Emperor had dreams of the magnificent architectural memorials that he intended to bequeath to the admiration of posterity, but except for a number of regal and imperial palaces in the chief cities of conquered countries (*e.g.*, in Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Strasbourg, and Antwerp) there was very little built.² The most important architects employed by Napoleon in Paris were Percier and Fontaine (who seem always to have worked together) and Chalgrin. The former erected the fine Classical triumphal arch which goes by the name of the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, having a bronzen six-horsed chariot on its top. It was finished in time to allow Napoleon and his imperial armies to pass under it on various occasions; but the still better known Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, begun in 1806 by Chalgrin in honour of the Grande Armée, was not finished until after the Restoration—indeed, not until 1836 (by Blouet)—and under it were carried, in the next year, the ashes of Napoleon when they were restored to France and

¹ This is true, although during the first stormy period there was not much housing in palaces—the revolutionists despising such surroundings and housing anywhere in the most disorderly fashion.

² Napoleon designed to have a vast palace for the 'King of Rome' built in Paris, but, although the plans were made by Percier and Fontaine, the building was never begun.

185. LA TOILETTE D'APOLLON

By Girardon

Parc de Versailles

X Photo





187. PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

By Puget. *Louvre*

Photo Giraudon



186. SHEPHERD PLAYING THE FLUTE

By Coysevox. *Louvre*

Photo Giraudon

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

brought thither from St Helena. The sculptures that adorn both these triumphal arches will be noted in the following section.

(b) Sculpture (c. 1643-c. 1820)

During the reign of Louis Quatorze French sculptors of any note were almost without exception subservient to royal and court patronage ; but there was, as we shall see, one of them who, though he at times undertook commissions given him by the King, or Colbert, or Le Brun, refused to play the parasite. As we have seen, it was with the sculpture and painting of that day as it had been with Byzantine painting in the days of that pious murdereress, the Empress Irene : it was not for the artist to invent and dictate, but for his superiors. In this case it was King Louis, or his minister, who dictated, and Le Brun who invented. He gave the subject and decided the treatment ; indeed, in many cases, though no sculptor, he furnished the design itself. Under such conditions it was not likely that any great sculpture would be produced. All that was ordered by the King and his functionaries was for the glorification of the monarchy, and by far the greater part was destined for the adornment of the palace and the park of Versailles. There was, of course, a very considerable number of so-called artists employed for this purpose. Over most of these we may pass without the risk of ignoring any great work of art, but there are two who show unmistakable talent, namely Girardon (1628-1715) and Coysevox (1640-1720), both long-lived, and practically contemporaries of Louis XIV (indeed, the former is said to have died in Paris on the same day on which the King died at Versailles).

Girardon studied when a young man at Rome under Bernini. His chief works for Versailles Park were some of the figures for the various groups of the Grotto of Apollo, in which the Sun-god is descending from his chariot, or preparing to take his nightly bath in the western ocean, in the midst of admiring sea-nymphs ; the Fountain of Neptune ; the Fountain of the Pyramids ; *Winter* ; and a finely balanced group representing Pluto carrying off Proserpine,

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

while a maiden attendant of Core lies helpless at his feet. For the Louvre he made sculptures to adorn the Gallery of Apollo. Louis Quatorze he represented as Hercules resting. He made also a large equestrian statue of him, which stood in what was then the Place des Conquêtes (now Place Vendôme). This monument was destroyed during the Revolution, but a smaller bronze reproduction exists, to judge from which Girardon can scarcely be said to compete successfully with Donatello or Verrocchio—or even with Gian da Bologna.¹ More successful is his tomb of Richelieu, in the church of the Sorbonne. The figures have considerable dignity, and the grouping and outlines of the forms and drapery produce a pleasing *ensemble*, but the exceedingly high praise sometimes bestowed on this monument as one of the great masterpieces of sculpture is surely quite unjustifiable. A leaden relief of nymphs bathing (Versailles) shows Girardon in a different, and perhaps happier, style.

The tomb of Mazarin by Coysevox, originally in the Collège des Quatre-Nations (l'Institut), but now in the Louvre, is a big monument of marble, with bronze figures. The composition is distressingly wanting in that unity which alone makes a group of statues an artistic possibility. This failing is conspicuous in not a few of the many sculptures that he made for the Louvre and for Versailles, amongst which are the Fountain of Glory and *Apollo with the Muses*. Admirable, on the other hand, are his portrait statues and busts, in which the faces (often in strange contrast to the foil of ridiculous wigs and fashionable frippery) have a great deal of character.² Of these the famous bronze bust (Louvre) of the Great Condé is notable for its ‘eagle glance.’ Also notable is his *Mercury and Fame* (Tuilleries) and the *Shepherd playing the Flute* (Fig. 186). Besides the tomb of Mazarin, there fell to the lot of Coysevox the designing and erection of monuments

¹ The original bronze *avait vingt-huit pieds de haut*, says Peyre. *Elle fut fondue d'un seul jet par Jean-Balthazar Keller (1637-1702), commissaire général de la fonte de l'artillerie du roi.* And he adds, *C'était là une opération sans précédent dans l'art du fondeur*—a somewhat audacious assertion.

² Among his very numerous works are portraits of Turenne, Bossuet, Fénelon, and Racine.

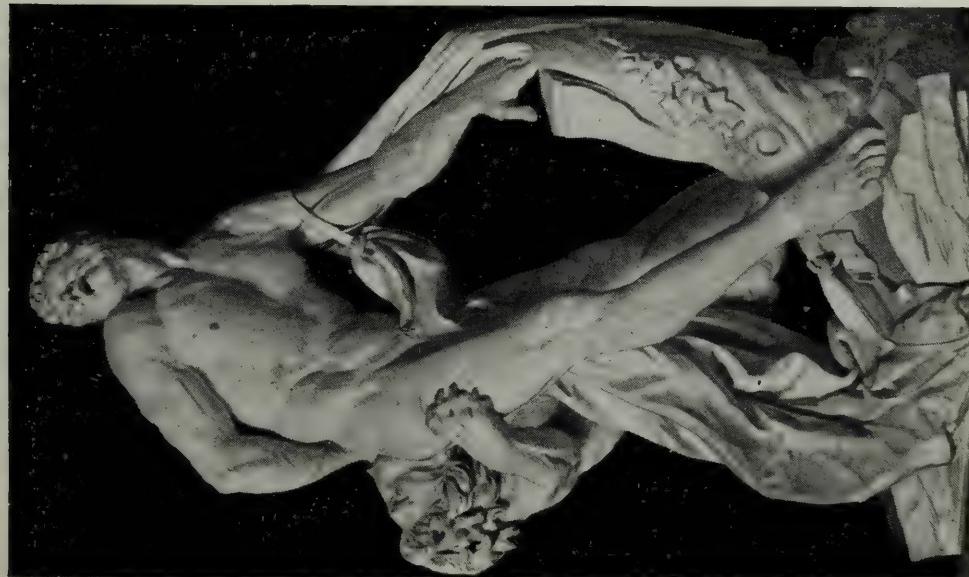


189. DIogenes AND ALEXANDER

By Puget. *Louvre*

A.G. Photo

240



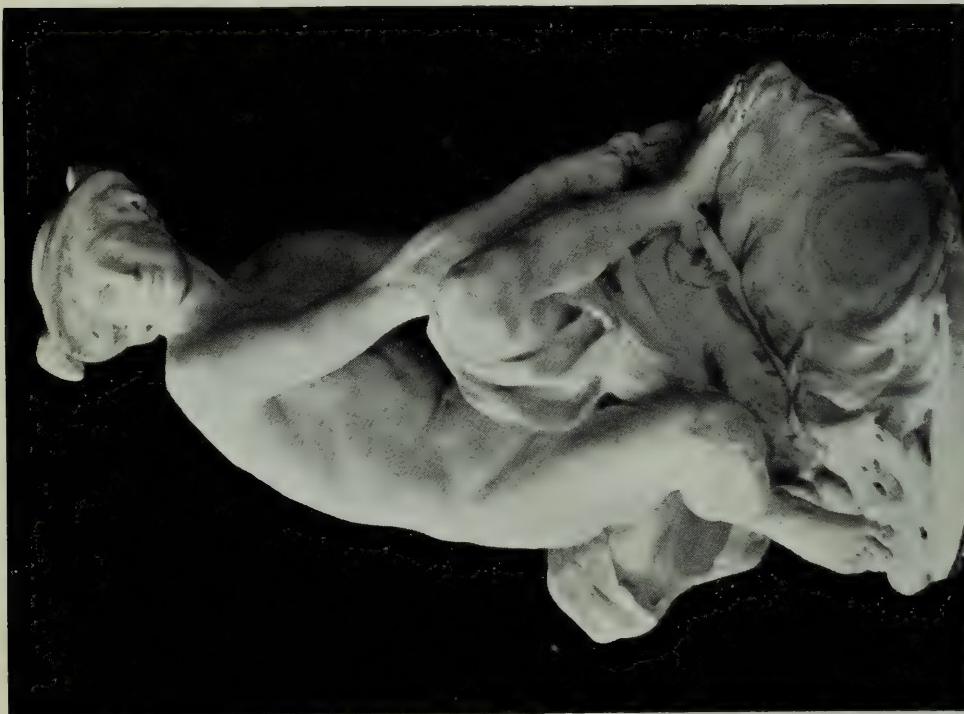
188. MILO OF CROTONE

By Puget. *Louvre*

Photo Alinari

190. MERCURY PUTTING ON HIS WINGED SANDALS

By Pigalle. *Louvre*
Photo Giraudon



191. LA BAIGNEUSE

By Falconet. *Louvre*
Photo Giraudon



FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

to the two great art agents of Louis Quatorze, Colbert and Le Brun.

We now come to the one highly gifted sculptor of this period, namely Pierre Puget (1622–97), who, as I have already intimated, refused to subject his genius to the dictation of a royal patron and his satellites. He was born at Marseille and lived mostly at Toulon ; but he resided also sometimes at Genoa, and had doubtless occasions for studying the works of Italian masters, especially Michelangelo and Bernini. His actual profession was that of a decorator of the ships of the French navy—for he was painter and architect as well as sculptor. To support the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville at Toulon he made some very powerfully designed Atlantes—male figures that serve the same purpose in architecture as Caryatides. When asked to contribute some work of sculpture to the adornment of Versailles Park he made what is regarded as his masterpiece, a statue representing the Crotona athlete Milo with every muscle of his body strung taut in the desperate effort to free his fingers from the closed rift of the pine-tree and at the same time to defend himself from a lion that has seized hold of him (Fig. 188). Unquestionably, if the motive and the treatment of the *Laocoön* are admirable, Puget has chosen and treated his subject no less admirably ; but a criticism that might occur to any casual onlooker is that the enormous size of the man dwarfs the lion into an assailant not much more formidable than a fair-sized Newfoundland. This work, as well as the dramatic *Perseus and Andromeda*, highly praised for the beauty and dignity of the heroine, and the *Diogenes and Alexander*, a roughly carved, gigantic high-relief full of Michelangelesque impetuosity, has been removed from Versailles to the Louvre Museum. Puget died while he was working at a relief (*The Plague at Milan*) in the Milanese Sala del Consiglio.

During the Regency, the period between the death of Louis XIV and the majority of his great-grandson, Louis XV, the chief French sculptors were two nephews and pupils of Coysevox, Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou. Their work shows considerable advance in technique. They were mainly occupied in producing large pieces of sculpture for the further adornment of the park of Versailles. Round or near the

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

fountains and artificial lakes they erected figures and groups representing the great rivers of France.¹

The younger Coustou was also the sculptor of the two prancing steeds with flamboyant manes known as *Les Chevaux de Marly*. From Marly they have been transported to the entrance of the Champs-Élysées. They are sometimes highly praised as one of the earliest attempts of French sculpture to represent in bronze and marble the vital energy of animal life, whether in agitation or as latent power—a task later accomplished by Barye, whose success aided the attainment of what is, rightly or wrongly, regarded as one of the most admirable characteristics of that modern French school of sculpture which has cast off the trammels of classical tradition. It would be interesting if we could set these Marly horses and their attendants alongside the horses and the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo.

Among the sculptors of the reign of Louis XV (after the Regency) was a second Guillaume Coustou, son of the first, whose principal work was the tomb of the Dauphin in Sens Cathedral—a monument with rather commonplace allegorical figures. Other sculptors were Bouchardon (1666–1762), Pigalle (1714–85), and Falconet (1716–91).

Bouchardon had a decided *penchant* toward Classicism, due doubtless mainly to his training in the French Academy in Rome and confirmed by his friendship with the famous Count de Caylus.² He was summoned, probably by Le Brun, to Paris, and here during the Regency and under Louis XV he made the fine fountain in the Rue de Grenelle, with its bas-relief figures of the Seine and the Marne and Paris, etc. His fairly successful *Cupid*, who is making a bow out of the club of Hercules, is in the Louvre.

Pigalle and Falconet were trained by Lemoyne, a sculptor whose busts were much in request. The former at first worked in a graceful Classical style, as shown in the statuette of *Mercury putting on his Winged Sandals* (Fig. 190), but produced

¹ Rhône and Saône are now in the Hôtel de Ville at Lyon, in which city these rivers meet. They show the difference in style of the two brothers and how they attempted to characterize the two rivers by the rugged old River-god and the gentler River-goddess, both of whom are couched against a lion—the symbol of Lyon, which was the native city of Coysevox and the Coustous.

² For whom see Lessing's *Laokoon*.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

later great and ambitious works of a very different character, such as the huge and repulsive monument (finished about 1772) in the church of St Thomas at Strasbourg, where Marshal Saxe, in military garb and surrounded with flags and allegorical figures, is represented as descending a flight of steps to take up his quarters in a sarcophagus prepared for him by Death! Pigalle's bronze monument, of rather later date, to Louis XV (*d.* 1774) existed in Reims Cathedral only until the Revolution, when it was destroyed. In this work he seems to have shown what great progress he had made from elegant Classical statuettes toward an almost republican modernity. Instead of appearing as a haughty equestrian monarch exalted above the homage of Fame, or Justice, or other such sculptured abstractions, Louis stood almost on a level with realistic figures of a *bourgeois* merchant and an ordinary workman. Pigalle's totally nude (even wigless!) statue of the aged Voltaire seems scarcely justified by the classical usage in statues of Aphrodite—nor even by Canova's nude *Napoleon*.

In Falconet (1719–91) we find two styles even more strikingly different. He is very well known as the modeller of graceful female forms—nymphs and girls bathing (Fig. 191), *Pygmalion and Galatea*, the *Three Graces*, grouped round a clock (Camondo Collection), *Madame Dubarry dancing before Louis XV*, etc. He supplied some designs for the Sèvres porcelain factory, and many of his sculptures (of which numbers are in England) have become well known by having been reproduced in this or similar material. But when persuaded by Catharine of Russia to undertake a monument to Peter the Great he produced (at St Petersburg, where he spent some twelve years) a most audacious colossal equestrian statue—the Czar seated on a horse prancing so dangerously on the top of an immense rock that stability had to be ensured by attaching the enormously long tail to a big (allegorical) serpent on which the quadruped is trampling.

During the reign of Louis XVI (1774–93), besides a few portraitists and clever modellers of nymphs and bacchantes and Psyches, etc., such as Pajou and Clodion and Caffieri, one sculptor of real talent is found; but he too sacrificed other possibilities to supplying the demand for portraits.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) was a pupil of Slodtz—a purveyor of rococo furniture and statues of saints, which were still produced in large numbers to adorn churches, and in which the new fashion of trying to represent movement and agitation in sculpture took the form of the theatrical gestures and wind-tossed drapery of the Bernin-esque school. While a youth Houdon distinguished himself at Rome, where his fine, colossal statue of S. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order, adorns the Carthusian church of S. Maria degli Angeli, built by Michelangelo (pp. 6, 8). Having returned to Paris, he spent the rest of his long life mostly in bust-making. In the Louvre there is a marble statuette of the god Morpheus by him and an entirely nude bronze Diana,¹ as well as bronze or terra-cotta busts of Rousseau, Voltaire, Buffon, Mirabeau, Franklin, and Washington; at Dijon there is a very fine marble bust of Napoleon—almost as fine as the famous ancient bust of the young Augustus. His seated, voluminously draped, statue of Voltaire (in the *foyer* of the Comédie Française) is also a very striking presentation of that Mephistophelean personage (Fig. 194); and his plaster bust of Madame Houdon is charming.

During the Revolution and the Republic a great number of bronze and marble monuments were destroyed. It was a period of a furious and blind iconoclasm, which, while it professed admiration for classical antiquity, was impelled by a spirit of revenge to commit acts of unpardonable vandalism. Houdon, as well as Pajou and Clodion, survived the cataclysm, and together with Chaudet (1763–1810) and Bosio (1788–1845) worked for Napoleon.² Houdon, indeed,

¹ An audacity scarcely known, I think, except in French sculpture, e.g., in Goujon's *Diana* and in Falguière's. But artists peep through the bushes without meeting the fate of Actaeon. Even Aphrodite herself seems sometimes to have been surprised (if not offended) at the liberties taken by sculptors, if one may judge from a couplet in the Greek Anthology that may be roughly translated thus :

' Oh ! ' exclaimed Aphrodite, beholding her statue in Cnidus,
' Where in the world was I seen naked by Praxiteles ? '

² Bosio made twenty of the bas-reliefs for the Vendôme Column, erected by Lepère, under the direction of Denon, for Napoleon after the Austerlitz campaign. The column was clad in the bronze of 1200 cannons taken from the enemy. It was 144 feet high (rather higher than Trajan's Column). Chaudet made the statue of Napoleon that stood on the summit. This was taken down after



192, 193. NAPOLEON
By Houdon. *Dijon*
Photos Giraudon



194. VOLTAIRE

By Houdon. *Comédie Française*
Photo Giraudon

195. DIANA

By Houdon. *Louvre*
Photo Giraudon



FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

saw the fall of the Empire and the restoration of the monarchy. But a blight had fallen on him and on French sculpture. The art was so dominated by the genius of Canova (1757–1822), and then of Thorwaldsen, that in Paris a French sculptor such as Houdon (somewhat old-fashioned, and sixteen years older than his Italian Neo-Classical rival) was almost entirely ignored. Moreover, all that was inspired and vital in the French sculpture of the day had been numbed by the frigid Classicism of the popular painter David and his followers. Instead of such work as Houdon's fine bust of the still youthful Napoleon we have Chaudet's statue of the modern Alexander swaddled in a Roman toga and Canova's stark-naked colossus at Milan.

The somewhat sudden overthrow of the Davidian school of painting by the rise of the Romantics took a considerable time to affect sculpture. Painting is far more sensitive to change than is the plastic art. This is not, I think, as is sometimes asserted, due principally, though it may be due partly, to the much greater rigidity and inflexibility, so to speak, of the conditions imposed upon the sculptor—to the difficulties he experiences in procuring and dealing with a somewhat intractable material. It is due, surely, still more to the essential differences of the two arts—those differences which on a former occasion I mentioned as accounting for the very much greater number of modern painters than of modern sculptors. That same capability of painting to express so much more easily than sculpture the varied and ever-changing phases of modern thought and feeling makes it far more ready than sculpture to change rapidly its modes of expression. French sculptors, however much they may have been moved by the truths which the works of Géricault and Delacroix so loudly proclaimed, found themselves faced by the almost insurmountable difficulty of adapting modern costume to the exigencies of sculpture. To clothe statues in realistic Empire or Restoration garments seemed at first unthinkable. Sculptors had therefore only the choice between classical costume or nakedness;

Waterloo and recast as the statue of Henry IV that stands on the Pont-Neuf. Another statue of Napoleon was placed on the column in 1833. Then, in 1871, during the Commune, the column was overthrown; but it has been re-erected.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

and they sometimes chose nakedness as more in keeping than a toga or chlamys with the naturalism, if not with the medievalism, of the fashionable Romanticism, an exception being possible in the case of military subjects, where a combination of partial nudity, breast-plates, helmets, and weapons of quasi-classical type with a most unclassical unrestraint in gesture and expression is found—e.g., in what is regarded by many as the finest French sculpture of the period that succeeded the Restoration, the colossal group in high relief that Rude (1784–1855) added to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile (Fig. 196). This group, a strange medley of Classicism and that violent impetuosity which characterizes much modern French sculpture and differentiates it so widely from the sculpture of ancient Greece, is intended to represent (in a half-symbolic, half-realistic fashion) the setting out of the republican volunteer armies of 1792 to defy the coalition of European monarchies. The Fury or Goddess of War (Bellona) that is inciting them to battle is said to symbolize (and to be yelling) the *Marseillaise*, whence the sculpture is generally called *La Marseillaise*, or *Le Chant du Départ*.¹ It was finished in time for the arrival of Napoleon's ashes in 1837, during the reign of the 'Citizen-King,' Louis-Philippe.

In the same year David d'Angers completed his sculptures for the great pediment of the Panthéon—one of the many monuments erected at that epoch to the 'Glory of France.' This sculptor, who lived until 1856, devoted his talents especially to the glorification of great Frenchmen. He made a very large number of statues and busts and medallions, and these are the best of his productions. Although he was a passionate admirer of classical art he went further than did Rude in adopting modern costume in his portrait sculpture. In his more ambitious Panthéon work he attempted to imitate the composition of a Greek pediment group. France—a figure with stiffly outstretched arms—

¹ The *Marseillaise* was composed by Rouget de Lisle in Strasbourg shortly before the great victory of Valmy in 1792. Earlier works of Rude, such as his bronze *Mercury* and the *Neapolitan Fisher-boy with a Tortoise* (both in Louvre; see Fig. 199), offer a striking contrast to the violence of the *Marseillaise*. Later works are *Joan of Arc listening to the Voices* and the statue of Marshal Ney (Place de l'Observatoire).



196. LA MARSEILLAISE
'Le Chant du Départ.' By Rude
Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, Paris
Photo Giraudon



197. CENTAUR AND LAPITH
Bronze. By Barye

Louvre

Photo Alinari

takes the place of Pallas Athene, and distributes garlands of immortal fame with both hands to a throng of celebrities, among whom is Bonaparte, attended by his generals and grenadiers. The inscription is *Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante*. The whole thing is of the nature of a weak compromise, and is without the aggressive impetuosity which in Rude's *Marseillaise* makes one mistake violence for power.

Rude's famous relief was one of the early evidences that the French public had begun to accept in statuary what had already for some time been applauded in painting, but before the new style won its way to general approval there was a period (the greater part of the reign of Louis-Philippe) in which an immense amount of quasi-Classical sculpture—a compromise between the old and the new—was produced; for monuments were now being erected in Paris and in other cities, not, as in former days, to the French monarchs, but to the French people. These monuments took the form of large symbolical figures such as the *Cities of France* in the Place de la Concorde, or groups and lines of statues and busts of French celebrities, such as the *Women of France* in the grounds of the Luxembourg or the *Great Men of Action* at Versailles. Thus reparation was made to the nation by the 'Citizen-King' for the destruction wrought by the Revolution on many a fine memorial of the monarchy.¹

But the time had come when, if not classic inspiration, anyhow feeble compromise was to end. Whether the movement by which it was overborne was not itself in a wrong direction—in a direction contrary to the main principles of great sculpture—is a question that can be answered satisfactorily only by the production of great sculpture; and as I do not intend to proceed with this account of French sculpture beyond the beginnings of the rather chaotic transition period in the midst of which we still find ourselves, I shall only mention a few names and point

¹ Among the best of those officially commissioned for such monuments may be mentioned Pradier (1792–1852), who, besides some really fine studies in imitation of classic work, such as his *Victories* that guard Napoleon's great sarcophagus under the dome of the Invalides and such as his *Sappho* (Louvre), made the figures, now more than ever famous, symbolizing Lille and Strasbourg for the Place de la Concorde. The model for *Strasbourg* was his wife.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

out the main characteristics of that school (one of the numerous schools at present existent) whose adherents hold it to be a legitimate function of sculpture—and perhaps its highest function—to express passionate emotion and violent effort by their physical bodily effects; who delight in intimating in a permanent material form the impression made on us by a body agitated by the unrestrained fury of beast or man; who, when they represent what is momentarily at rest, often select a moment in which a beast lies passive at the mercy of its pitiless foe, or a man succumbs helplessly, instead of battling heroically, as in all great drama, against the powers of darkness.

The initiators of this movement were strongly influenced by the so-called Romantic school of painting—a school that really, in the case of its chief representatives, felt very little enthusiasm for anything connected with Romanticism except its emotional qualities, and whose chief merit was that it advocated a return to nature.¹ But, as in the case of other naturalistic schools (such as that of Caravaggio and the Neapolitan *naturalisti*), it was emotional unrestraint that attracted these French sculptors and became a characteristic of their work. One of the first of them was Jehan de Seigneur, who (says Hourticq) let loose a sort of muscular tempest to express violent passion. Another was Préault, whose brutal naturalism is manifested in his *Crucifix* in the church of Saint-Gervais (Paris)—perhaps the most painful representation of Christ's death in the whole realm of art; for, unlike the rude attempts of medieval piety to depict the scene, it ruthlessly presents to us the human nature of Christ utterly vanquished by agony, utterly forsaken by the Divine.

But of all who delighted in representing pain the chief was Barye (1796–1875). He seems to have taken pleasure

¹ In this they were preceded by the great landscape school of England. The Romantic movement, as far as it consisted in a revived enthusiasm for medievalism, affected French architecture far more than either painting or sculpture. In architecture it produced such Neo-Gothic work as the façade of Saint Ouen (Rouen) and Saint Epvre (Nancy) and the apse of Sainte-Clothilde (Paris), but the effects that showed themselves in painting and sculpture were produced by the emotional Romanticism that we associate with such names as Rousseau, Byron, and Goethe's *Werther*—with the outcry for liberty and equality and a return to nature. Thus, in the case of painting especially, Romanticism, as it was called, was really the beginning of modern Naturalism and Individualism.



198. LA DANSE

Carpeaux

Pediment of Opera House, Paris; plaster copy in Louvre

Photo Alinari



199. NEAPOLITAN FISHER-BOY

By Rude. *Louvre*

Photo Alinari



200. GANYMEDE

By Thorwaldsen. See p. 116. *Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen*

Photo Vilhelm Trydes, Copenhagen

in prolonging, so to speak, in his bronzes the intolerable anguish which Nature herself hastens to alleviate by unconsciousness and to end by death. Another of his favourite tasks was to perpetuate the savagery of bestial or human fury. And yet we are told that 'his work is one of the finest discoveries of modern sculpture.' We are informed that he made a special study of animals and became able to reproduce realistically in his bronze or marble the texture of their skin, or their fur, and the action beneath of their sinewy strength, and all their moods and movements, and to make us seem to hear the crunching of bones and the growls of pleasure as his tigers and jaguars devour their impotent victims.

The profession of an animal-sculptor is as legitimate as that of an animal-painter. In spite of M. Hourticq's rather surprising assertion that Greek sculptors confined their animal studies to the horse, there seems no reason why the principles of great sculpture should forbid even the most realistic portraits of animals.¹ It is the use to which Barye puts his animals that makes one hesitate to regard him as a true artist. Instead of his *Tiger (Puma?) devouring an Alligator*, or *Jaguar devouring a Hare*, I have chosen as an illustration his Centaur and Lapith engaged in a desperate fray.

As a specimen of another of the numerous styles of nineteenth-century sculpture that sprang into existence before the making of *The Thinker* and the recognition of Rodin as one of the greatest of French sculptors, I give—overstepping the limit that I laid down for my account of French art—an illustration of a sculpture by Carpeaux, a pupil of Rude's. It is a group, called *La Danse*, that adorns the façade of the Opera House in Paris. Differentiation is necessary for evolution. Perhaps the age that has produced *The Dance* and *The Thinker* may be followed by an age of really great sculpture.

¹ In Greek and Rhodian art we have the lions of Mycenae, Chaeroneia, the Peiraeus, etc., the eagle of Zeus, Leda's swan, the boar of Calydon, the bull of Europa, the bull of Dirce, the serpent of Laocoön, the man and his dog (*stele*), etc. A very fine sculptured (Greek or Roman) animal is the wild boar in the Uffizi. Perhaps we may regard the Capitoline *Wolf* and the Arezzo *Chimaera* as Hellenic.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

(c) Painting (c. 1643-c. 1820)

Although the phases of artistic and political evolution are by no means always coincident, it sometimes facilitates one's task, when one is trying to sketch a nation's art, if one plots out one's subject with the help of such political divisions as the reigns of kings. And this is especially true in the case of France, seeing that for about three centuries—from the days of Francis I to those of Napoleon I—art was perhaps as wholly dependent on royal favour as it was in Egypt and Assyria under Rameses the Great and Sennacherib, so that one may talk of a Louis Quatorze monument in much the same way as one talks of a Fourth Dynasty pyramid. But even in the period of so-called monarchic art there were French artists who kept themselves practically independent of kingly patronage and spent most of their lives in Italy, or elsewhere, a long way from Paris and Versailles. One such, the sculptor Puget, we have already noted. Now we come to another, and a better known, artist—the painter Nicolas Poussin. And with Poussin one naturally associates his companion for many years at Rome, Claude le Lorrain.

When we were considering the French painters of the latter years of Louis XIII, it may be remembered, I deferred discussing these two artists. It is true that at the end of this king's reign Poussin was already nigh fifty years of age and Claude was over forty; but it was during the reign of Louis XIV that they painted—at Rome—their finest pictures, and one gets an unfair idea of these works if one classes them with productions such as those of Vouet, the chief court-painter of Louis XIII, instead of contrasting them with the works of Vouet's pupils, Le Sueur and Le Brun, especially the latter, that official decorator of Versailles who, even after studying during four years under Poussin at Rome, became for forty years the servile *employé* of the French monarch and his ministers, Colbert and Louvois, while toward his own *employés* and his rivals he was probably more autocratic, and certainly more overbearing, than the Grand Monarch himself.

In order to discern better the profound difference between the work of Poussin and that of Le Brun let us for a few

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

moments cast a glance backward. In the latter years of the reign of Louis XIII French art had been exposed to two powerful foreign influences—the Flemish and the Italian. Rubens, in spite of the many and exceedingly fine works that he produced during his four or five years at Paris (1620–25), made, as we have noted, no lasting impression. His genius was perhaps too masterful and his imagination and execution too overwhelmingly magnificent to incite emulation. The French imitators, moreover, of the Flemish *genre* painters founded no distinct school, although their activity lasted and aided in future naturalistic movements.

The other foreign influence—that of Italy—had a great and permanent effect; and that effect was twofold, namely the production of two essentially different so-called Classical schools. Let us consider their nature.

The somewhat pretentiously self-styled Fontainebleau school of decorators, founded by the Italians Primaticcio and Rosso, summoned to Paris by Francis I about 1530, had become almost extinct; but a new generation of painters had begun to turn to Italy herself for inspiration, betaking themselves thither in order to study masterpieces, as also Spanish artists were doing, or at least studying at home fine engravings of Renaissance and ancient works of art instead of the decorative work of such men as Dubois and Fréminet.¹

For instance, Vouet, as we have seen, when a fairly young man, spent some years in Italy and doubtless imagined himself genuinely inspired by the greatest Italian painters—those who were then regarded as the greatest; for post-Raphaelitism was in vogue. He is said to have studied zealously both Caravaggio and Paolo Veronese. Motives from the latter he certainly copied sometimes, but both in conception and in colour he remains at a vast distance from that master, and, as will be seen from Fig. 175, he acquired fatal facility in that weak and ambitious symbolical-theatrical method of treating religious and mythological subjects which may be

¹ Ambroise Dubois painted great decorative pictures at Fontainebleau for Marie de Médicis. Fréminet's extensive paintings in the Fontainebleau chapel show a medley of profane and sacred legends in the Late Renaissance style.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

described as a mixture of the inferior elements of the styles of the Neapolitan Naturalists, the Bolognese Eclectics, and the Italian decorators.

Louis XIV (1643-1715)

Le Sueur and Le Brun were two of Vouet's many pupils. Le Sueur (1617-55) never had the fortune to see Italy, but was enthusiastically devoted to the great Italian Renaissance painters, more especially to Raphael, whose 'Cartoon' style he imitates so cleverly as to make one wish he had used his ability otherwise (see Fig. 176). His principal work was a series of twenty-two paintings on wood representing episodes from the life of S. Bruno.¹ In Le Sueur's work there reveals itself sometimes a personal element—a touch of human nature, so to speak—and a graciousness of form and face which show that he was more than a mere barren imitator, such as his master, and that, had he not died so early (at the age of thirty-eight), he might have become, if not a great painter, at least a much better artist than his fellow-pupil Le Brun. But before considering the works and influence of Le Brun let us turn our attention to the other Classical school—that of Poussin and Claude le Lorrain.

Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) until thirty years of age made a very precarious living at Paris by painting. In 1624, at last, after two desperate but vain attempts, he succeeded (with the help of the Italian poet Marini) in reaching Rome. Here he devoted himself mainly to the study of ancient monuments and art and literature and the works of the great Italian masters, and gradually won recognition as one of the foremost painters in Rome. But his really great work was yet to begin. At first he had painted mostly in a somewhat frigid and grandiose Classical style, choosing heroic, historical and Biblical, subjects, and adopting a treatment somewhat like that of Guido Reni, who was some twenty years his senior. Of this early period his best-known pictures are *The Plague amongst the Philistines* (Louvre), *The Martyrdom of St Erasmus* (Vatican),

¹ Now transferred to linen, and in the Louvre. Here also is his really charming *Life of Cupid* (painted for the Hôtel Lambert), also his Raphaelesque *Muses* and *The Vision of St Benedict*.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

The Finding of the Youthful Pyrrhus (Louvre), and *The Death of Germanicus*. Then, evidently influenced by Claude le Lorrain and by Salvator Rosa, both of whom were his neighbours on the Pincian Hill, he began to develop a style which resembled theirs only in being independent and original—except that possibly to some extent Poussin's later landscape work may have owed some of its more impressive qualities to that of Salvator.

In 1640, after long hesitation, he accepted the invitation of Louis XIII and returned to Paris for the purpose of helping to decorate the Louvre. His stay was, however, of short duration. Like Andrea del Sarto and Bernini, he found the Parisians not very friendly as competitors and critics, and in 1642, in the last year of Louis' reign, he returned to Rome, leaving behind him a number of designs (still existing) for the proposed decoration of the Louvre, as well as a few pictures—a *Last Supper*, a *Miracle of St Francis Xavier*, and (as a gentle hint to his detractors) a representation of Time defending Truth against the attacks of Envy.¹

After his return to his beloved Rome, where, in ever closer intimacy with the spirit of ancient classic art and literature, he spent the remaining twenty-three years of his life, Poussin painted most of his finest pictures. In earlier life he had been a very rapid worker,² and, although his later work had nothing of the slapdash about it, he continued to wield a very facile brush, and many works painted by him at Rome during his later Roman period are to be found in public and private collections. The Louvre possesses more than thirty—mainly of this period—among which, especially notable, are the *Shepherds of Arcadia*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, *Diogenes casting away his Bowl*, *The Burial of Phocion*, *The Deluge*, and *The Blind Men of Jericho*.

¹ In the Louvre. It is an interesting pendant to Botticelli's *Calumny* (in the Uffizi). Le Brun, although he did not follow the new departures by which Poussin attained greatness, had at least the *flair* to recognize his artistic gifts and his personal attraction. He accompanied him to Rome and remained there four years.

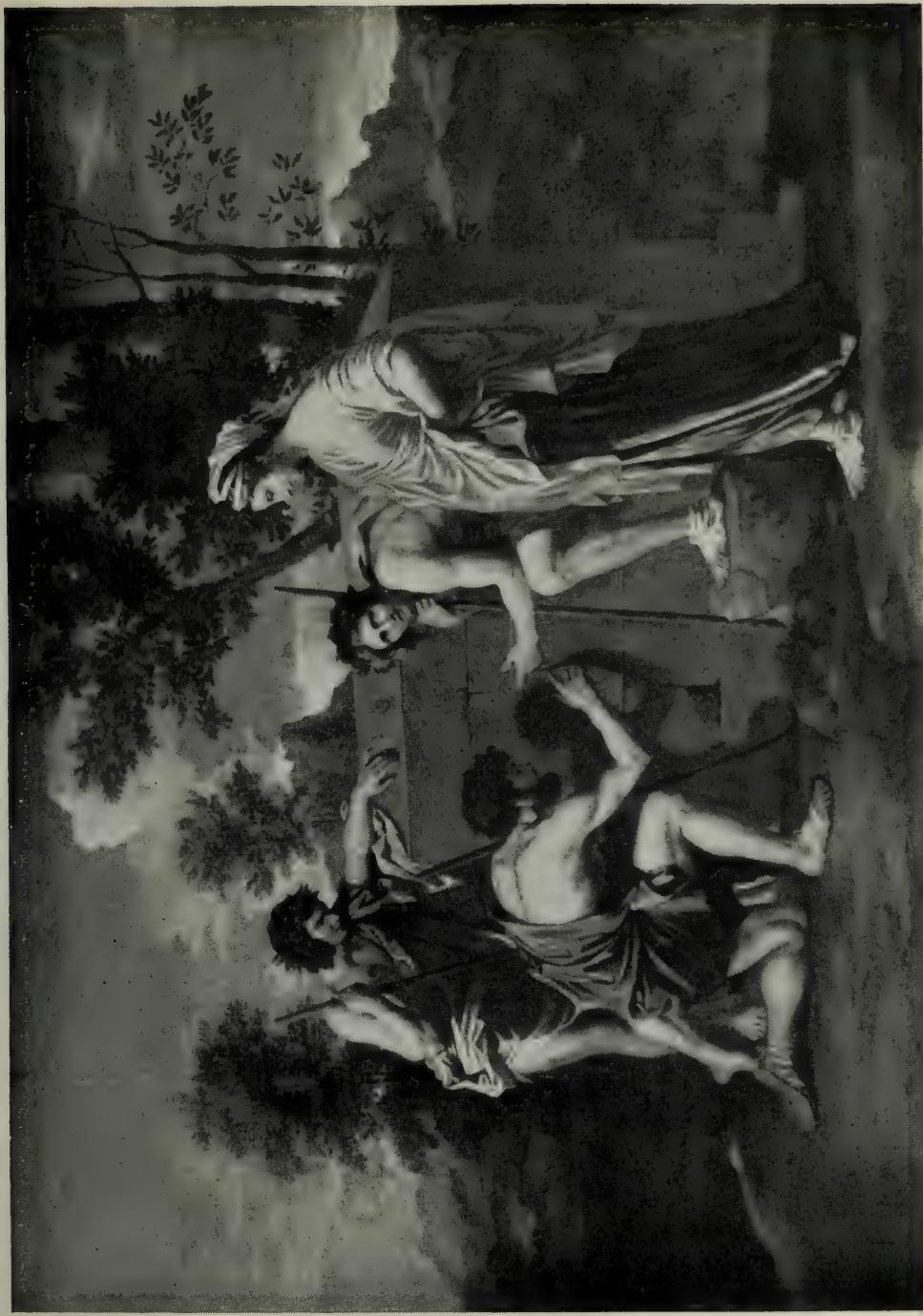
² *Il aurait pu lutter*, says Peyre, *presque avec Giordano sa presto*. Rapidity was a fashionable acquirement for a painter in those days. Mignard painted in three hours the portrait of Louis XIV which Mazarin sent to the Spanish Infanta, and Le Brun broke all records.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

In these and other late paintings by Poussin we can see that he had completely abandoned the old theatrical and quasi-Classical style which he at first adopted from the later artists of the Bolognese school. For a time he was inspired by Titian, e.g., in his *Childhood of Bacchus* (Chantilly Museum). Then he was strongly influenced by Raphael, whose wonderfully dignified and exquisitely harmonious 'Cartoon' style—if one may call it so—he adopted very successfully in such paintings as *The Blind Men of Jericho*. Still later he abandoned the designing of large figures and devoted himself to what has been called 'historic' landscape—classical scenes, mainly compositions studied from the scenery of the Campagna or the Alban and Sabine Mountains, into which he introduced ancient ruins and—apparently quite subsidiary to the landscape—some figure or group.

Such a description may remind the reader of many and many a landscape-painter who puts into his picture a little 'human interest' by the introduction of, say, a shepherd with his flock, or a belated traveller, or a picnic-party, or perhaps a group of brigands. But there is in Poussin's so-called historic landscape-paintings much that is very different from all such adventitious ornamental afterthought—much that, when we recognize its real nature, is seen to be an essential part of the design and well worthy of our careful observation, inasmuch as it raises questions of great interest and importance, especially as we may regard Poussin as perhaps the most important of the precursors of our modern landscape-painters.

Possibly the most essential characteristic of this later work of Poussin is that its ultimate appeal is addressed less to the aesthetic than to the intellectual faculty. There is no obtrusively perceptible 'moral' motive. The picture of which I have chosen a photograph to illustrate these last remarks (Fig. 202) is doubtless often passed over, even by artistic persons, as a mere study of forest scenery, scarce worthy of a glance—amidst such wealth of masterpieces—except as offering probably flagrant examples of vices lashed by Ruskin in his *Modern Painters*. But the picture is worthy of a great deal more than a passing glance, whatever opinions we may have about fidelity to nature in landscape-



201. SHEPHERDS OF ARCADIA
By Nicolas Poussin. See p. 262

Louvre
Photo Alinari



202. DIOGENES CASTING AWAY HIS BOWL
By Nicolas Poussin. See pp. 254, 262

L'uvre
Photo Giraudon

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

painting as contrasted with the method of selection, adaptation, and composition.

Without attempting to enter into the endless and profitless turmoil of conflicting theories on this subject, I will allow myself to intercalate here, by way of annotation, a few detached remarks.

In spite of his vehement denouncements of tamperings with and careless conventional renderings of nature, Ruskin (as far as it is possible to ascertain his opinions amidst his many inconsistencies and contradictions) seems to allow a place in art to *la nature choisie* such as we certainly find in Poussin's work; anyhow, he praises Poussin highly, saying that 'his landscape shows great power and is usually composed and elaborated on right principles'; and on another occasion—in the Introduction to the second edition—after making a very striking and just distinction between meticulously correct detail and what he calls the rendering of *specific character* (structural and essential), he describes, with great admiration, the depicting of scenery by Poussin in his *Nursing of Jupiter* (Dulwich Gallery). He compares it with the background of a *Holy Family* by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which, he says, 'owing to the utter neglect of all botanical detail has lost every atom of ideal character,' whereas Poussin's picture, in which 'every vine-leaf is drawn with consummate skill and untiring diligence,' gives us 'a tree-group not only of the most perfect grace and beauty but one which, in its pure and simple truth, belongs to every age of nature and adapts itself to the history of all time.' That surely means that Poussin possessed what Ruskin calls 'the one grand style,' namely that which 'consists in the simple rendering of the specific character' of natural objects—a style that differs *toto caelo* from that 'modification of God's works,' that 'violation of specific form,' that 'alteration of the features of nature,' that 'desecration of what it is the pride of angels to know and their privilege to love' which he attributes to the 'powerless indolence or blind audacity' of those whose 'folly and insolence' had up to the days of Turner resulted in the 'utter inutility of all that has been hitherto accomplished by the painters of landscape.'

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Ruskin's rare powers of observation of natural phenomena have had very beneficial practical influence. Moreover, one must not forget that, as both Plato and Shakespeare tell us,¹ there are truths which cannot be imparted directly but only intimated by means of contradictory statements—as if in equipoise between two opposing forces—so that we need not wonder if, in spite of all the inconsistencies into which the author of *Modern Painters* was led by his impassioned rhetoric, we not unfrequently have that experience of illumination so wonderfully described by Plato under the metaphor of a flame suddenly flashing forth from the darkness of seemingly futile discussion and kindling in the soul a never-dying light. And certainly, though the 'utter inutility of all that has been hitherto accomplished by the painters of landscape' may seem to clash with the great admiration confessed by Ruskin for the landscapes of Leonardo, of Giorgione, of Titian, of Rubens, of Rembrandt, and even of Poussin, the inconsistency is excusable when we realize that the object set before the modern landscape-painter by the writer is very much more sublime than anything dreamed of by any of these six great artists, all of whom, and probably every notable European artist down to the days of Claude le Lorrain and Salvator Rosa, held that 'The proper study of mankind is man'—or, to use Michelangelo's more dignified expression (which would doubtless have been approved of by Pheidias and Praxiteles), they held that the form in which divinity manifested itself most clearly was the human body. Nor, if I understand him, would Ruskin have denied this, for he speaks with reverence of the 'influence of the great works of sacred art,' in which the Divine is presented to us in human form; and he speaks with something almost amounting to reverence of the rights of human genius, even admitting that it may at times interfere with the sacrosanct laws of Nature herself. Thus, for example, he says of Rübенs that the licenses taken by him in some instances 'are as bold as his general statements are sincere. . . . In the *Sunset* [National

¹ Plato's *Seventh Epistle*. In *Richard II* we are told that 'no thought is contented. The better sort, As thoughts of things divine'—and we may add thoughts on the nature and end of art—'are intermixed With scruples, and do set the word itself Against the word.'

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

Gallery] many of the shadows fall at right angles to the light. In a picture in the Dulwich Gallery a rainbow is seen by the spectator at the side of the sun ; and in one in the Louvre the sunbeams come from one part of the sky and the sun appears in another. These bold and frank licenses . . . are characteristic of minds whose grasp on nature is so certain and extensive as to enable them fearlessly to sacrifice a truth of actuality to a truth of feeling.'

Here, in passing, we may note that long before Ruskin wrote these words Goethe, speaking of a picture by Rubens (perhaps the identical Louvre picture mentioned by Ruskin), is reported by Eckermann, in his *Gespräche mit Goethe*, to have said : 'So perfect a picture has never been seen in nature. We are indebted for its composition to the painter's poetic mind.' And when Eckermann, examining the picture, exclaimed with astonishment that the figures and the trees threw their shadows in contrary directions and that therefore the daylight came from two different directions, Goethe replied, 'That is just the point. It is by this that Rubens proves his greatness. It is a bold stroke of a master-artist whereby he proclaims that he is superior to nature and that art *has laws of its own*. The artist wished to speak to the world by means of an *entirety*, but that entirety he did not find in nature.' Although we may not be ready to assert with Goethe that art is 'superior to nature,' and would prefer to adapt Shakespeare's words to the case of the true artist and say that he 'shares with great creating nature' and that the creations of his art 'add to nature,' it is, I think, incontestable that even in landscape-painting, as the great German poet and thinker affirms, art has its own laws. All painting that claims to be art must surely be more than what Plato banishes from his model republic as mere imitation (*μίμησις*)—as something 'twice removed from Reality.' It must, no less than poetry, 'share with great creating nature,' and 'add to nature' by creating under its own laws ; and its creations, like those of nature and of poetry, in order to have the power to reveal what Wordsworth calls 'the life of things,' must be entirely independent, although such violent defiances of nature's laws as Rubens' double sunlight (a light that 'never was on

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

sea or land'!), or Angelico's heavily draped but shadowless angels (suggested perhaps by Dante's rock-bearing but shadowless sinners in Purgatory), may in such landscape-painting as that of Turner be seldom, or never, admissible.¹

Let us now listen, firstly, to what Ruskin says about the high calling of landscape-painting, and how its privileges have been abused, and then let us see how this doctrine applies in the case of Poussin. By doing this we shall clear our road to some extent for a right estimate of the great school of English landscape-painting which will be considered later.

Firstly then, speaking of 'all that has been hitherto accomplished by the painters of landscape,' Ruskin asserts : 'No moral end has been answered, no permanent good effected, by any of their works. They may have amused the intellect, or exercised the ingenuity, but they never have spoken to the heart.² Landscape art has never taught us one deep or holy lesson ; it has not recorded that which is fleeting, nor penetrated that which was hidden, nor interpreted that which was obscure ; it has never made us feel the wonder, nor the power, nor the glory of the universe ; it has not prompted to devotion, nor touched with awe ; its power to move and exalt the heart has been fatally abused, and perished in the abusing. That which ought to have been a witness to the omnipotence of God, has become an exhibition of the dexterity of man ; and that which should have lifted our thoughts to the throne of the

¹ Ruskin admits that sometimes the 'whole value and tone' of a splendid picture, such as that of Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* in our National Gallery, would be destroyed if some 'magnificently impossible' colour (in this case the blue of the distant landscape) were 'changed in the slightest degree to make it resemble nature's truth.'

² I am here giving Ruskin's words, not my own opinion. However much one may admire his rare gifts of observation and recognize the value of many of his teachings and suggestions, his assertions are sometimes very questionable. An amusing example of how he was at times carried away by his own eloquence occurs in his criticisms of Milton's *Lycidas* (*Modern Painters*, vol. iii, II, iii), where, in reference to 'the pansy freakt with jet,' he says that Shakespeare 'never stops on the spots' of flowers, while Milton 'sticks in the stains upon them,' quite oblivious of Shakespeare's

'Cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops
I' the bottom of a cowslip,'

and (also of a cowslip)

'In their gold coats spots you see.'

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

Deity, has encumbered them with the inventions of His creatures.

'If we stand for a little time before any of the more celebrated works of landscape, listening to the comments of the passers-by, we shall hear numberless expressions relating to the skill of the artist, but very few relating to the perfection of nature. Hundreds will be voluble in admiration, for one who will be silent in delight. Multitudes will laud the composition, and depart with the praise of Claude on their lips ; not one will feel as if it were *no* composition, and depart with the praise of God in his heart.'

We are told by critics of repute that Poussin's later work *n'atteint le cœur qu'en passant par l'esprit*, and that it 'appeals to the mind no less than to the eye' ; that we 'are justified in looking for the psychological intentions of the painter' ; that 'the reason of his being beloved by the French was because in the seventeenth century they were chiefly interested in mental and moral questions.'¹ Are these 'psychological intentions' and the mooting of 'moral questions' what Ruskin means by Poussin's perception of 'specific character' and of the 'moral truths' of nature ? Or, in order to discover his meaning (so difficult to get at, even after careful study of his chapters on Ideas of Truth, The Truth of Nature, General and Particular Truths, etc.), are we to seek the solution in the passage quoted above, in which we are told that no 'moral end' had, until the days of Turner, been aimed at by any landscape-painter ? Does he mean, perhaps, that Poussin perceived the fact that nature declares the glory of God and that the landscape-painter's highest function is to 'witness to the omnipotence' of the Deity ? If this be his meaning, I think we may infer that he did not understand very clearly Poussin's intentions, 'psychological' or other ; and anyhow it is really puzzling and tiresome when, shortly after being told that this painter draws vine-leaves with consummate skill and gives us a

¹ See Peyre's *Histoire Générale des Beaux-Arts* and Professor Hourticq's *History of French Art* (Hachette). The era of the great French writers on ethical questions was surely rather the eighteenth century. Voltaire was born (1694) just a century after Poussin, and Rousseau in 1712. The seventeenth century was that of Corneille, Racine, and Molière, by the first of whom Poussin was doubtless influenced.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

tree-group of grace and beauty and eternal truth, we find such words as these: ‘A man accustomed to the grace and infinity of nature’s foliage, with every vista a cathedral and every bough a revelation, can scarcely but be angered when Poussin mocks him with a black round mass of impenetrable paint, diverging into feathers instead of leaves and supported on a stick instead of a trunk.’

Amidst all these flounderings emerges pretty distinctly one fact, namely that the pictorial art has divers and very diverse functions and methods. In the case of paintings by Turner and others of which pure natural scenery is the main subject¹ one may perhaps allow that the ‘moral end,’ as Ruskin calls it, is to ‘witness to the omnipotence of God,’ and that such products of art tend ‘to the honour of God’² as the Artificer of works which ‘it is the pride of angels to know and their privilege to love’; and we may certainly also allow, if such be the ‘moral end’ of pure landscape, that the only method consonant with such an end is that holding up of a mirror to nature, that ‘simple, unencumbered rendering of the specific character’ of every natural object, which Ruskin asserts to be ‘the one grand style.’ But the art of painting is, fortunately, not by any means limited to pure landscape. ‘Perhaps you know,’ says Horace,³ ‘how to paint a cypress to perfection. What’s the use of that if you are paid to make a picture of a man swimming from a wreck and battling desperately for his life?’ Certainly the most inimitable deftness in holding up mirrors, or lenses, to nature, or in intimating with skilful

¹ Perhaps I should say the sole subject, but this would cut them down to a small number, seeing that most of them contain some very obvious human ‘tamperings’ with wild scenery—not to mention such overwhelmingly human products as a Great Western express and a *Fighting Teméraire*.

² ‘I assert with sorrow that all hitherto done in landscape by those commonly conceived as masters has never prompted one holy thought in the minds of nations. . . . Filling the world with the honour of Claude and Salvator, it has never once tended to the honour of God’ (*Modern Painters*). It is strange how seldom any great ethical teacher or poet has appealed to *art* as possessing a ‘moral end,’ although many make appeal to stars and flowers and other grandeurs and beauties of land and sea and sky.

³ *De Arte Poetica*, 19–21. Horace evidently alludes here to the question sarcastically attributed by the Greeks to touting painters: ‘Wouldn’t you like something in the cypress line?’ Pictures of wrecks, ‘dripping raiment,’ etc., were hung up as thanksgiving offerings in temples of Poseidon (Neptune), as pictures, models of ships, crutches, etc., are to be seen in churches of Notre-Dame du Bon Secours. See Horace, *Carm.* i, 5.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

brush the ‘specific character’ of natural objects, does not justify a man in regarding himself as the possessor of ‘the one grand style’ and refusing such title to painters like Titian and Rubens because, forsooth, they sometimes ‘sacrifice a truth of actuality to a truth of feeling.’

The fact is that painting, like poetry, attains its sublimest effects through the creative power of that ‘strong imagination’ which, as Shakespeare tells us, ‘bodies forth the forms of things unknown’; and in doing this it obeys no laws but those of poetic imagination.

These laws of the imagination, though unwritten and difficult to define, are not difficult to divine. ‘Painters and poets,’ says some one in Horace’s poem *De Arte Poetica*, ‘have always had a fair amount of liberty in daring what they would.’ ‘We know it,’ answers Horace, ‘and we ourselves use and grant to others this liberty’; but, he adds, in effect, one must not violate the laws of poetic imagination by producing monstrosities.¹

As for Poussin, the question seems to be not so much whether he fails in rendering what Ruskin calls the ‘specific character’ of trees and other natural objects (for on this count he is not only acquitted, but loaded with praise—though subsequently loaded with dispraise—by the capricious critic), but whether he violates any essential law of the imagination in these so-called historic, or moral, landscapes of his—fictitious scenes, not copied directly from nature, nor even always such as might be found in nature, but composed from selected natural objects (mountains, trees, water, etc.) so arranged and modified that they may give the impression of forming a suitable environment for some momentous historic or legendary event.

It is a question difficult to answer satisfactorily. Perhaps the safest line to take is to give theoretics a wide berth and to note what effects are produced by these paintings on a mind perfectly free from preconceptions.

* * * * *

¹ He gives this specimen of what he means: ‘If an artist in his picture were to set the head of a beautiful woman upon a horse’s neck, and cover with many-coloured plumes the body, and give it limbs of various animals, making it end in a black porpoise-tail, and should invite you to inspect his work, would you restrain your laughter, my friends?’

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

We have seen that in earlier years Poussin was strongly influenced by the semi-classical, theatrical, decorative style of the later Bolognese school, and even when he changed this for the dignified and harmonious 'Cartoon' style of Raphael he still retained a conspicuously dramatic motive in such works as *The Blind Men of Jericho*. But in the last period of his life he adopted a very different process—one strikingly different from that used by his younger contemporary, Vouet's pupil Le Brun, whose wondrous decorative and historical paintings, such as *The Battles of Alexander*, were being loudly acclaimed in Paris (c. 1660-65) while these infinitely more wonderful 'historic' landscapes were being painted by an old man, with trembling hand, in a quiet studio on the Pincian at Rome.¹ In the work of Le Brun the main object was the glorification of human fame and magnificence. Poussin's motive in much of his later work was the intimation of some thought of great moment in the evolution of the higher nature of man. The thought is not obtrusively presented. There is no frigid symbolism or personification. Some seemingly commonplace incident is presented—the inconspicuous figures of two men, one watching the other drinking from a pool amidst a gloomy forest, or a group of shepherds deciphering the epitaph on a tomb amidst a scene reminiscent of ancient Arcadia.² In the one the vitalizing centre, as it were, of the picture is a thought that has lain at the root of a vast growth of ethical teaching from the days of Diogenes to those of Rousseau and of Tolstoi; in the other we are very gently led into the presence of the mystery of death amidst a scene in which the bright sunlight and the beauty and freedom and happiness expressed in face and figure by the shepherd-folk seem to suggest the joys of Elysium. In the *Orpheus and Eurydice* the figures are more numerous, but the motive is the same—the beauty and joys of earth being the background to the suggested thought of the pathetic story of the return of Eurydice from the darkness of death and of her tragic recall to the Netherworld. In *The Deluge* the treatment is somewhat

¹ Some say that he gave up attempting large figures because his hand was no longer steady—like Dante's *artista c'ha l'abito dell' arte e man che trema*.

² The inscription is in Latin and means 'I too lived once in Arcady,' or perhaps 'I too am living in Arcady.'



203. THE BLIND MEN OF JERICHO

By Nicolas Poussin

Louvre

Photo Giraudon

204. THE LANDING OF CLEOPATRA ON THE BANK OF THE CYNDUS NEAR TARSUS

By Claude le Lorrain

Louvre

Photo Alinari



different. The human tragedy of the Flood is depicted vividly, instead of being suggested more or less obscurely. Here the notable characteristic is what perhaps one might call the organic unity of the picture—nature and humanity both alike in agony.

Claude Gelée, known better as Claude le Lorrain, or Claude Lorrain, was born (1600) at the Château de Chamagnes, amidst the Vosges of Southern Lorraine. He received in early years a poor education and no artistic training, but having found his way to Rome (1627) he lived there in intimate friendship with Poussin until that artist's death in 1665, and died there some seventeen years later (1682).

The work of Claude was of a nature essentially different from that of Poussin. He loved Italy no less than his friend, but had neither the inborn quality of mind nor the education to be strongly affected by the intellectual and artistic influences of classic civilization. It was the radiant beauty of Italy that he loved to depict, and when he introduces such things as ancient ruins and classic architecture and Roman galleys and Roman costumes and so on, or when he nominally depicts classic events, such as the landing of Cleopatra, it is with no such object as Poussin had in view when painting his *Arcadian Shepherds* and his *Diogenes*.

Although they lived so long in close contact, there is scarcely any sign of Claude's having been influenced by Poussin in his work, the value of which consists in the dreamland beauty of his scenery, the ethereal purity, serenity, transparency, or misty fulgence of his skies, the rippling azure of his seas, and, more than all else, the golden glow of his sunlight—not only reflected sunlight—not only the diffused glow of the sunset or sunrise—but sunlight streaming straight into one's eyes from the sun himself, thinly veiled or in his naked glory. In order to intensify these effects he frequently places, as a foil, in the foreground and at the sides of his picture dark, opaque, unreflecting objects, such as massive, deep-shadowed buildings, the dark hulks and the rigging of ships, or the densely clustered, dark foliage of trees, while the middle of the picture grows brighter and brighter as it recedes

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

ever more and more toward the dazzling central source of light.

Ruskin sums up his criticism of Claude by saying that he possessed a fine feeling for beauty of form and is seldom ungraceful in his foliage, but that his work, if examined with reference to *truth* ('specific character' of natural objects, I suppose), is 'one mass of error from beginning to end.' This verdict he on other occasions seems to revoke and then to confirm, *more suo*, by various inconsistent assertions. 'A gift was given to the world by Claude,' he says, 'for which we are perhaps hardly enough grateful. . . . He set the sun in heaven and was, I suppose, the first who attempted anything like the realization of actual sunshine in misty air. . . . He gives the first example of a study of nature for her own sake. . . . His false taste, forced composition, and ignorant rendering of detail have perhaps been of more detriment to art than the gift he gave was of advantage.' Then we have the assertions that 'the seas of Claude are the finest pieces of water-painting in ancient art,' but that 'a man accustomed to the broad, wide seashore can scarcely but be angered when Claude bids him stand still on some paltry, chipped and chiselled quay, with porters and wheelbarrows running against him, to watch a weak, rippling, bound and barriered water, that has not strength enough in one of its waves to upset the flower-pots on the wall, or even to fling one jet of spray over the confining stone.'

It is true enough that this artist has not given us—perhaps could not give us—the sea rejoicing in its might. He loved and depicted the azure serenity of sheltered ports and bays, and although the rippling surface is indicated merely with a multitude of little curved lines in a fashion scarcely less conventional than that of Botticelli, for instance, in his *Birth of Venus*, yet Claude's painted expanses of gently undulating water often produce an effect not less fascinating than that produced by Nature herself under Italian skies.

It is interesting to compare such scenes painted by Claude with somewhat similar scenes painted by Turner. In *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* in our National Gallery the sky is of great beauty, showing a luminous golden mist at the centre of which is the glowing sphere

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

of the half-veiled sun. The water is pictured as a feebly pulsating mass of blue liquid, of no lucent transparency, and with scarcely any diversity of colour, illuminated only superficially by the sunlight, the reflexion of which is seen, at all kinds of impossible angles, irradiating the ridges of innumerable wavelets over the whole watery expanse, except where it forms a discontinuous streak of light between the sun and the spectator (illuminating even the back of a stooping boatman in the foreground!).

Contrast with this Turner's *Dido building Carthage*, where we have a somewhat similar scene. Note the very different and more truly depicted path of light strewn by the sun across the rippling surface, and the very striking variety presented by almost every square inch of the water.¹ Instead of one rich monotone of almost opaque blue, the eye, as it ranges over the watery expanse, meets, as in nature, great diversity of movement, of illumination, of colour, and translucency—a veritable *ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα*. But, in spite of all fault-finding, there is much truth in what was said about Claude by Constable, one of the doughtiest champions of 'truth to nature'—that 'cultivated nature' which he himself loved to depict. 'In Claude's landscape,' he asserted, 'all is lovely. He carried landscape to perfection.'

Such was the charm exercised by Claude's pictures, and so copiously were they copied and imitated, that he felt it to be necessary to compose a *Liber Veritatis*—a collection of sketches of all his works. The finest of these works are in the Louvre and our National Gallery. There are many 'seaport views,' such as *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, *The Embarkation of St Ursula*, *Chryseis restored to her Father*, and *The Landing of Cleopatra on the Bank of the Cydnus near Tarsus* (Fig. 204; cf. also *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, ii).

While under Italian skies these two Frenchmen, almost wholly unaffected by French influences,² were painting pictures of high artistic merit, a great deal of painting of a

¹ Photographs cannot be expected to illustrate satisfactorily in such cases. See, however, Figs. 205 and 372.

² We have already noted that almost contemporaneously with Poussin and Claude another very gifted French artist (sculptor, painter, and architect)—namely Puget—kept himself almost totally aloof from royal patronage and Parisian influences, offering a striking contrast to Girardon and Le Brun and many others who devoted themselves to the glorification of the Grand Monarch.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

very different nature and value was being produced in Paris and at Versailles. When Poussin, finding intolerable the ideals and the squabbles of the artists at the court of Louis XIII, returned to Rome, he was joined by Le Brun, who studied nominally under his guidance during several years. In 1643 Louis XIV, then a child of five years, succeeded his father, Louis XIII. The reins of government were during his minority assumed by the Queen-mother, whose chief adviser was Mazarin, an Italian whom the famous minister of Louis XIII, Richelieu, had patronized and had caused to be appointed a cardinal. Le Brun on his return to Paris in 1647 was favoured by Mazarin, and was ere long to win the position of the leading artist of France, and to nip some tender leaves of hope.

For after the death of Vouet (1649) his short-lived pupil Le Sueur became the popular painter of the Parisian school, while Philippe de Champaigne, formerly official court-painter to Marie de Médicis and then to Louis XIII, attracted still higher esteem as a painter of portraits and of decorative pictures.¹

Now Philippe de Champaigne (though a Fleming) and Le Sueur (who never visited Italy), as well as other important Parisian artists of this period, such as Sébastien Bourdon, Valentin, and La Hire,² and also the engravers Bosse and Callot (the last long resident in Italy), were strongly influenced by the works, or copies and engravings of the works, of Italian painters of the High and Late Renaissance—by Raphael, by the Bolognese painters, and by Caravaggio. But in spite of such influence in regard to fundamental principles most of them retained distinctly French characteristics. A new and promising, if not very vigorous, style was beginning

¹ Besides his very dignified full-length portrait of Cardinal Richelieu (Louvre and National Gallery), there exist by his hand numerous portraits of other distinguished personages, as well as paintings for the church of the Carmelites and the dome of the Sorbonne, and a fine *Adam and Eve weeping over the Body of Abel* (Vienne). Hourticq very justly says that his work shows a profound sense of reality combined with a moral intensity very unusual in Flemish art. In the Wallace Collection is a *Marriage of the Virgin* by him.

² These three, as other Parisian painters of this period, adopted generally the Caravaggio style, with its high lights and profound shadows. In the *Halt of Gipsies* (Louvre) Bourdon gives us a striking picture. His *Fall of Simon Magus*, painted for Montpellier Cathedral, his *Seven Works of Mercy*, and his *Martyrdom of St Peter* (Louvre) show him to have been inspired by Late Renaissance painters, but to have possessed much more than mere imitative skill.



205. EMBARKATION OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

By Claude le Lorrain

London, National Gallery
Photo Mansell



206. ALEXANDER'S PASSAGE OF THE GRANICUS

By Le Brun. See p. 271

Now in Louvre

Photo Giraudon



207. MELEAGER AND ATALANTA IN CALYDON

'Chase of the Boar.' By Le Brun

Now in Louvre

Photo Giraudon

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

to strike root, and in course of time might have grown into something of value. The old Fontainebleau school of decorators had disappeared, and in its place was arising what, had it not been for Versailles and Le Brun, would probably have developed into a remarkable native school of painting, drawing vitality from what was best in the Classic Renaissance but assuming the characteristics of a genuine French style.

Another formative influence in this embryonic national art—destined to come to birth much later—was that of Flanders. The magnificent work produced by Rubens in Paris (1620 onward) in honour of Marie de Médicis was too overpoweringly great to incite competition or imitation ; but French painters of the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV acquired much from Flemish art in brilliant and delicate use of colour and in the right treatment of *genre* subjects.

Among these *genre* painters were the afore-mentioned three brothers Le Nain, of Laon, who worked in Paris about 1630-60. They succeeded especially in the portrayal of French peasant-life, and thus, somewhat feebly it must be confessed, assisted in the movement toward a national art. And how strong the feeling was at this time in favour of a national art and against invasion by the domineering foreigner is proved by the complete change in the sentiments of the Parisian artists and of Colbert himself toward Bernini, the king of Italian rococo architecture and sculpture, when he presumed to prefer his own plan for enlarging the Louvre—a work that was accomplished soon afterward by Claude Perrault amidst general and well-deserved applause.¹

It was apparently with the object of encouraging the evolution of genuine French art that, in the year after Le Brun's return to Paris, the boy-King's 'Minister of Peace,' Colbert,² founded, or put on the foundation of official recognition and support, the association of French artists

¹ Colbert is said to have refused to put Bernini's name on the commemorative medal placed under the foundation-stone of the new building, some of the plans for which had been designed by the Italian.

² The Ministry of Peace (Home Affairs) and that of War, presided over respectively by Colbert and Louvois, formed the executive of the monarch—or rather of the regent until 1661, when Mazarin died and Louis XIV assumed full sovereign powers. The two ministries were soon after transferred from the Louvre to Versailles.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

which now adopted the name of the 'Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.'¹ But Colbert, although a most zealous collector of ancient and Renaissance works of art, unfortunately had no real discernment of what is truly great in art, and he committed a very serious error in choosing Le Brun as his chief adviser in matters artistic and as Director of the newly constituted Academy ; for Le Brun, in spite of his professed admiration for Raphael and for Poussin, was in reality merely a very facile and prolific decorator of the same type as Pozzo and Luca Giordano and the late *bolognesi* ; and his highest function was the glorification of his royal master and other influential patrons.

Moreover, the institution of such an academy, under State control, was in itself a misfortune. It is true that, under the supervision of Colbert and the direction of Le Brun, pupils received a careful technical training ; and the most successful of them were sent to the French Academy at Rome in order to perfect their apprenticeship. But how false the principles were which the Academy was expected to uphold is evident from the fact that it was ordered to discover from the masterpieces of antiquity, of the Renaissance, and of Poussin the surest method for turning out *chefs-d'œuvre*, and to construct a manual for the evolution of the perfect painter and sculptor !

For some years after his return from Rome Charles Le Brun was much occupied with the direction of the Art Academy. During these years he painted for the Hôtel Lambert *The Labours of Hercules*, and for Notre-Dame, as a 'May offering,' *The Martyrdom of St Andrew*, as well as various ceilings (a work at which his gifts as decorator made him an expert) and a picture of *Christ accompanied by Angels* (Louvre).² One of his most gorgeous productions was the decoration of the Gallery of Apollo³ in the Louvre. As

¹ The French Academy (the 'Forty Immortals') was founded, by Richelieu, in the last year (1642) of Louis XIII's reign ; the Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648 ; the French Academy at Rome in 1665 ; the Academy of Music in 1668 ; and that of Architecture in 1671.

² In the Louvre are also his *Benedicite*, *The Dead Christ*, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Meleager and Atalanta*, etc., besides many vast pictures (such as *The Battles of Alexander*) removed thither from Versailles and other places.

³ The building was finished in the reign of Henry IV and called the 'Small Gallery,' to distinguish it from the 'Long Gallery.'

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

later in the adornment of the Gallery of Mirrors at Versailles, Le Brun designed also the gilded stucco-work amidst which the paintings were set. Stucco-work not only formed frames for the pictures. As in late Italian ceiling-decoration great moulded forms of Atlantes and Caryatides and other mythological classic figures and rococo ornamentation enclosed and supported the framework of the paintings, and made an *ensemble* intended to compete with such work as that of Veronese, Palma Giovane, Tintoretto, and other Italian masters who adorned the walls and ceilings of the great saloons of the Doges' Palace. But the *Evening* and *Night* and the *Neptune with Amphitrite* of the Apollo Gallery, and the historic paintings of the Galerie des Glaces, in spite of their fine surroundings and ambitious pretentiousness, are, as works of art, utterly insignificant in comparison with what Venice and other Italian cities could already show in similar decorative magnificence.¹

When, in 1661, Mazarin died the young King took over the reins of government, and, much against the wish of Colbert, decided to abandon the Louvre, in spite of Perrault's fine new façade, now nearing completion, and to transfer the royal residence to Versailles, where he intended to erect, around the little brick-and-stone villa constructed for Louis XIII by Lemercier, a palace still more extensive and magnificent than the Louvre itself. The building of this palace of Versailles has been to some extent described in earlier chapters, as well as the formation of the great park and its adornment with fountains and statues. Here we have only to note (as upholstery and merely decorative tapestries and gilded stucco do not come within the limits of my subject) that from about 1665 to 1690—when Le Brun died—the decoration of the new royal palace, built mainly by Le Vau and Jules Mansard,² formed a potent centre of

¹ The splendid ceiling- and wall-pictures of the Doges' Palace painted by great Venetian masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were destroyed by the fire of 1577, a year or so after Titian's death, but by the time that Le Brun was decorating the Louvre and the palace at Versailles the above-mentioned later Italian masters, and others, had produced the wonderful array of noble works of art which still adorn the ducal palace, and which he may have seen before leaving Italy. Paolo Veronese died in 1588, Palma Giovane in 1628, and Tintoretto in 1637.

² Nephew to François Mansard and architect of the dome of Bruant's Église des Invalides—perhaps the finest French edifice in the Italian Jesuitic style. The

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

attraction for French artists, and that the one supreme director of the works was Le Brun. As head of the Academy and manager of the State factory of the Gobelins tapestries¹ he not only controlled the whole output but even supplied his subordinates with his own designs for pictures and statues and upholstery for this vast decorative undertaking, and thus exercised during a considerable period an extensive and by no means favourable influence on the character and ideals of French art.

One should perhaps not omit to mention here that some of the most highly accredited French writers on art seem to feel profoundly the necessity of our appreciating at what they believe to be a true value the huge production of decorative paintings and of sculptures and upholstery that took place during the supremacy of Le Brun, and assure us that we shall never do so unless we can bring ourselves to realize fully not only how the French Classical poets (Corneille and Racine, for instance) had given a new life to the ancient gods and heroes but also how French patriotism 'found its chief expression in a religious veneration for the King' (Hourticq)—a reverence, be it said, as difficult for us to realize as that of an ancient Greek for the divine origin claimed by Alexander or of a Roman for a deified Nero or his horse. And, even if we did manage to realize all this, should our knowledge of and sympathy with such a state of feeling affect our estimate of Le Brun as an artist? Surely we cannot accept the valuation given in his *Histoire Générale des Beaux-Arts* by Peyre : *Lebrun a été l'objet d'une réaction des plus injustes. C'était un artist du plus haut mérite, le premier de l'Europe en son temps, pour les grandes peintures monumentales.*

However, it would be unfair to deny that Le Brun had great pictorial gifts. Some of his portraits, such as that of

two architects are often confused. François died before Versailles was erected. His nephew Jules built (possibly from his uncle's design) the columned façade that looks toward the park. It was erected considerably later than Le Vau's great wings of the building flanking the Marble Court. The quasi-Classical chapel was added still later by Robert de Cotte.

¹ The Gobelins factory was so called because it was established (in 1662, by Colbert) in a building belonging to a family of that name. Besides tapestries it produced much of the Louis Quatorze furniture designed by Le Brun (who lived there). Some of Raphael's famous cartoons were worked into tapestries at this factory.

Turenne (Louvre), are masterly, and his power of depicting animated movement, gained by a study of the great Italian masters, especially of Raphael, is conspicuous in such of his works as *The Battles of Alexander* (e.g., *Arbela*, *The Passage of the Granicus*, and *The Capture of Babylon*). But in comparison with such pictures as *The Battle at the Milvian Bridge* (designed by Raphael), or the very different but equally fine *Entry of Henry IV into Paris* by Rubens, these big paintings of Le Brun are on the whole very unattractive, showing an entire lack of that gift for poetic composition which gives a work of art, so to speak, vital unity. What little attractiveness they may happen to possess seems to be due to skies, scenery, and occasional figures added by Le Brun's Flemish assistants, such as Genoels and Van der Meulen.

Before dismissing Le Brun and Versailles we should note a rival of his, Pierre Mignard, who was chosen, when eighty years of age, to fill his posts when he died in 1690, and who died himself five years later. Mignard had studied for many years in Italy the later Roman, Venetian, and Bolognese masters, and had thus acquired great facility in the production of such grandiose decorative painting as was in demand at Paris under royal patronage. His vast fresco in the cupola of the church Val-de-Grâce was extolled in verse by his friend Molière, but is frigidly pale in colour and theatrical in style, and altogether most unattractive.¹ He was a skilful portrait-painter, highly appreciated by the grandly dressed beauties and favourites of the court—a pompous precursor of Rigaud and Largillière, and, we may add, of Kneller, that German ‘British painter’ who figures so largely in our National Portrait Gallery.

¹ Molière praises Mignard especially for having dared to face *la promptitude et les brusques fiertés de la fresque*—a method very rarely attempted hitherto by French painters. This fresco is a so-called *Gloire (Vision of Heaven)*, in which some two hundred figures, three times the natural size, are depicted—among whom are Charlemagne, St Louis, and Anne of Austria. *On ne s'explique pas*, says Peyre, *que cette œuvre, supérieure à tout ce que l'on faisait alors en Italie, et qui reste un des plus belles pages de l'école française, soit si oubliée (!).* It is true that he was by many of his contemporaries regarded as the greatest painter of his age (La Bruyère says in his *Caractères*, published in 1688, *Corneille est Corneille; Mignard est Mignard*), and possibly he has been unfairly treated by posterity, for most of his larger works (at Versailles, Saint-Eustache, Saint-Cloud, and the Tuileries) have perished.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

We have already noted that during the long reign of Louis XIV, and even during that of Louis XIII, when the overwhelmingly powerful influence of the monarchy produced so rank a growth of pictorial art, rooted in the work of Late Renaissance decorative painters, there were not wanting signs among French painters of protest against the servile glorification of the King and against the suffocating atmosphere of a court far less favourable to original genius than had been those of the earlier Medici or those of many Roman pontiffs.

We have seen how some of the most gifted French artists of that period, such as Poussin and Puget and Claude, found the vicinity of Paris intolerable, and lived and worked at a distance, unaffected by the influences emanating from Versailles and the Academy of Colbert and Le Brun. We have also observed some praiseworthy attempts—but too feeble to withstand these influences—made by various painters and engravers, such as the brothers Le Nain (who were inspired by Flemish *genre*) and Bosse and Callot. The last-named artist, by the way, lived long in Italy and produced many of his etchings under the patronage of Cosimo II de' Medici, but instead of being influenced by the tendencies of the Italian masters he followed the original bent of his weird and somewhat grotesque Northern imagination, choosing to depict humorous and picturesque scenes (such as *The Fair at Florence*) of the life of the people and the soldiery. He was a precursor, without the satirical spirit, of Goya.¹

All these promising signs, however, proved futile. But toward the end of the reign of Louis XIV signs of another coming change became more and more evident. Men longed for the dawn ere the sunset colours had died away—nay, even before the sun had set.² It was setting amidst gloom and lurid lights. With health broken by luxurious living and

¹ Both Callot and Goya give us a series of plates on the miseries of war. It is also interesting to note that the famous picture by Velasquez (called *The Lances*) of the surrender of Breda and the engraving by Callot of *Pikemen and Musketeers at the Siege of Breda* have a marked similarity in their groups of high uplifted lances. Velasquez was seven years younger than Callot.

² The sun, or Sun god, was the symbol specially favoured by Louis to indicate his glorious self. In the marble groups with which Girardon and others adorned the great park of Versailles the Grand Monarch appears in the form of the Sun-god Apollo alighting from his chariot or tended by nymphs at his bath.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

a mind tortured by military reverses at Blenheim, Ramillies, and elsewhere, and depressed by the frequent deaths that threw the court into mourning, the domineering old King lived for a considerable period in sullen retirement at Versailles, taking little or no interest in the grandeurs and elegancies with which his architects, painters, sculptors, cabinet-makers, and other craftsmen had surrounded him, and by which he had hoped to immortalize himself as the greatest of art patrons.

Meantime a real French school had been striking root. Instead of being limited to subservient dependence on royal patronage, Parisian painters had begun to find purchasers for their pictures among the wealthy citizens and to compete with each other for popular favour by means of exhibitions. The general note among all classes, except that of court magnates and beauties and other unfortunates dependent on the favour of the morose old monarch, was a note of joy at newly acquired freedom—joy not so passionately intense as that which had heralded the advent of the Renaissance in Italy, but no less genuine. This feeling manifested itself in a much more unaffected style of social intercourse, and at first extended its influence especially, as was but natural, to the upholstery and furnishing and interior decoration of the houses of the rich. The stiff, quasi-Classical character of Louis Quatorze upholstery began to undergo transformation into the more comfortable, cushioned, and somewhat flamboyant style of the Louis Quinze period. Instead of heavy ornamentation with stucco wreaths and figures and gilded *laquearia* inlaid with dark-toned paintings of mythological subjects, ceilings began to show an undecorated white expanse, and instead of stone or stucco imitation of the classic orders and High Renaissance ornament the walls of rooms and halls began to be covered with wooden panelling tastefully decorated with gilt and light colours, in the midst of which were inserted paintings—and these paintings, to be in harmony with their surroundings, were necessarily light in tone, without any strongly marked chiaroscuro or brilliant colouring. For a time, therefore, especially among artists who supplied paintings for decorative purposes, a light-coloured style came into vogue; and this became rather

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

painfully thin and frigid—as is to be seen in Mignard's *Gloire* and in some of the work of the later Italian decorators, such as Giordano. But Flemish influence, which we have already noted during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV in several French painters, and especially in the portrait-painters, was now for a time to eclipse with its brilliance the waning colours of moribund Classicism.

And here, before passing on to the chief artist of the new school, Watteau, a few words must be added about these portrait-painters.

Philippe de Champaigne (1602–74) was, as we have seen, himself a Fleming, and, although he had enough genius to assimilate what was great in Italian art, he retained fully the attributes of the best Flemish art—powerful colouring, and that veritable realism which depicts character and which makes his portraits, such as those (in the Louvre and in our National Gallery) of Cardinal Richelieu, so striking.

Then we have Petitot (1607–93), Claude Lefebvre, or Lefèvre (1633–73), and Nicolas Mignard (1606–68), called Mignard of Avignon to distinguish him from his younger brother, Pierre Mignard, the rival and successor of Le Brun. The two first mentioned are of interest to us because they worked much in England, where Petitot, in his enamel portraits,¹ competed almost successfully as colourist with the great Van Dyck, who settled in England in 1634 and died there in 1641.

Somewhat younger than Petitot were Pierre Mignard and Le Brun, both of whom we have already noted as portrait-painters. Le Brun's *Turenne* (museum of Versailles) is, as I have said, masterly, and shows that in portraiture even he surrendered himself to Flemish methods, while Mignard's *Madame de Montespan and her Daughter*, in the museum of Avignon (where his brother's *Pietà* proves that he had great skill in imitating the hysterical style of later Italian pictorial art), is very different indeed from his decorative work, as seen in the church of Val-de-Grâce (p. 271 *and n.*), and seems to indicate not only Italian but Flemish influence.

¹ He won fame by making an enamel copy (10 in. × 5½ in.) of Van Dyck's celebrated portrait of the Duchess of Southampton. In the Louvre is a pleasing painting by Lefebvre of *A Master with his Pupil*.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

Thus we see that side by side with the grandiose, mythological and allegorical, decorative school there existed in France for a long period a school of portrait-painters which was more or less strongly influenced by the brilliant *coloris* and the wonderful realism in portraiture of Rubens and Van Dyck and other Flemish artists.

Somewhat later, again, we have Largillière (1650–1746) and Rigaud (1659–1745). These two artists lived respectively about sixty-five and fifty-six years under the Grand Monarch,¹ and both lived about thirty years under Louis XV. Their work was therefore divided pretty equally between the two reigns. Rigaud, of Perpignan, after studying at Montpellier, came to Paris, and, showing talent for portrait-painting, was taken up by Le Brun. He has left posterity a large number of effigies of the chief court magnates of the day, and some interesting likenesses of eminent writers, such as Boileau and Fontaine, and of artists, such as the sculptors Girardon and Coysevox and the architect De Cotte. His brilliant colouring and great skill in depicting rich apparel won him immense success. In cases where the human frame and physiognomy were not almost eclipsed by magnificent clothing and enormous wigs he shows some gift for true portraiture (see Fig. 211). Like his contemporary, the German Kneller (regarded sometimes as a great British portraitist)—to whom, as artist, he has much resemblance—he doubtless gained much of his skill in colouring from a study of Rubens and Van Dyck. Largillière studied at Antwerp under a Flemish painter, and then in London, where Van Dyck's influence was still strong, though Lely held the field. In Paris he soon became a rival of Rigaud, whom he equalled in brilliance of colouring and skill in portraiture. But fortunately—perhaps because he was not favoured at court like Le Brun's *protégé*—he turned from aristocratic life and devoted his talents mainly to portraiture of Parisian burghers and their wives and daughters.² In such portraits he was

¹ Louis XIV reigned seventy-two years, his great-grandson and successor fifty-nine years, and the ill-fated Louis XVI only nineteen (1774–93).

² A series of Parisian *échevins* (aldermen) by him is to be seen in the Louvre. Of his more pretentious work one may note the *Supplication of France for the Health of the King*, painted for the Hôtel de Ville, and a *Dedication of Paris to Ste Geneviève*, painted for a Parisian church.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

able to use a much less grandiose and affected style and a lighter *coloris* than when he emulated Rigaud. My illustration shows him with his wife and daughter—a picture of considerable charm. As was the case a little later with the great British portrait-painters, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and Raeburn, it was refinement of character, as shown in face and in dress, that he loved to depict rather than pomp and magnificence. At the same time he was not attracted, as were some of the Dutch painters and their followers, such as Chardin, to homely city or country life—far less to the low life of boozing sots and other such subjects dear even to such a genius as the Fleming David Teniers the Younger.

We must now retrace our steps for a short distance, for these portrait-painters, some of the earlier of whom were harbingers of the new school, have carried us onward far into the reign of Louis XV, while Watteau, the real beginner of the reaction against the worn-out, pompous, pseudo-Classical school of Le Brun, had already won fame by the end of the reign of the Grand Monarch.¹

Antoine Watteau was the son of a Flemish *couverteur*, and would have been a native of Flanders had not his birthplace, Valenciennes, been ceded to France a few years before by the Treaty of Nymwegen. His father grudgingly allowed him to study painting under a local artist, and the youth, when about eighteen years of age, seems to have joined, evidently as scene-painter, a company of strolling actors (and perhaps marionette players) who were on their way to Paris, in which city he spent mainly the rest of his life. This Wilhelm-Meister-like experience, and the acquirement of dexterity in rapidly daubing stage-scenery, seem to account for Watteau's *penchant* for delineating little puppet-like figures in semi-theatrical garb amidst woodlands and against backgrounds such as were admired in Parisian opera-houses of the day.

Watteau probably gained many of his ideas as to the structure of trees and the 'characteristic truth' of foliage,

¹ He began original work only about 1712, but in the three years before the King died had produced much. His short life and Raphael's were equal in length (1684-1721 and 1483-1520).



208. LARGILLIÈRE WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER

By Himself. *Louvre*

Photo Alinari



209. WINTER

By Lancret. See p. 280. *Louvre*

Photo Giraudon



210. THE EMBARKATION FOR CYTHERA

By Watteau

Louvre

Photo Giraudon

as Ruskin calls it, from somewhat casual observation of such things in the garden of the Luxembourg Palace and the Champs-Élysées (which at that time still showed fields and woods) and from the great park at Versailles. His woods and landscape backgrounds are, it is true, exceedingly pretty—with their russet and green foliage and shimmering water and distance veiled in blue and opal mists; but compared even with Poussin or Claude—not to mention such real woodland scenery as that of Gainsborough, of Constable, or of Turner—his attempts at landscape- and tree-painting are those of a fairly clever and imaginative stage-decorator who tries his hand at easel-painting on a small scale. His figures are certainly most cleverly drawn, and the faces are sometimes—as in the *Gille*, a large-sized portrait of a friend dressed in white as a ‘ninnny’ or clown, and in the graceful young exquisite called *L'Indifférent*—full of expression. Moreover, his deftness in the rendering of gay apparel and his power of intimating courtly and amorous sentiments by gesture cannot be denied.¹ But the subject to which he gave all his talents—gallants and dames on the primrose path of dalliance—is surely one unworthy of the sole devotion of an artist’s life. Besides, it is treated by him in a fantastic fashion—neither poetical nor imaginative (for even in his *chef-d’œuvre*, *The Embarkation*, the classical poetic idea is rendered banal by the treatment), nor descriptive of any phase of real life, with its many and various human feelings. The treatment is that which one might expect of one who, as Watteau, felt in his element in green-rooms and at *fêtes galantes*, among *gilles* and *mimes*. A curious evidence of his innate, or acquired, *penchant* in this direction is the fact that he was (like Pisanello of old) very fond of sketching monkeys—as was also his master, Gillot—the figures and nature of which

¹ In an article on Watteau that appeared, in 1921, in a well-known London literary journal we are told that he ‘renders, like no one else,’ the complicated and transitory phases of movement between one action and another. It is, I think, generally believed that Raphael is supreme in this matter. The same writer describes *The Embarkation for Cythera* as ‘the incomparable masterpiece of French painting.’ Another modern writer affirms that ‘in these days all who know anything about art regard Watteau as one of the greatest masters of the French school of painting, if not the greatest of all.’ Such opinions are prevalent in some quarters nowadays, and should be noted in passing.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

animals both of them may have studied at some of the numerous *singeries* which were to be found in those days at the *châteaux* of the rich.

For some years after his first arrival in Paris Watteau gained a precarious living by copying well-known pictures for sale at fairs and in street-booths. The above-named Gillot, a decorative painter, then patronized him, and he at length became an assistant to Audran, the Keeper of the Luxembourg Palace, where he had the opportunity of studying the splendid paintings (later removed to the Louvre) in which Rubens glorified Marie de Médicis, the widow of Henry IV of France.¹ As Audran discouraged Watteau's attempts at original work (some small military pieces) he left the Luxembourg. He had failed in 1709 to win the *prix de Rome*, and had thus lost the chance of becoming something doubtless worse than the incomparable painter of *fêtes galantes* and the inventor of new fashions in dress. It was too late when his military pieces at last won him election as Academician. He spent the short remainder of his existence in or near Paris,² living (it is said) carelessly and wastefully, but producing a large number of pictures in the style that he had made his speciality.

Of Watteau's important works about a dozen are in the Louvre gallery; several are in the Wallace Collection, including one of his latest—*Le Rendez-vous de Chasse*; the *Gamme d'Amour*, faded, but notable for masterly execution, is in our National Gallery; *Le Concert*, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (another of his latest and most brilliant, painted for his friend Gersaint), and others, including the second version of his best-known work, *The Embarkation for Cythera*, are, or were till not long ago, in the galleries of the once royal and imperial palaces at Berlin and Potsdam, together with numerous paintings of Lancret, his imitator.

¹ He also evidently studied Italian (especially Venetian) paintings. Besides the royal collection, begun by Francis I at Fontainebleau, established in the Louvre by Henry IV, and increased from about two hundred paintings to two thousand by Louis XIV, who added to it some six hundred pictures left by Cardinal Mazarin (some of the finest from the sold collection of our Charles I), there were also excellent private galleries, such as that of the banker Crozat.

² A visit of about three winter months to London, undertaken in the hope of bettering his state of finances, proved disastrous to his health. He died shortly after his return, in a lodging near Vincennes.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

The Embarkation for Cythera is regarded as his *chef-d'œuvre*. The first version—which is in the Louvre—is far more attractive than the second, in which the vessel, manned and fluttered round by Cupids, is a conspicuous and disturbing feature. The picture shows a large group of lovers waiting impatiently, or in some cases somewhat reluctantly, to be wafted across to the island of Cytherean Venus, which is dimly perceptible in the distance, beyond a shimmering expanse of sea. To us, who know of the Revolution and the bourne to which so many of such travellers took ship, this allegorical work of Watteau may sometimes seem to bear an interpretation which was doubtless far from the mind of the painter.

Among the artists who courted popularity by adopting Watteau's choice of subjects and style of treatment was Pater (1690–1736), who, like Watteau, was of Flemish extraction and was born at Valenciennes. He proved unable to throw off entirely his innate *penchant* for ungainly Flemish forms and homely garb when painting his *fêtes galantes*, and to acquire, as Watteau did so fully, the art of depicting the grace and dainty apparel of the Parisian *beau monde*. His pictures are on the whole only feeble imitations of Watteau's, although Watteau himself feared the rivalry of his pupil so much that he quarrelled with him—an injustice that later he repented. Many of Pater's works are, or were, at Potsdam. About fifteen are in the Wallace Collection.

A more notable painter of this group was Lancret (1690–1743), a born Parisian (Hourticq calls him Watteau's compatriot) and an intimate friend of Watteau, whose work he imitated so successfully that (about 1718) this jealous and irascible artist, exasperated at his friend's *Bal dans un Bois* having been accredited to himself, cast him off. (This may be the painting that is to be seen in the Wallace Collection under the title *Fête in a Wood*—formerly attributed to Pater.) While he was still a close imitator of Watteau the subjects chosen by Lancret were *fêtes* and *conversations galantes* and portraits or groups of actors and actresses and *gilles* from the Comédie.¹ A historically interesting

¹ About ten of such paintings by Lancret are to be found in the Wallace Collection, and some in our National Gallery. *The Actors of the Italian Theatre*

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

fête champêtre of Lancret's (in the Wallace Collection) is one in which Mlle Camargo is represented 'essaying a new step' on the sward of a woodland scene. A somewhat similar and even more attractive picture, in which the famous *danseuse* (who, in spite of Voltaire's praise of Mlle Sallé, held her own for twenty-five years in the old Paris Opera House) is performing a *pas de deux*, is in the ex-Kaiser's collection. Lancret is decidedly inferior to Watteau in brilliance and harmony of *coloris*, and perhaps in the clever design of small figures; but he turned away from the triviality of the subjects of his early style and adopted a more natural and a manlier outlook in some of his later works. Our illustration (Fig. 209) gives one of his *Four Seasons*, which are in the Louvre.

As we have seen, Watteau's life was only about the same length as Raphael's. Lancret, his junior by six, survived him twenty-two years, and thus lived for twenty-eight under Louis Quinze, although on account of his connexion with Watteau one regards him rather as a Louis Quatorze artist.

Louis XV (1715-74)

The Louis Quinze painters form a somewhat different group. (They were all nearly contemporary with the English artist Hogarth.) The most notable are Chardin, Boucher, La Tour, the famous pastellist—with whom we may contrast the court portrait-painter Nattier—and (though he survived till the year of the Revolution—that is, through the long reign of Louis XV and nearly to the execution of the ill-fated Louis XVI) the very talented painter of marine pieces, Claude-Joseph Vernet.

Chardin (1699-1779), the son of a carpenter, was the originator in French painting of a movement which, as regards at least choice of subject, was very different from, and was destined to prove far more permanent and was capable of becoming far more important than, the fad for *fêtes galantes* and quaintly dainty costumes initiated

in the Louvre shows a *gille* conspicuous in the foreground who closely resembles that of Watteau. The Wallace Collection is especially strong in specimens of this group of painters, even surpassing the Louvre in some cases, e.g., in the case of Boucher.



211. Louis XIV

By Rigaud. See p. 275. *Louvre*
Photo Alinari



212. 'BENEDICITE'

By Chardin. See p. 281. *Louvre*
Photo Alinari



213. 'SUNSET'

Part of picture. By Boucher. *London, Wallace Collection*
Photo Mansell



214. DIANA TENDED BY NYMPHS AFTER BATHING

By Boucher. *Louvre*
Photo Alinari

by Watteau. Although he has perhaps no claim to be regarded as a great artist, it is most refreshing to turn from these lackadaisical coquettes and chevaliers and mimes of the *ancien régime* (as also from the pretty sentimentalities of Greuze) to the homely, simple-minded inhabitants of the world to which Chardin himself belonged, and which he presents to us in his paintings—so quiet and unassuming, so undemonstrative, and yet evidently so capable of feeling deeply and being supremely happy in their modest surroundings. If this movement toward a rather unambitious, unimaginative school of painting was soon again lost to sight, it was not because of its choice of subject, which is of perennial and ever self-reasserting interest, but because for a time it was submerged by the deluge of Classicism which periodically invaded France and had already swept away the influences of such painters as Fouquet and the brothers Le Nain.

Chardin seems to have received no systematic training, but doubtless he must have studied closely some of the older Dutch masters—not those of the satirical type of the younger Teniers, who delighted in ridiculing drunken and ungainly Flemish peasants, but those of the type of Jan Steen. Indeed, the inspiration of Chardin's delightful *Benedicite* surely came from the still more admirable picture in our National Gallery, called *Grace before Meat* (Fig. 283), by Jan Steen, who died just a century before Chardin.

At first he tried his hand at still life. Numerous specimens of his early paintings of *natures mortes* (fruits, loaves, pitchers, goblets, etc.) are to be seen in the Louvre and our National Gallery. The first work that brought him into notice is said to have been a picture of a man wounded in a duel receiving attention from a surgeon—painted for the sign of a surgeon's shop. He then ventured, with ever greater success, to depict scenes from the life of the *petite bourgeoisie*, showing special insight into the character of children. The *Benedicite*, given in our illustration, has always been a favourite with the unsophisticated.

Boucher (1703–70), a painter of a very different class, was at first a pupil of Le Moine, who as Director of the Academy and *premier peintre du roi* had continued the modified

FRANCE (c. 1500–c. 1820)

traditions of the Le Brun school. Le Moine was succeeded in his functions by Carle van Loo, a friend of Boucher and his fellow-student in Italy; and Boucher (in 1765) succeeded Van Loo. While at the zenith of his fame he was regarded by his countrymen as the greatest of decorative painters, although Tiepolo—who in colour almost rivalled Paolo Veronese—was his contemporary and had produced some of his very numerous splendid decorative paintings in France, as, for instance, at the Château de Ferrières. Boucher's work was almost as rapid and perfunctory as that of Luca *fa presto*, but his colouring was far richer, and the nude figures of his Olympian deities (of whom Venus was his favourite) have a sensuous beauty very different from anything ever painted by that earlier Italian decorator or by any of the later decorative artists of the Le Brun school, such as Mignard and Le Moine.¹ Boucher owed much of his success as *peintre du roi* to the patronage of the King's favourite, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, until her death in 1764, a year before his election as Director, bought many of his paintings—among them the *Lever du Soleil* and the *Coucher du Soleil* (Fig. 213) (both about 10 ft. × 8 ft.). These are now in the Wallace Collection, where twenty-two of Boucher's works are to be seen, and seen to advantage, as the catalogue at Hertford House remarks, amidst Louis Quinze upholstery, tapestries, porcelain, etc. The character of most of these paintings may be inferred from such titles as *The Triumph of Amphitrite*, *Venus and Mars surprised by Vulcan*, *The Judgment of Paris*—and, as a change to pastoral romance from classic mythology, *A Shepherd piping to a Shepherdess*, and so on. In the Louvre, among many others, are the large dramatic

¹ Le Moine (1688–1737) is known best by his great ceiling-decoration in the Versailles Palace called *The Apotheosis [Deification] of Hercules*. His place as the best 'monumental' decorative painter of the day was at first hotly contested by François de Troy, in a competition with whom, in 1727, Le Moine was obliged to share the prize. His strenuous and incessant work caused his mind to give way, and he killed himself a few hours after finishing the painting which he had named *Le Temps découvre la Vérité* (now in the Wallace Collection). His rival de Troy, finding it more lucrative, later adopted a style somewhat like that of the Watteau school. In this he gained great popularity, e.g., with his *Hunt Breakfast* (Wallace Collection) and his *Oyster Feast* (Chantilly)—the last by no means a *fête champêtre*. But he showed his powers far more worthily in his fine designs (the stories of Queen Esther and of Jason and Medea) for Gobelins tapestries, specimens of which are at Windsor, at Florence, and at the French Academy at Rome—of which he was Director for some years before his death.

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

Venus begging from Vulcan Arms for Aeneas (worked later in Gobelins tapestry) and the smaller, finely painted *Diana tended by Nymphs after Bathing* (Fig. 214).

Boucher was (as were other artists of that period) skilful at etching, an art that he taught his patroness. In earlier days, when, soon after Watteau's death, M. de Julienne was publishing volumes of reproductions of his friend's works, he (Boucher) undertook to etch a number of such reproductions. This fact scarcely shows, as some affirm, that he was at all influenced by Watteau. The most one could say would be that in his paintings he transferred Watteau's *fêtes* and *conversations galantes* from Parisian parks and woodlands to the fabled realms of the Immortals, or to the not less fabulous 'natural' surroundings of his enamoured swains.

In passing one should here, in connexion with Boucher's etchings, note in this decorative period the prevalence of the tendency to illustrate and decorate books of all sorts, serious and the reverse, by engravings. These Louis Quinze engravers had the gift of intimating the soft rotundity or lean aridity of flesh and the various hues and shades of colours almost as successfully as old miniaturists and oil-painters; and, together with a great number of graceful and fanciful adornments of books—in which Cupids, goddesses, implements of war, etc., form a queer medley—they have left us many an interesting record of Paris and the Parisians of the early and middle part of the eighteenth century. The names of some of these engravers were Cochin, Saint-Aubin, and Moreau the Younger.

Besides the many French painters and etchers and engravers of this period there was one pre-eminent pastellist.¹ This was Maurice Quentin de la Tour, generally called La Tour, or Latour. He was born at Saint-Quentin in 1704, and died there in 1788. His first essays at portraiture won

¹ The use of *pastello* (coloured crayon) in designs and portraiture, alone or as a supplement to charcoal, etc., dates from a distant age, but seems to have been first made known in France by Vouet (who had worked long in Italy) nearly a century before La Tour's success. But it was brought into fashion in Paris by the very numerous and fine pastel portraits (of which Dresden possesses more than a hundred) of the gifted and unfortunate Rosalba Carriera, who died, blind and insane, in 1757, at Venice—her native city. One of the great pastellists of this century was the Genevan artist Liotard (1702–88), who wandered through all Europe taking portraits.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

applause, and after a sojourn in England (where Hogarth may have already begun to paint portraits and ‘moralities’) he made his way to Paris, where his work excited such enthusiasm that he was given rooms in the Louvre, and in course of time completed a veritable gallery of portraits of all the eminent personages of the realm—and a good many others. Except when his sitters were royal, or otherwise necessarily decked out in grand apparel, he presented them in a simple garb, and devoted all his skill, which was very great, to revealing character by expression—especially of eyes and mouth. In the Salle des Pastels of the Louvre a dozen examples of La Tour’s work are to be seen, e.g., portraits of Louis XV, and the Queen (Marie Leczinska) and the Dauphin, and the very celebrated and fine portrait of Madame de Pompadour, and a sketch of his friend Chardin. But in the Saint-Quentin Museum there are, or were, about eighty, among which is that portrait of Mlle Fel which many hold to be his *chef-d’œuvre*, and which our illustration reproduces.

Chardin alone of French artists of those days gave evidence (e.g., in his portraits of himself and his wife) of having power to rival La Tour not only as pastellist, but as delineator of character. Perhaps the little *ébauche* that La Tour made of him incited him to try his hand at pastel. He was already over seventy when he began this new method, and seems to have mastered it at once. A competitor of La Tour’s was Perroneau. His work is exceedingly attractive, but lacks entirely the wonderful characterization that distinguishes such a work as *Mlle Fel* or *D’Alembert*.

La Tour was, in his special sphere, a true artist. Among his contemporaries at Paris were not a few other portraitists who cannot be regarded as such—although some of them possessed considerable skill in ‘catching likenesses’ and depicting grand apparel. Such was Toqué, whose *Marie Leczinska* (Queen of Louis XV) is to be seen in the Louvre. Such, too, were the two Drouais and Duplessis. And such was also the Parisian Nattier (1685–1766), who was by some twenty years La Tour’s senior, and, soon after the accession of Louis XV, began his career at The Hague, where he painted portraits of Peter the Great and other Russian grandes and began one of the Tsarina Catharine. He was ruined by the

disastrous failure of the Law bank-system,¹ but retrieved his fortunes by becoming the favourite court portrait-painter--being especially favoured by the ladies. A considerable gallery in the palace at Versailles is filled with his portraits of the daughters of Louis XV and of many other royal dames and court beauties. Two such pictures are in the Pitti Palace at Florence, others in the Prado Museum at Madrid, about half a dozen in the Wallace Collection (including one of the Queen), and a few in the Louvre. Almost their sole value is such as might be possessed by wax figures decked out in Louis Quinze court costume. Now and then Nattier tried his hand at a male portrait. His *Graf Moritz von Sachsen* in the Dresden Gallery shows that, as an artist, he might have succeeded better in this line, where he would have been neither subjected to the tyranny of ridiculous feminine fashions nor tempted to play the part of an inventor thereof.

The last painter of the Louis Quinze period whom I selected for mention was Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-89). His father, Antoine Vernet, was an Avignon painter and initiated him in the art. When about eighteen years old Claude-Joseph made the voyage from Marseille to Italy, and was so deeply impressed with the beauty and grandeur of the sea that he devoted his talents a great deal to marine painting. After studying at Rome² for some time—mostly ancient ruins and scenery, but also perhaps such Italian masters as Salvator Rosa—he began his long series of pictures of storms and calms and moonlight scenes, which soon won him a name. After living for twenty years in Italy he was summoned to Paris and welcomed by the King and the Academy, and set to work, by royal command, on his famous series of pictures called *The Harbours of France*, most of which are in the Louvre and are by some regarded as worthy of comparison with the best of Claude's; but they are

¹ Law, a Scotsman, became Director-General of French finance, and by his system of banking produced a disaster not unlike that caused by our South Sea Bubble.

² Professor Hourticq, or the translator of his smaller history of French art, tells us that Joseph Vernet, who was born in 1714, 'studied in Rome under Salvator Rosa'—who died forty years before Joseph Vernet was born! A probably truer, and a very interesting, fact is stated by the same writer—namely that on the voyage to Italy Vernet, like Odysseus, had himself lashed to the mast, his object being to observe the effects of a great storm.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

lacking entirely in that which gives Claude's paintings their high artistic value, namely in warmth and splendour of illumination. And this defect is still more painfully present in Vernet's Italian landscapes (views of the Tiber, of Sant' Angelo, of the Campagna, etc.), where the general effect is dull and prosaic, and the atmosphere, even under a cloudless sky, as thick and heavy as that of Northern climes.

In passing I note here that Joseph Vernet's son, Carle Vernet (1758-1835), painted classical subjects and hunting and racing scenes, as well as vast battle-pieces (*Marengo*, *Austerlitz*, etc.); and Carle's son, Horace, was famous for his large paintings illustrating Napoleon's campaigns and the then recent conquest of Algeria. These works were his contribution to the great Museum of French History which was instituted in the Versailles Palace and consecrated to the 'Glory of France' by Louis-Philippe in the year 1837.

Louis XVI (1774-93)

About the middle of the eighteenth century—that is, some twenty years before Louis XVI succeeded to the throne—the great change which had already begun to affect the ideas and feelings and life of the Parisian middle class half a century earlier, during the sullen old age of Louis XIV, made itself more and more perceptible.

At his accession Louis XV had been, as had been also the Grand Monarch himself, only five years old, and during his childhood and youth he seems to have been regarded by his people with affection, for they called him *le Bien-Aimé*. But—what with the war with Spain (caused by the rejection of the Prince's Spanish fiancée) and the war with Poland (caused by his claim to the throne through his Polish bride, Marie Leczinska) and then the War of the Austrian Succession—the Regency and the rule of the good-natured but self-indulgent young monarch proved a troubrous time for France; and even before the death of his wise mentor, Cardinal Fleury, in 1743, the affection of his subjects had become alienated from him. Then began a downward course. Favourites, male and female (among the latter the all-powerful and extravagant Pompadour, *née* Poisson), cut the monarch off



215. MME FEL

By La Tour

Saint-Quentin Museum

Photo Mansell (J. E. Bulloz)



217. MADAME LEBRUN WITH HER DAUGHTER

By Herself. *Louvre*

287



216. LA CRUCHE CASSÉE

By Greuze. *Louvre*

Photo Giraudon

from his people and popularity. In 1756 began the Seven Years War against England and her ally, Frederick the Great; and it ended for France in the loss of most of her best colonies and the greater part of her fleet. It is therefore not surprising that the classes that suffered most from war and from taxation (from which, indeed, the nobles were for the most part exempt) should have become so embittered that at the King's death—he died of smallpox in 1774—there was general rejoicing.

But up till now this feeling did not necessarily include any virulent hatred of the monarchic system. Kings had built up the greatness of France, and many had been great in personal character. Even the Grand Monarch himself had been regarded in his earlier days with almost idolatrous reverence. It remained for the combined weakness and tyranny of Louis XVI and the ignoble pride and heartless extravagances of his Austrian consort, Marie-Antoinette, to excite the terrific outburst that swept French kingship, for a while, out of existence. Political changes do not always affect the art of a nation so profoundly as one might expect. But in the case of France at this era these changes were due not only to indignation at the misdeeds of the monarchy, but to the ever stronger yearning for a more natural life—a life in which what Wordsworth calls the ‘essential’ emotions of humanity might have fuller play. And this yearning was fostered by writers such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, whose great influence was mainly due to the fact that they gave voice to the national feeling. The bitter satire of Voltaire—directed rather against superstitions and hypocrisies than against political institutions such as kingship—affected art but little. No French Goya arose to pour vulgar ridicule on Church and State. Such a use of pictorial skill—even if it be such as Hogarth’s—seems in disaccord with the instincts of any art-loving people. But what did find a response in the hearts of many educated and thoughtful men and women of the French *bourgeoisie* at this critical epoch was the doctrine of a cure of the cankers caused by civilization by a return to nature, to be attained by the simplification of life; and this doctrine deeply influenced artists, for a corollary of this theorem was the reassertion

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

of the supreme beauty and grandeur in art of what is natural and unpretentious, and of the ugliness of all that is grandiose and superfluous.

Unfortunately, the chief painter who, incited by this change in public sentiment, came forward to supply what was demanded proved scarce conscious of the nature of the task that had fallen to his lot, and wholly incapable of creating that beauty or that grandeur which in great works of art oftentimes reveals itself in a simple and natural form, presented by the artist with that perfect ease and *insouciance* which reminds one of the movement of some wild creature, such as the ‘flight of the grey gull across the bay,’ to use Walt Whitman’s phrase.

No, Greuze was not equal to the occasion. He frittered away his chance in mild sentimentalities.

But it seems to have afforded a great relief to art-loving Parisians—especially to such as those who some four years later became enthusiastic readers of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*—when Greuze began (about 1755) to exhibit in the Salon pictures of a kind hitherto unknown in French art. People had become utterly wearied of the grandiose mythological and allegorical productions of the older decorative painters and craved something more piquant than portraiture and at the same time less fantastic than the *fêtes galantes* and *conversations amoureuses* of the *personnel* and the *habitués* of theatres, while Chardin’s work, charming as it was in its way, with its demure housewives and nice-mannered little children, or its well-groomed little *bourgeois* boys building houses of cards or watching the spinning of a teetotum, was voted rather unemotional—almost as lacking in *sensibilité* as the same artist’s *natures mortes*—his fruit and loaves and pots and pans. For it was the ‘sensitives,’ the emotional man and woman—representants of the new sentimental morality—who were the central figures in the popular literature of the day, and for a time took the place of the young enamoured spendthrift and the worldly-wise uncle of Roman-French comedy, and of the heroes, heroines, and sages of the tragic and historic drama. And Greuze’s pictures served famously to illustrate this new morally sentimental literature, and were themselves famously advertised by the leading *littérateur*

and art critic of the day, Diderot, whose tedious didactics are summed up in his dictum, *Rendre la vertu aimable, le vice odieux—voilà le projet de tout honnête homme qui prend la plume, le pinceau, le ciseau.*

The paintings which the name of Greuze generally recalls are of the type of *La Cruche Cassée* (Louvre), or the *Girl with a Dead Canary* (in the Scottish National Gallery), or the pretty little maiden carrying what looks like a badly made toy lamb, or the charmingly but very unpractically attired and lackadaisical *Milkmaid* (Louvre), leaning on the neck of what surely cannot be anything but a real-skin-covered and straw-stuffed pony—of which kind of picture there are numerous specimens in French provincial museums and also in British private collections, as well as in the Hertford House (Wallace) gallery.

But he painted pictures of quite another type. These have, in regard to their object, some affinity to Hogarth's work; but in method they are very different. Instead of arousing feelings of disgust they appeal to us by melodramatic pathos. Such was his first successful painting, *A Father of a Family expounding the Bible*; and this was followed by *The Father's Curse*, *The Ungrateful Son*, *The Spoilt Child*, *The Lame Man tended by his Relations*, *The Village Bride*, and so on. In 1769 he was elected into the Academy, but, being a man not content with doing what he could do well, he had offered as his picture for admission an ambitious classical-historical canvas representing the Emperor Severus reprimanding Caracalla. This was refused, and he was admitted merely as a *genre* painter, at which he felt so offended that for the next thirty years he exhibited nothing more at the Salon. After the Revolution and the advent of the pompous New Classicism he was entirely forgotten, and died in poverty.

Nearly contemporary with Greuze, and belonging, as artists, to the pre-Revolution period, were Fragonard and the landscape-painter Hubert Robert. Twenty years younger again was Madame Vigée-Lebrun, whom I shall class with these painters, seeing that she left France at the outbreak of the Revolution and that, although in 1801 she returned to France and lived till 1842 (that is, for eighteen years after

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

the death of Géricault, the initiator of the new naturalistic style), she remained apparently unaffected by the Davidian and the other schools of the revolutionary, imperial, and new monarchical periods.

Fragonard (1732-1806), who became a pupil of Boucher after working under Chardin for a few months, won the *prix de Rome* in 1752, whereupon he spent several years in Italy, studying the later Italian masters, especially the great decorative artist Tiepolo. He also travelled, with Hubert Robert, in South Italy and Sicily, becoming (as one sees in many of his later pictures) a very skilful delineator of woodland scenery and old picturesque buildings. On his return to Paris he exhibited in the Salon (1765) a great canvas representing an obscure Greek mythological tragedy (*Coresus kills himself to save Callirhoe*). This picture won him great applause from Academicians and erudite persons; but he was clever enough to note in what direction the wind was setting and at once trimmed his sails to the rising breeze. Thus in a short time the successful pupil of Boucher and student of Tiepolo became a still more successful rival of Greuze in sentimental subjects, not seldom outvying him in popular favour by appealing with what his admirers call 'masterly frankness' to the erotic element of human nature. Most of his chief paintings are in Paris and London (Louvre, Wallace Gallery, and private collections). Many of them are of small dimensions. He seems to have expended a great deal of talent and time on a large number of minor works, such as sketches, chalk studies, etc., 'dashed off,' says M. Hourticq, 'with amazing vivacity.' Like Greuze he became almost totally forgotten during the Revolution and the First Empire, and he died in penury.

Hubert Robert (1733-1808), Fragonard's friend, fellow-traveller, and fellow-student in Italy and Sicily, was no very great artist, but he is worthy of mention, for by his works he communicates the delight that he himself found in the picturesque—as seen especially in Southern scenery and the relics of ancient architecture. He is, indeed, like his somewhat older contemporary, the marine artist Joseph Vernet, one of the best of the comparatively few French painters who before the days of Corot took that delight in 'nature

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

improved by man' which is so notable in some of the great English landscape-painters. Some of his best works are *The Pont du Gard*, *The Triumphal Arch of Tiberius at Orange*, *The Colosseum*, *The Maison Carrée* and *The Arena* at Nîmes, and many Italian and Sicilian landscapes, mostly painted from his sketches after his return to Paris—a fact that may be deemed to detract from their value.

Elisabeth-Louise Vigée (1755–1842), who early in life married a picture-dealer named Lebrun, and is generally known as Madame Vigée-Lebrun, received instruction in painting from Briand and also from Greuze and Joseph Vernet. Her work won her the patronage of the court of Louis XVI. Several pictures of Marie-Antoinette by her exist, one in which the Queen is represented amidst her children being the most interesting, showing as it does the change in fashion, even among grand people, in regard to dress and surroundings when they sat for their portraits. And yet the Austrian Marie-Antoinette was apparently still haughtier and more extravagant¹ than had been the Polish Marie Leczinska, whom, as M. Hourticq well remarks, no artist would have ventured to paint amidst her multitudinous daughters. During the troublous times that followed the murder of Louis XVI and his queen Madame Lebrun visited Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, and St Petersburg. Later she was in Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and England; and everywhere she gained high repute for her numerous paintings, many of which are hidden away in private collections.² But all who know the Louvre and Versailles or the Florentine galleries will recall some of her charming, though sometimes too sweetly sentimental, portraits—especially those of herself and her little daughter.

The Revolution and First Empire

The establishment—for a few years—of what the revolutionists were pleased to call a republic founded on liberty,

¹ During the queenship of Marie-Antoinette the yearly bill for table expenses, we are told, amounted to 3,660,491 frs. (say £150,000). The royal stables could show 217 carriages and 1458 horses. Madame Lebrun is said to have had her brush picked up for her by the Queen—an honour conferred on Titian by Charles Quint.

² In Switzerland she painted Madame de Staël, and at Naples Lady Hamilton.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

brotherhood, and equality incited those in power not only to destroy many fine monuments of the kingly era, but to seek for artists to glorify the new tyranny ; and it was perhaps natural that these artists should turn for inspiration to the art of the great republics of former days, to that of Athens and that of Rome. The times were too troublous, and the republican leaders too hard pressed for means to support their armies in the contest against the united kingdoms of Europe, to undertake great public works of architecture, but paintings cost them comparatively little and were of much use for the propagation of their political tenets.¹ And it was not only the art of the revolutionary period that was reactionary and ‘classical,’ fostered by enthusiasm for the republics of antiquity, for when the Empire arose it was easy to deflect that enthusiasm to the glories of imperial Rome, once mistress of the world.

But these political influences did not originate, though they confirmed and completed, the reversion to Classicism. The new Classical movement had already begun before the Revolution. At first it was of an archaeological rather than of an artistic nature. As at the beginning of the Cinquecento the discovery of many fine ancient statues, among them the *Laocoön* and the *Apollo del Belvedere*, swelled enormously the flood of earlier Renaissance enthusiasm for the literature and art of antiquity, so the discoveries made at Pompeii in the latter half of the eighteenth century had caused a high-tide of interest, especially in Germany, where the writings of the great archaeologist, Winckelmann (1717–68), who was a very learned scholar and a keen admirer of ancient art, exercised a strong influence on German painting through his friend, the clever but very prosaic artist Raphael Mengs (1728–79). Waves of this archaeological enthusiasm, which in German art had deplorable results, spread to Paris during the latter years of the reign of Louis XV, when Boucher was finishing his career ; but not till some twenty years later,

¹ Here we may note that the most prominent French painter of this period, David, was elected as a member of the notorious Convention (which proclaimed the Republic and condemned Louis XVI to death) because he was already a well-known artist of revolutionary tendencies. We shall see how he used his political influence in abolishing the Academy and substituting in place of its influence an official patronage even more pernicious.

toward the end of the reign of Louis XVI, did it begin to show any very perceptible influence on French art.

In Germany, as we shall see in another chapter, pictorial art was for a considerable period totally ruined, not only by ignoring the fact that all true art is of native growth, but by the absurd assumption that ancient Greek paintings (of which scarce a vestige remains) were almost colourless, flat designs with sculpturesque outlines—a supposition that even Macaulay's fourth-form schoolboy might demolish by telling how birds came to peck the grapes of Zeuxis. Apparently ignorant of the fact that the Greeks had such a craving for colour that they not only adorned with gold and bronze, but even painted, their statues, German artists toward the end of the eighteenth century were filled with admiration for all that they wrongly thought to be classical. Misinterpreting alike the teachings of Winckelmann and the revelations of Pompeian excavations, and 'Etruscan' vases,¹ and Roman monuments—misapplying also Lessing's *Laokoon* (published in 1766) and Goethe's classic enthusiasms (*The Iphigenie* was written in 1779)—they turned, as Raphael Mengs had done, from the great works of the classically inspired Italian Renaissance to sculpturesque painting, and came at last to regard paint as a thing to be avoided and decried by the painter. Thus they succeeded, as did later the self-dubbed genius and ignorant amateur Carstens (and, we might add, that grandiose limner of gigantic heroes and heroines, Cornelius), in banishing for a long time from the Fatherland everything with any real affinity to the works of the great painters of Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, Holland, and Britain—not to mention those of ancient Greece.

In France the New Classicism, supported by the temporary political structures of the so-called Republic and the First Empire, collapsed after the fall of Napoleon, and gave place almost at once to what is known as Romanticism. Although not, perhaps, so entirely valueless as the contemporary

¹ For the discovery of 'Etruscan' vases and the first great collection, made by Sir W. Hamilton (1767), see Vol. I, p. 133. The well-known *Monuments of Rome*—a series of fine engravings by the two Piranesi (whose combined lives extended from 1707 to 1810)—excited great interest in classical subjects. As for Lessing, it should be noted that, although his distinction between the realms of sculpture and poetry is true and wonderfully explained, he most erroneously lumps sculpture and painting together as almost identical artistically.

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

'classical' painting in Germany—and certainly much more interesting, as being the reflexion of momentous, though lamentable, national experiences—it will not require much of our space, for among the numerous works of David and those who stood more or less directly under his masterful influence there is nothing artistically great. I shall therefore content myself with giving a short account of the protagonist of the new school and with adding a few words about some of his contemporaries, among whom were Prud'hon, Gérard, and Gros.¹

Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) was from early days a declared foe of the *ancien régime* and Watteauism, and up to the age of about twenty-five tried his hand at mythological-allegorical ceiling-paintings after the fashion of his kinsman, Boucher, till 1770 Director of the Royal Academy in Paris. He then joined the *atelier* of Vien, who, as a *protégé* of Count de Caylus (a French precursor of Winckelmann), was an ardent Classicist, but of a type distinct from Boucher's.²

And when, in 1775, Vien was made Director of the French Academy in Rome, David accompanied him. Here during the next nine years he developed so great a proficiency that old Pompeo Batoni, the most notable Italian artist of the late eighteenth century, hailed him as his only living equal, and two years afterward left him his favourite brush as being the only painter worthy to use it. The work that so impressed Batoni caused a very great sensation when David, in 1785, exhibited it in Paris. It is known as *The Oath of the Horatii*. Its subject is the handing of swords to his three sons by the father of the Horatii, while behind him his daughter, the *fiancée* of one of their foes, the Curiatii, droops faintly beside her mother. This dramatic scene, as David had intended, was held to symbolize, and to

¹ Peyre, in his *Histoire Générale des Beaux-Arts*, gives the names of about thirty-five other artists belonging to the Davidian school, besides such contemporaries as Regnault, Drouais, etc., who filled the Salon with innumerable 'classical' works of what they called art.

² Caylus upheld the maxim *Ut pictura poesis*, justly denounced in Lessing's *Laokoon*, and insisted that painters should copy the pictures presented by great poets, especially by Homer, seeing that—as Pope also had already asserted—to copy Homer is to copy nature. Boucher's fanciful versions of classical myths were resented by Vien and David as 'academic'—a use of the word that referred only, of course, to the Academy.



218. LE SERMENT DU JEU DE PAUME

By David. *Musée de Versailles*

X Photo



219. THE CORONATION SCENE

'*Le Sacre de Napoléon.*' By David

Louvre

Photo Giraudon

220. FIGHT BETWEEN ROMANS AND SABINES

By David. *Louvre*

Photo Alinari



encourage, the feelings of the populace which ere long were to lead to the *Serment du Jeu de Paume*, the taking of the Bastille, and the Reign of Terror. Soon afterward he exhibited his *Brutus*, which he had painted also at Rome in 1784. It represents the elder Brutus, seated as judge, gazing unmoved as the lictors bring before him the bodies of his sons, who had been executed for treason by his orders. This too was intended, and was accepted, as full of significance. David henceforth was a recognized political power. He became a member of the Convention, and a dictator in the realm of art and organizer of the *fêtes* of the Republic—no *fêtes champêtres*, but Marian triumphs over massacred patricians. He is said to have ‘assisted’ frequently at executions in order to study, as the official artist, the effects of guillotine decapitation.

And ere long he had an opportunity of somewhat similar nature, eagerly exclaiming *Je le ferai!* when called upon by his fellow-*Conventionnels* to immortalize Marat by painting his portrait as he lay dead in his bath, stabbed by the French Judith, Charlotte Corday. And certainly he succeeded in perpetuating the infamy of the sanguinary monster by the well-known and ghastly picture on which he expended so much zeal that it is regarded by some judges as his masterpiece. During the revolutionary period he painted another famous picture. It represents the scene of the above-mentioned *Serment du Jeu de Paume*—the oath taken (in a Versailles tennis-court) by the deputies of the Third Estate after the refusal of the nobles to sit with them in the States-General Assembly.

While still a simple general the future emperor had called at David’s studio, and ‘in a sitting of barely two hours,’ we are told, a portrait—probably a charcoal sketch—had been produced. From that day onward our artist and the new aspirant for supreme power were friends. In 1799 Bonaparte was elected First Consul, and in 1804 was proclaimed Emperor. David had now become a zealous imperialist, and remained the chief official painter till Napoleon’s fall. He was then exiled, and died at Brussels in 1825.

The chief work executed by David during the Napoleonic supremacy was the great and gorgeous canvas of the *Coronation Scene*, in which the Emperor, after having crowned

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

himself in the presence of the Pope and a large and brilliant assemblage, is represented as about to crown his consort.

Such a scene of modern pomp and ceremony, no less than the *Oath of the Tennis-court*, necessitated a treatment in which David's long training in design according to the supposed canons of the Greek and Graeco-Roman statuary art availed him little. He had been obliged to adopt another outlook and other methods, and his versatility is proved by the success that he attained in these two paintings, as well as in his *Distribution of the Eagles* and his *Bonaparte crossing the St Bernard*, and also in numerous portraits, among which are notable several of Napoleon, and one of the painter Gérard and his family (a charming group almost as full of sentiment and *bourgeois* homeliness as anything by Greuze or Chardin), and the very well-known one of Madame Récamier.¹

But in spite of such success he seems to have retained a strong affection for the principles that he had held dear in his early days, and he reverted to them in some of his later works. One of these is that which is often wrongly called *The Rape of the Sabine Women*. It represents, of course, the Sabine women stopping the fight between Romans and Sabines which took place some years after the rape. Another is a Greek subject—*Leonidas at Thermopylae*. In these, as also in his picture of Paris and Helen, he so far modified his former methods that, instead of breaking curves and emphasizing muscles, *à la Michelangelo*, for the purpose of imparting vigour and character to his statuesque figures, he offers us smoothly modelled limbs and faces—imitating more closely the type of Praxitelean than that of Roman sculpture.

Although, as I have said, David shows, in portraiture especially, gifts which might have allowed him to take a high place among artists, it is impossible to accept such productions as his *Horatii* or his *Sabine Women* as works of art, because they have no vital organic unity such as a true work of art necessarily must possess. Each figure, in

¹ Fig. 221. Madame Récamier, however, does not seem to have regarded it as a complete success, for she afterward applied to Gérard, who painted a very charming portrait of her seated in a lounging attitude and veiled in very light, semi-transparent attire (Fig. 224). When later she begged David to put some finishing touches to his portrait of her, he refused point-blank.



221. MADAME RÉCAMIER

By David. *Louvre*



222. JUSTICE AND VENGEANCE PURSUING CRIME

By Prud'hon. *Louvre*

Photos Giraudon



224. PSYCHE BORNE TO HEAVEN BY ZEPHYR (OR CUPID)

By Prud'hon

Louvre
X Photo

224. MADAME RÉCAMIER

By Gérard

Préfecture de la Seine, Paris
N.D. Photo



statuesque pose and against a greyish or (in later work) a dark background, looks as if it were designed and painted by itself, and then grouped with others, so that the effect is that of a number of dressed statues, or waxworks. Even in the *Coronation Scene* and *The Distribution of the Eagles* (where Napoleon resembles a consul or *imperator* distributing Roman *aquila*e) the crowds seem to consist of separate figures having very little more artistic connexion, and sometimes scarcely less different illumination, than a number of miscellaneous statues in a museum.

Prud'hon (1758–1823), the tenth child of very poor parents, was born at Cluny, and while still a boy was inspired to become an artist by the old pictures in the splendid Abbey Church (see Vol. I, p. 248), which was almost wholly destroyed by revolutionary iconoclasts some fifteen years later. The pitiful story of his life must here be left untold. Suffice it to say that he succeeded in reaching Italy, where he studied the works of the great masters with enthusiasm, finally accepting Leonardo da Vinci as his ideal of a painter. He was also strongly influenced by Canova, with whom he became acquainted at Rome; and to the works of this sculptor is doubtless partly owing the gracious beauty that is so striking a feature in some of his paintings, such as that of *Psyche borne to Heaven by Zephyr [or Cupid] and Amores* (Fig. 223). But these forms of grace and beauty are not of the type of ‘painted sculpture.’ They are warm and living—they stand out, wondrously modelled, like the forms of real human beings. This quality is seen also in Prud'hon's portraits, of which that of the Empress Josephine in her park at Malmaison is a fine example.

In others of his works we find a somewhat ambitious striving after grandeur and tragic solemnity, as for instance in the well-known *Justice and Vengeance pursuing Crime* (Louvre). Here, although the mere thought of the Aeschylean Eumenides or the Furies of Dante's *Inferno* may make us turn with a smile from Prud'hon's heavily draped Avengers, who are suspended so impossibly mid-air, the savage scene with the ghastly white corpse and the fleeing murderer is a far finer creation than anything that David ever gives us. Indeed, in many of his paintings Prud'hon

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

shows himself, both in poetic conception and in the power of presenting a real human body, living or dead, an artist of high rank—perhaps of as high a rank as any other French artist of the eighteenth and the first two decades at least of the nineteenth century. There are two fair-sized paintings by him in the Wallace Collection (*Venus and Adonis* and *The Sleep of Psyche*), but most of his important works are in the Louvre and at Dijon. His drawings, of which there are great numbers in the Louvre and the Musée Condé at Chantilly, are regarded as perhaps the best ever produced by a French artist. They sometimes have the effect of a large and finished painting. A fine example is his *Andromache and the Child Astyanax*.

After many years of intense suffering from the rancorous temper of his wife—who ultimately went mad—he became fondly attached to one of his pupils, Constance Meyer, herself a gifted painter; and he co-operated with her in the painting of various pictures that won popular favour. But in a fit of despondency she killed herself—an act that seems to have affected Prud'hon so deeply that it caused his death. (In the cemetery of Père-Lachaise is a monument to them both.) Shortly before his death he painted a sacred picture, *Le Christ en Croix*, of very solemn and tragic power. The forms of the two Marys at the foot of the Cross—the one veiled and crouching in agony of grief, the other fainting and supported by St John—are dimly visible through the thick darkness. In all art there is not much to be found that is more impressive.

François Gérard, whose portrait of Madame Récamier has already been noted, took the place of Madame Lebrun as the fashionable portrait-painter. When she withdrew from France he was a young man of about twenty. He came first into notice when he exhibited, in 1795, a classical-historical painting on the well-known subject of *Belisarius begging Alms*. At this time he was a revolutionary and a friend of David. Later, like David, he became a staunch imperialist and later still a royalist, and was dubbed with the high-sounding title ‘the king of painters and the painter of kings.’ His portraits, some three hundred in number, form a veritable gallery in which almost every court and

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

salon celebrity of the Empire and the Restoration is represented. One of his last works was the *Coronation of Charles X.* A portrait almost as attractive as that of Madame Récamier is his *Marie-Laetitia Bonaparte* (the mother of Napoleon), which is in the Versailles Museum. A very popular picture of his was the still well-known, sentimental-classical *Cupid kissing Psyche*.

Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835) was the son of a Parisian miniature - painter. His *penchant* for painting was encouraged by Madame Lebrun, who was a friend of his parents. When a mere lad he learnt to regard David as the one living teacher of the true principles of pictorial art—a conviction that, as we shall see, remained ineradicable in his heart, although his own works (as he used to tell his pupils) were false to those principles, practice in his case being very much better than precept. He failed to secure the *prix de Rome*, but managed to go to Italy, where he studied the old Italian masters and was strongly attracted, at Genoa, by works of Rubens. Fate, however, led him, when but twenty-five years of age, away from picture-galleries and churches and Genoese palaces to camps and battlefields. Through the handsome Creole widow, Josephine Beauharnais (later the unfortunate Empress Josephine), he was introduced to the notice of Bonaparte, who had lately married her, and was now (1796) engaged in his famous North Italian campaign. As official artist Gros was given the nominal post of lieutenant on the staff of the young general—two years only his senior—who was hurling the Austrians back across the Alps by a succession of brilliant victories.

Brought face to face with the stern realities of war, the devoted pupil of David, in spite of what his mind professed to believe, found himself drawn irresistibly toward subjects and artistic methods very different from those adopted by the Davidian school. His picture representing Bonaparte, flag in hand, at the head of his troops as they charged to capture the bridge during the fierce-fought battle of three days at Arcole was the first of a magnificent series of battle-scenes and of works in which he depicted events and personages connected with Napoleon's career. Of these paintings the most notable, besides many fine portraits, are *Bonaparte [in 1798] haranguing his Troops before the Battle of*

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

the Pyramids (first exhibited in 1810), *Bonaparte* [in 1799] visiting his *Plague-stricken Soldiers at Jaffa* (exhibited in 1804), and *Napoleon* [in 1807] on the *Battlefield of Eylau* (exhibited in 1808). The intense pathos of *Les Pestiférés de Jaffa*, with its terrible human sufferings depicted so realistically against a background of sunlit Moorish courts and minarets and calm blue sea, is almost surpassed by that of the Eylau battlefield, where amidst dead and dying wounded French soldiers drag themselves pitifully forward, or gesticulate helplessly, to express their adoration for their Master, while wounded enemies, even in their death-agony, turn away terrified at the cold imperious face of their conqueror; and in the distance, over the sunny plain, long lines of other poor wretches are marching onward to their doom, while afar great columns of smoke rise heavenward from burning towns and farmsteads.

Except for a few traces of Classicism in grouping and now and then in attitude, there is in the subjects and treatment of these two paintings of Gros, as in others of his works, very little that might not have satisfied the demands of the band of young artists who a few years later, under the banner of Romanticism, rose in revolt so fiercely and with such contemptuous self-assurance against effete classical idealism and in favour of what it is difficult to signify by any single word, unless one may use 'emotionalism' to express that passionate intensity of the natural feelings which in literature began with the morbid sentimentalism of Rousseau's *Héloïse* and Goethe's *Werther* and came to its climax in the furious outburst of disdain for all cold, anaemic, pseudo-Classical, sculpturesque self-restraint (and incidentally for the hypocritical pietism of the days of Charles X) which took place when Victor Hugo's *Hernani* was put on the stage of the Théâtre Français in the year 1830.

In pictorial art this revolt in favour of Romanticism, or Emotionalism, and against the sculpturesque style of the Davidian school reached its climax shortly after the fall of Napoleon. David was exiled, and Gros succeeded to his post as official painter to the court—now the court of Louis XVIII. He was still at an age (about forty-four) when he might have hoped to paint many a fine picture,



225. LES PESTIFÉRÉS DE JAFFA

By Gros. *Louvre*



226. NAPOLEON ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF EYLAU

By Gros. *Louvre*

Photos Giraudon



227. THE RAFT OF THE MEDUSA

By Géricault

Louvre

Photo Alinari

FROM LOUIS XIV TO c. 1820

but the old infatuation returned with greater force than ever. Except one fine painting in his unclassical style¹ and some portraits, he confined himself to such work as a *Death of Sappho* and a series of Davidian frescos in the dome of the Panthéon. He survived till the fifth year of the reign of the *Roi Citoyen*, Louis-Philippe, with whom he found little favour on account of his antecedents. He was saddened, too, by the triumphs of the Romantic writers, such as Lamartine and Victor Hugo and George Sand and Alfred de Musset, and still more by the immense popularity of the Romantic school of painters, of whom the highly gifted Delacroix, successor to the short-lived Géricault, was now the leader; nor was he less pained perhaps by the defection from Davidian principles of his pupil Delaroche, the well-known painter of pathetic historical incidents, such as *The Princes in the Tower of London* and *Strafford on his Way to Execution*. At last the burden of existence became intolerable to the poor old artist. He had exhibited, somewhat defiantly, a great 'classical' canvas representing the tragic fate of the Thracian Diomedes, who was conquered by Hercules and devoured by his own flesh-eating mares. The picture was received with shouts of derision. Not long afterward, in June 1835, he silently left his home, and having walked into the water of a small tributary of the Seine, he lay down—and was found there the next day, dead.

Géricault is generally regarded as the initiator of the so-called Romantic school which has been occupying our attention, and it is his rather sensational picture, *The Raft of the Medusa*, which is usually deemed the first important work of modern French painting, although *Les Pestiférés de Jaffa* preceded it by fifteen years. Nor is this surprising, for posterity has naturally accepted the judgment of Gros himself and regards him as the last of the Davidians rather than the earliest of the moderns.

It is remarkable that Géricault and Delacroix, the two protagonists of Romanticism and bitter foes of the Davidian school, should have been pupils of an ardent

¹ Namely of the hurried midnight flight of Louis XVIII from the Tuileries, on the return of the Emperor from Elba, which he has depicted with unintended humour. The painting is in the Versailles Museum. It was praised by Delacroix as 'one of the finest of modern works.'

FRANCE (c. 1500-c. 1820)

admirer of David, namely Guérin, a painter of tragic scenes, mostly classical, in which, as M. Hourticq says, ‘the figures strike theatrical attitudes and seem always on the point of a tirade.’ Géricault (1791–1824) first attracted attention by large and vigorous paintings of mounted soldiers, especially that of a Chasseur officer on a wildly rearing horse, exhibited in the Salon of 1812. Seven years later his *Raft of the Medusa* won him not inconsiderable applause. But he seems to have been of an impatient and sensitive nature, and instead of following up his success he took the picture to London, where it was highly appreciated; he remained some years in England, devoting himself mainly to studying horses and depicting races or other scenes in which horses could be introduced. Soon after his return to France he died.

A name that should here be mentioned is that of Ingres (1781–1867). He was a pupil of David and a most sincere lover of all that is great in ancient art and literature, but he adopted principles differing essentially from those of his teacher, who endeavoured to merge individual characteristics into some ideal type, such as ancient sculptors give us in the *Apollo del Belvedere* and the *Venus de' Medici*. Ingres, on the contrary, made his special object the expression of character and of personal beauty by what one might call the music of line. In his best work, such as *L'Odalisque* and *La Source*, he gives us wonderful contours in the delineation of the nude, with no attempt to idealize. As an ardent lover of classical serenity and dignity he detested what he regarded as the vulgar unrestraint and sensationalism of the upstart Romantic painters, and harboured no very friendly sentiments toward their popular leader, Delacroix. In his really fine work, *The Apotheosis of Homer*, where the poet is seen enthroned in the midst of celebrated artists and authors, he carefully excluded all the writers of the new Romantic school. In his portraiture we see that, however genuine a *humanist* he may have been, his extraordinary skill in expressing character by the language of line places him, anyhow in formative art, if not in imaginative genius, in a class above his adversaries. His finest portrait is that of M. Bertin—one of the most striking works of portraiture to be seen in the Louvre.

PART V

THE NETHERLANDS

(c. 1500—c. 1820)

Preliminary

In my first volume I have noted, under 'Northern Gothic Architecture,' some of the more important churches and civic edifices built in Flanders during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and I mentioned the Flemish-Burgundian school of sculpture, of which Nicholas (Klaus) Sluyter, or Sluter, and his nephew, Klaus de Werve (Van der Werff), were the most distinguished representatives.¹ Moreover, the beginning of genuine pictorial art—as distinguished from the illumination of manuscripts—in Flanders, and also in Germany, is noticed in the first volume under 'Northern Gothic Painting,' and the chief works of the two brothers Van Eyck, the inventors, or perfecters, of oil-painting, and those of Van der Weyden, and Memling, and Van der Goes are briefly described.²

The main subject at present before us is the art (architecture, sculpture, and painting) of what we nowadays call Belgium and Holland during about three centuries—that is, from about 1500 to about 1820. If we limit ourselves to things that have indubitable value, either as being themselves works of art or as having exercised influence in the evolution of art, we shall find surprisingly little to note under the headings of architecture and sculpture in comparison with the great number of really fine paintings. Moreover, we shall perceive some marked characteristics

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 288–289, 309, and Figs. 235, 236, 245; also Vol. II, pp. 190–191; and for the fine work of a sculptor, probably Flemish, belonging to the Burgundian school see Vol. II, index, under 'Philippe Pot.' For other Flemish artists of this school see under 'Baerse,' 'Broederlam,' and 'Marville.'

² See Vol. I, pp. 316–322 and Figs. 246–250, and the index of Vol. I, under 'Oil medium.'

THE NETHERLANDS (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

distinguishing Netherlandish painting from the painting of other countries, while also between the Flemish and the Dutch schools themselves there will be found to exist a notable—indeed a profound and essential—difference. These differences are to be accounted for, to some extent at least, by the natural features of the ‘Low Countries,’ by the diverse origins and characters of the population (Gallic Belgae and Celtic Batavi, with Frankish and Teutonic admixtures), and by a longer series of foreign invasions and dominations than perhaps any other European country has suffered, except possibly Sicily. I shall therefore first give a few historical facts, and then fill up this slight outline with as full an account as space will allow of Netherland architecture and sculpture and of the almost innumerable works of art produced by great Flemish and Dutch painters, especially by those of the seventeenth century.

Neither the Roman nor the early medieval eras of the history of the Netherlands need detain us, except to note that the country formed a part of the vast empire of Charles the Great, and that some thirty years after his death it was divided (by the Treaty of Verdun, in 843) between two of his grandsons, Flanders and Artois falling to Charles the Bald of France and the rest to Ludwig of Germany. The feudal system was at this time beginning to prevail, and the Netherlands were in course of time broken up into a number of provinces ruled by hereditary counts, dukes, or princes of the Church, who at first recognized these Carolingian monarchs as their liege-lords. Thus we find Counts of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, Dukes of Brabant and other provinces, Bishops of Utrecht, Counts of Holland, Dukes of Guelders. Great commercial prosperity was attained by Flanders (Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres) and by the margraviate of Antwerp, and to some extent these towns liberated themselves from the sovereignty of France.

But in spite of this prosperity these cities at this period seem to have produced little in the way of art. Indeed, except for one or two specimens of Romanesque architecture, such as parts of Tournai Cathedral, and numerous fine examples of ecclesiastic and civic Early Gothic architecture (already noted in the first volume, and to be noted again

PRELIMINARY

later), and except for ivory carvings and the illumination of manuscripts by miniature-painting—a minor art which was much practised in Flanders¹ from Romanesque times down to, and beyond, the days of the Van Eycks and the invention of oil-painting—there is extant but little to occupy attention from the artistic point of view until the era of the Hundred Years War.

Jean le Bon, King of France,² who was made prisoner at Poitiers in 1356, signed a treaty in London before he died (1364) by which he left our Edward III a large part of the kingdom of France and bequeathed Burgundy (Bourgogne) to his fourth son, Philippe le Hardi. Thus the realm of his eldest son, though he succeeded to the throne of France as Charles V, was greatly diminished, and during the next ninety years or so he and his successors, Charles VI and VII, had a terrible struggle against rebels and invaders—for the successor of Philippe le Hardi, the Burgundian Duke Jean sans Peur, renounced allegiance to his cousin, the feeble-minded Charles VI, and joined our Henry V; and after Agincourt (1415) he entered Paris as victor. Jean's successor to the dukedom of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon (1419–67), was a contemporary of Charles VII, and took a leading part in the capture and murder of Jeanne d'Arc (1431), and lived for some thirteen years after the nominal conclusion (1453) of the so-called Hundred Years War, when Calais alone remained in the hands of the English. The struggle between France and Burgundy was, however, continued by the warlike Louis XI, but when Philippe's successor, the Burgundian Duke Charles le Téméraire, fell, before the walls of Nancy, in a combat with René II, Duke of Lorraine (whom he had driven from his dukedom), the province of Burgundy was reunited to the kingdom of France.

Now, on the extinction of the male line of the Counts of Flanders, the first of these Burgundian dukes, namely Philippe le Hardi, became ruler also of that province by virtue of his marriage with Margaret of Flanders; and it was he who, by inducing, or ordering, Flemish artists to

¹ Flemish miniature-painting is fully described by Max Rooses in his *Art in Flanders* (Heinemann).

² The portrait of John the Good (Fig. 138) is probably the earliest extant French picture.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

come to the Burgundian capital, Dijon, founded the so-called Flemish-Burgundian school.¹

Jean sans Peur, the son of Philippe le Hardi, was apparently too much taken up with war to spend time on Flemish artists, but his successor, Philippe le Bon, was the patron of Jan van Eyck—who, however, was probably over forty years of age before he entered the service of this duke in 1425.

When Charles le Téméraire was killed at Nancy in 1477, and his dukedom (as already related) incorporated in the realm of France, Flanders and other provinces of the Western Netherlands which had come under the supremacy of Burgundy passed into the possession of the Austrian house of Habsburg, for Mary,² daughter of Duke Charles, had married Maximilian, afterward the ‘Holy Roman’ Emperor Maximilian I.

Now Maximilian I was grandfather of the great Emperor Charles V (Charles Quint), who was born at Ghent in 1500, and in 1516 became King of Spain, and in 1519 succeeded his grandfather as Holy Roman Emperor, and in 1526 forced, at Madrid, a humiliating treaty on his prisoner, the French King Francis I, who had been captured in the preceding year at Pavia.³ By this treaty Francis renounced finally

¹ We hear of one such artist, Jean de Marville, a Walloon by birth, who was at Dijon for twenty years (1369-89) before Klaus Sluyter arrived and made many of the sculptures which adorned the Carthusian abbey and chapel that Duke Philippe caused to be built at Champmol, near Dijon, to serve as the ducal mausoleum. To Marville and to Sluyter may be attributed the extant façade group of Philippe and Margaret, attended by the Baptist and St Catharine, adoring the Madonna and Child. Also the magnificent tomb of this duke, flanked by powerfully designed *Mourning Friars*, was the work of these Flemish sculptors, having been begun by Marville in 1383 and completed by Sluyter’s nephew, De Werve, in 1412. This tomb, as well as the fine monument, by Le Moiturier and a Spanish sculptor, of Duke Jean sans Peur and his consort, is in the Dijon Museum, while that of Grand Seneschal Philippe Pot (Fig. 145), also by Le Moiturier of Avignon, is in the Louvre. We may note also that Netherlandish painters were employed by these Burgundian dukes at Champmol and elsewhere.

² Her tomb and that of her father are in Notre-Dame at Bruges. The children of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy were Philip I of Spain and that Margaret of Austria who for twenty-three years (1507-30) was regent of the Netherlands (as Margaret of Parma was afterward). Mary was killed by a fall from her horse when hunting near Bruges with her husband—a fact to which Longfellow alludes in his *Belfry of Bruges*, as well as to the marriage by proxy that she went through with the Duke of Bavaria.

³ The meeting of Francis and Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold took place in 1519. The Reformation had already begun to gather form in 1517, when Luther posted his theses on the door of the cathedral at Wittenberg.

PRELIMINARY

his claims upon the south-western provinces of the Netherlands, so that the whole of the Low Countries now formed a part of the Spanish-Austrian empire of Charles V; and when Charles abdicated, in 1555, they came under the dominion of Philip II of Spain—the *extirpator hereticorum* and the husband of our Queen Mary.

The well-known story of the revolt of the Netherlands during the regency of Margaret of Parma—the atrocities of the Spanish troops under the Duke of Alva—the patriotic league of the *Gueux*—the tragic fate of Egmont and Hoorn¹—the long and heroic, but vain, resistance of the wealthy city of Antwerp, so vividly described by Schiller—the total subjection of the Southern and Western Netherlands and the gradual rise of the Dutch republic under the leadership of William, Prince of Orange²—all this would take too much space to relate at length.

The execution of Egmont and Hoorn took place, at Brussels, in 1568. For the next thirty years Flanders (including Antwerp) and the south-western provinces remained under direct Spanish rule. Then they were given by Philip II to his daughter when she married Archduke Albert of Austria. (It was under Albert's regency that Rubens finally settled in his native city, Antwerp—which had now lost most of its wealth and commerce, and about 75,000 out of 125,000 of its inhabitants.) In 1621, on the death of Albert, this part of the Netherlands reverted to Spanish rule, under which it remained during the Thirty Years War and until Louis XIV, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, taking advantage of our naval war against the Dutch, annexed most of the Spanish provinces; but the latter years of the Grand Monarque were full of disasters, and by the Peace of Ryswyk in 1697, and that of Rastadt in 1714, these provinces were restored to Austria and were ruled by imperial 'Stathouders' until the French revolutionary armies conquered the country (1794). After the

¹ The subject of Goethe's celebrated play *Egmont*. In his *Abfall der Niederlande*, and still more in the description of the later siege of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma in 1584–85, Schiller sometimes rivals Thucydides.

² This title was acquired by Count Henry of Nassau (d. 1538), who married the heiress of the principality of Orange (Southern France), and it descended to this William the Silent and later to William III of Orange, our King William III. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* is known to most readers.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

battle of Waterloo Belgium and Holland for a time formed the kingdom of the United Netherlands, but in 1830 they parted company.

The history of **Holland** between 1568 and 1830 must now be briefly indicated, and we shall then be able fairly easily to locate the numerous Flemish and Dutch artists in their political environment.

The revolt is considered to have lasted for eighty years—from 1568 until the end of the Thirty Years War (the Peace of Westphalia) in 1648. The first William of Orange was assassinated in 1584—not before he had by gallant and audacious resistance, in co-operation with the Flemish (especially with the *Gueux*, by sea and by land), laid the foundations of republican liberty. He was succeeded by his sons, Maurice (*d.* 1625) and Frederik Hendrik; the latter died just before the Peace of Westphalia. During this period Holland became a very important trade emporium and sea-power. Dutch navigators were amongst the chief explorers of the world's oceans; Dutch colonies, such as Batavia in Java, were founded, and flourished; at home Dutch painters, such as the elder Frans Hals, the elder Cuyp, the elder Ruysdael, Van Ostade, Van der Helst, Ter Borch, and the already great, but later to become far greater, Rembrandt, began to make the name of Holland conspicuous in the annals of art. And during thirty years of this same period (1618–48) there was raging not far off, over vast regions of Central Europe, perhaps the most ferocious and devastating war that the world had ever known!

The young William II of Orange, who had succeeded to the office of Stathouder just before the end of this Thirty Years War, died in 1650. The office was then abolished, and for twenty-two years Holland was governed by a 'Grand Pensionary,' Jan de Witt. During this period naval war was waged with England on account of certain Navigation Acts passed by Cromwell's Parliament. In spite of gallant resistance (thirteen mainly successful battles in sixteen months and De Ruyter's raid up the estuary of the Thames!) Holland gained little by the war, and was glad to accept England as her ally against the hostile designs of Louis XIV. But the alliance came to an end, and Condé and Turenne

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

conquered almost the whole of the Netherlands except Amsterdam, which was saved by cutting the dykes and flooding the country. However, the office of Stathouder was revived in the person of William III of Orange, who not only liberated Holland from the French (whom the Peace of Nymwegen, in 1678, deprived of many of the annexed Netherland provinces), but by reason of his marriage with Mary of York, daughter of our James II, found himself, in 1688, called upon to act as the liberator of England from the tyranny of his father-in-law, and succeeded to his kingly throne; and ere long the combined British and Dutch fleets smashed the fleet of Louis off Port La Hogue, and five years later humbled the Grand Monarque by the Peace of Ryswyk.

During the eighteenth century Holland had, except for some internal disturbances, a fairly tranquil, not to say somewhat lethargic, existence—producing very little of any value in the way of art. At the end of the century it was roused from its slumbers by the French revolutionary armies, and found itself called the ‘Batavian Republic.’ Then, a few years later, it had Louis Bonaparte as its king—and the rest of the story has already been told.

(a) Architecture and Sculpture

Although in the former volume I have, in connexion with the Gothic era, given a fairly full account of the brilliant group of Flemish painters who flourished during the fifteenth century (the Van Eycks, Van der Weyden, and Memling), and also have mentioned, as important Gothic buildings, such cathedrals as those of Antwerp and Brussels and the great choir of Tournai, and some of the chief civic edifices, it will be well to preface the present section with a few general remarks on such Netherlandish architecture as existed before 1500.

Between the Roman and early Romanesque eras it is not likely that much in the way of art, architectural or other, was produced, and whatever may have been produced in the Low Countries during the Merovingian and earlier Carolingian eras has vanished—probably destroyed by ruthless pagan Scandinavian and Danish pirates, who forced their way up

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

every navigable river and estuary. And of Romanesque architecture the remains are scanty ; but there are extant some fine relics. The oldest, probably, of these is the great and fairly intact collegiate church of Saint-Vincent at Soignies (south-west of Brussels). It was founded about 650, rebuilt in 965, and restored in the eleventh century. Interiorly it reminds one of Rhenish Romanesque, such as one sees at Cologne, Mainz, Worms, and Speyer. Exteriortly it has a very massive aspect, possessing short, square towers like old Norman keeps. In Liége the church of Saint-Paul was originally Romanesque (968), but is entirely Gothicized ; Sainte-Croix (986, rebuilt about 1170) has a low octagonal tower, and one of its choirs is Romanesque ; and Saint-Jacques, now a grand Late Gothic edifice, has a Romanesque (west) façade and octagonal tower, both dating from about 1170. The cathedral of Tournai, conspicuous for its lofty Gothic choir with great flying buttresses, was originally a Romanesque church whose choir and two-aisled nave and transepts (terminated by semicircular apses) formed a Greek cross furnished with five towers—a rarity in Northern Romanesque which is thought to indicate an architect¹ familiar with such French Romanesque churches as Saint-Front at Périgueux.² Of the five great towers of Tournai Cathedral four flank the terminal transept-apses and one rises, as a lantern-tower, over the crossing of the transept and the nave. One is mainly Gothic ; others are transitional or wholly Romanesque. They are surmounted by Gothic pyramidal caps. In the Romanesque façade a sixteenth-century Gothic portal is inserted. The great rose-window dates only from 1840.

A largely restored but very striking feudal relic of the Romanesque era exists in Flanders, namely the so-called Château des Comtes at Ghent (Gand), which was founded in the ninth century and rebuilt in 1180. It was a residence

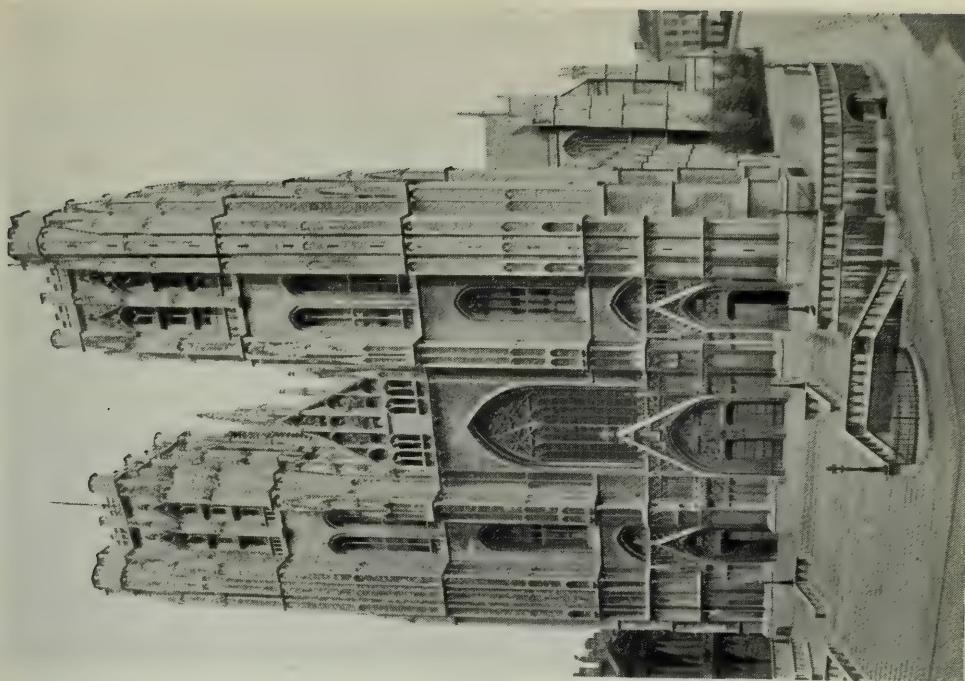
¹ As mentioned in Vol. I, p. 247 n., the Romanesque cathedrals of Scandinavia were built by French architects.

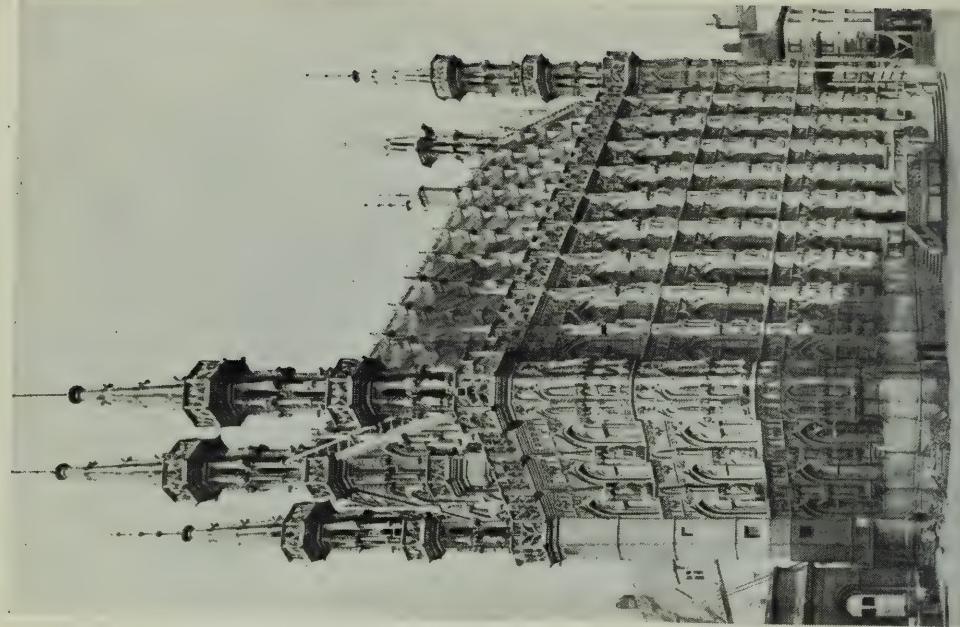
² Saint-Front, however, with its four spherical domes and single bell-tower, reminds one strongly of Byzantine architecture, and evidently imitates St Mark's (Venice) in general plan, whereas some other French Romanesque churches, as Saint-Pierre at Angoulême (Vol. I, p. 249), have both domes and several square towers ; and such towers, instead of external domes, form a conspicuous feature in Norman architecture, as also in Romanesque churches of Flanders.

228. SAINT-ROMBAUT, MALINES
N.D. Photo



229. SAINTE-GUDULE, BRUSSELS
N.D. Photo

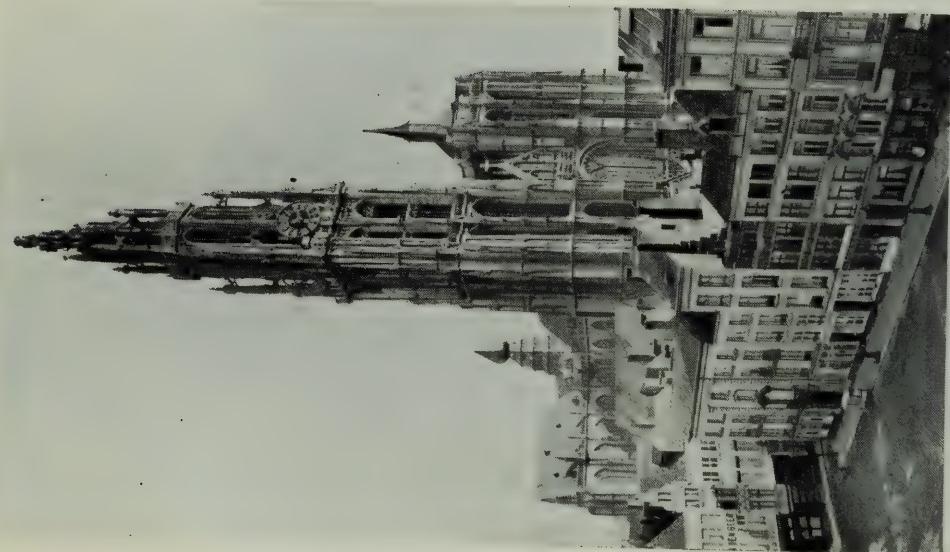




231. HÔTEL DE VILLE, LOUVAIN

N.D. Photo

311



230. ANTWERP CATHEDRAL

Photo Giraudon

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

of the Counts of Flanders from early times, and was the seat of the Council of Flanders from 1407 down to about 1790, when it was sold and used as a factory. In recent times it has been redeemed from misuse and restored externally to something like its original appearance.

The Gothic era began in France about 1120, and in England some seventy years later—the earliest specimens of genuine English Gothic, namely the choir and transepts of Lincoln Cathedral, dating from about 1190. In the Netherlands Gothic influences derived from France produced a transitional Romanesque-Gothic style as early as 1130. Examples are Saint-Jacques at Tournai, Saint-Sauveur at Bruges (built in brick), a little Notre-Dame at Audenarde, and the apse of Sainte-Gudule at Brussels. One of the earliest purely Gothic edifices of importance is the imposing choir of Tournai Cathedral (*c.* 1240–1320). Then we have fine examples in Saint-Paul at Liége (1280 onward), the exquisite collegiate church at Huy (begun in 1311), and the grand Saint-Rombaut (Romuald) at Mechelen (Malines), with its imposing tower, somewhat like that of Antwerp, except that its spire (which was intended, some say, to be 600 feet high—the highest in the world) has never been erected. This cathedral was first built about 1300, and rebuilt after a fire in 1342. The tower was begun in 1452. Of late years much restoration has been carried out.

Sainte-Gudule, Brussels, was originally a Romanesque church, the (somewhat Gothicized) apse of which remains. It took some three centuries to complete, and therefore shows various phases of Gothic. The choir, transept, and south aisle date from about 1270. The two noble towers that flank the façade date from the *flamboyant* period (end of fifteenth century). Antwerp Cathedral, the wonderfully high and slender spire of which (404 feet) is an object of almost universal admiration, in spite of the accusation of some critics that it shows a ‘lamentable lack of structural harmony,’ was begun in 1387 and finished toward the end of the fifteenth century.¹ It has seven aisles, and covers an area larger

¹ There is certainly a good deal of variety in the tower and spire. The former is square below, and octagonal above; and the spire shows several different Gothic styles.

THE NETHERLANDS (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

than that of Cologne Cathedral. It possesses a *carillon* consisting of over eighty bells, large and small,¹ the largest of which weighs eight tons and dates from 1507. It also possesses two famous works of Rubens, *The Elevation of the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross* (one in each transept).

Of Late Gothic Flemish churches (late fifteenth or sixteenth century) are notable *Notre-Dame de Sablon* at Brussels (unfinished) and *Saint-Jacques* at Antwerp and parts of *Saint-Jacques* at Liége. In the survey of the Gothic era given in the first volume I mentioned, and gave two illustrations of, the fine civic edifices of Flanders. The *halles* (trade halls for the storage and exhibition of the famous Flemish draperies and of Oriental imports, of which Ghent and Bruges especially served as emporiums) and the great Flemish bell-towers, used for summoning the burghers or for tocsin, as well as the *hôtels de ville* (town halls), are all architectural works significant not only (as are the many fine churches that we have been noting) of the high artistic capabilities of the Flemish people, but also of that love of liberty and self-rule, political and religious, which for a long time inspired their struggles against foreign tyranny—struggles that proved far less successful than those of their less artistic but more fiercely protestant and more fortunately situated neighbours, the Dutch.² The biggest *halle* was that of Ypres, destroyed in the late war. The finest *hôtel de ville* is at Brussels—though perhaps that at Louvain is (or was) artistically more perfect. Of the civic bell-towers that at Ghent (topped by its ‘Golden Dragon’³) would have been the highest had it been com-

¹ The belfry of Ghent has now forty-four, most of them cast from one enormous ancient bell (the ‘Roland’) which dated from 1314. Also the Bruges belfry has a large *carillon*.

² In architecture (and sculpture) Holland has very much less to show than Flanders. It has some big churches, such as the Oude and the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, and St Peter’s in Leyden, all dating from about 1300, Utrecht Cathedral, and the Groote Kerk of Rotterdam (brick; from c. 1400) and of Haarlem (c. 1490) and of The Hague (c. 1500), and there are large civic buildings, such as the Stadhuis of Leyden (c. 1580) and others mentioned later; but, although one sees here and there some fine vaulting and some big naves, and some old houses, what little there ever was of a really artistic nature has been ruined by iconoclasm. It is in Dutch painting that the artistic influence of homely life and republican freedom is conspicuous.

³ The ‘Golden Dragon’ is said by some to have come from Constantinople to Bruges and to have been captured thence by Philippe d’Artevelde. Others think it is of Ghent manufacture (1378).

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

pleted (*c.* 450 feet), but it is surpassed by that of Bruges. (Pictures of the Bruges Beffroi and the Brussels Hôtel de Ville are given in the first volume.)

In the older parts of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and other Belgian towns still exist houses, sometimes very quaint and picturesque, dating from the Gothic—and many more from the Renaissance—era. This Flemish domestic architecture is of such various types that it is difficult to describe briefly or to classify from an artistic point of view. In Holland, on account of the want of stone, there is much brick architecture, and many towns, such as Haarlem and Rotterdam, have very delightful old brick houses, often with high-pitched roofs and pointed gables framed with ‘corbie-steps.’

Now, for a few moments, we must turn to pre-Renaissance sculpture.

The relics of Romanesque sculpture are limited to a few objects. Among these deserve notice the weatherworn carvings of an ancient portal of the cathedral of Tournai (La Porte Mantile) and a few similar carvings elsewhere—*e.g.*, in the Musée Lapidaire of the Abbey of Saint-Bavon at Ghent. There also exist several bronze fonts with interesting but primitive reliefs. By far the best (indeed, an incredibly fine) specimen is that which is said to have been cast by Renier de Huy, in 1112, for the now totally ruined Abbey of Orval, whence it found its way to the Romanesque basilica of Saint-Barthélemy at Liége.¹ It is supported by ten wonderfully wrought bronze oxen, and the reliefs present various scenes of ancient baptism.

As for sculpture during the Gothic era, we have already noted the presence of excellent Flemish stone-carvers—such as Marville, Sluyter (Dutch by origin), and De Werve—at Dijon from about the year 1380 onward. The fact that they were (as it seems) summoned thither by the Duke of Burgundy for the adornment of his Carthusian abbey at

¹ At Huy, on the Meuse, is buried Peter the Hermit (*d.* 1115). Orval Forest is not far from Sedan. In the same direction lies the little town of Bastogne, where another such, but simpler, Romanesque bronze font is to be seen in a venerable Romanesque church which contains ancient wall-paintings. The difference artistically between the stone fonts of this period and this bronze font is as astounding as that between ancient Greek sculptures (*e.g.*, those at Selinus) and the golden Vaphio cups (see Vol. I, pp. 48, 78, and Fig. 32).

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Champmol and for assisting Avignonese and other French sculptors in the making of splendid tombs for the ducal mausoleum proves that they had already acquired repute as artists in Flanders before they helped to found the celebrated Flemish-Burgundian school. But there is little proof remaining of any notable school of sculpture at this period in Flanders—and still less of any in Holland.

There are, it is true, a few relics of Flemish sculpture, of a primitive character, dating from early Gothic times. At Bruges the portal of the Hospital of Saint-Jean and at Tournai the façade of the cathedral show sculptured figures of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries respectively. There are also extant numerous fonts with carvings, at first very rudely designed and cut as if with a hatchet, but by the thirteenth century showing some signs of really artistic conception and execution. The bronze fonts too of this period pass through a marvellous transformation. We have already noted the almost incredible difference between the old Romanesque Flemish stone fonts and such a really wonderful relic as the bronze font in Saint-Barthélemy at Liége (supposed to date from 1112)—a difference that either proves a new development in Flemish sculptural art scarcely less astonishing than that which was effected in old Lombard sculpture by the famous pulpit of Niccolò Pisano *a century and a half later*, or indicates some such connexion with Greece as one is almost forced to assume in the case of early French Gothic sculpture.¹ Besides Gothic bronze fonts one finds in Flanders not a few bronze lecterns (eagles and pelicans, etc.) and candelabra, some of them showing no mean skill in design and execution. These date mostly from the fifteenth century.

The development also of stone-sculpture, although not comparable with that which we have noted in French art, was remarkable during the Gothic era. Out of many

¹ The importation of ikons and ivory carvings and miniatures by Benedictine monks and Byzantine merchants can hardly account for the rise of French Gothic sculpture. Possibly among the early Crusaders there were artistically gifted men, and Renier de Huy, the sculptor of the Saint-Barthélemy font, was very probably a follower of his townsman Peter the Hermit, and may have seen many fine ancient Greek works of sculpture at Constantinople or in Greece, and perhaps copied—or even brought home with him—specimens of Greek or Roman-Hellenistic bronze-work.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

extant specimens I must limit myself to two of outstanding merit. The first is the high-relief monumental figure of Didier d'Houffalize (Brussels Museum), in which the simpler style both in design and architecture indicates the thirteenth century, so that this really attractive work is nearly contemporary with the *Vierge dorée* of Amiens and the *Visitation* of Reims, and is perhaps some hundred and seventy years prior to Donatello's *St George*. The second specimen is the high-relief of Jehan de Melun and his two wives at the castle of Antoing, near Tournai. Here the more advanced style, sculptural and architectural, indicates the end of the fourteenth century, and there can, I think, be no doubt that the sculptor must have belonged to, or have been influenced by, the Flemish-Burgundian school of Marville and Sluyter.

A craft which at certain epochs found great favour in Flanders (as it did in Spain) was the production of altarpieces, great reredoses, rood-screens, and pulpits—the three first in sculptured wood or stone (also in alabaster and in *repoussé* gold), the pulpits almost always in wood. Of the innumerable carved wooden altar-pieces I shall specify only, as especially interesting, the two made by the Fleming Jacob de Baerse for the Carthusian church of Philippe le Hardi at Champmol (*c.* 1390). These two great triptychs are now in Dijon Museum. Many others, as well as great reredoses with multitudinous small figures carved separately and set together in florid Gothic framework (like Spanish retablos), are to be seen in the churches and museums of Flanders. Richly carved wooden choir-stalls and canopies are also to be found in many Flemish churches (*e.g.*, Saint-Jacques, Antwerp), and, as all who know the Netherlands well are aware, the wondrous pulpits adorned with a profusion of wood-carvings, and showing life-sized figures sculptured in wood, impress themselves on one's memory lastingly as a most striking product of Flemish art. Three fine examples are those in Sainte-Gudule (Brussels), Saint-Jacques (Antwerp), and Saint-Jean (Malines). Such pulpits—though I mention them here in connexion with the considerably earlier wooden altar-pieces and reredoses—did not come much into vogue until after the time of Rubens

THE NETHERLANDS (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

and Rembrandt. The sculptures of the Sainte-Gudule pulpit (Fig. 235) represent the Expulsion from Eden, and (above) the Virgin and Child crushing the head of the Serpent. This pulpit was made by Verbruggen, in 1699. That in Saint-Jacques, the work of Willemsens (1675), has symbolic figures of Faith, Truth, etc. That at Malines, by Verhaeren, dates from still later (1741). It shows a fine group—the Good Shepherd with sheep.

We now have to consider Flemish and Dutch Renaissance architecture.

During the fifteenth century the Early (Quattrocento) Renaissance style initiated by Brunelleschi affected strongly Italian architecture ; but it had little or no influence outside Italy. In England, France, and the Netherlands the Gothic style continued to develop more and more superfluous decoration, until pure form, the chief beauty of Pointed architecture, was almost wholly obscured by *flamboyant* extravagances. And it was not until after the middle of the sixteenth century that the High (Classical) Renaissance style, initiated by Alberti and then fully developed by Bramante during the first fourteen years of the Cinquecento, began its widespread—some would say devastating—inundation of countries north and west of the Alps.

In the Netherlands the influence of the revived classical style produced but few results during the sixteenth century. This was not so much due to the fact that Netherlanders know well how to defend themselves against inundation, but because in the latter half of that century the country passed through very troubled times, so that a new and expensive style of architecture found but little favour. There is, however, in Flanders one great and really important Renaissance building dating from the sixteenth century—a noble specimen of palatial architecture such as Brunelleschi or Michelozzo might have designed. This is the Hôtel de Ville at Antwerp (Fig. 232). With its *rustica* basement and square windows and loggia under the projecting roof, it resembles somewhat the early Renaissance palaces of Florence, while the central part, with its column-sustained arches, reminds one of the Venetian Renaissance work of Sansovino. Its architect was Cornelis



232. HÔTEL DE VILLE, ANTWERP

Photo Giraudon

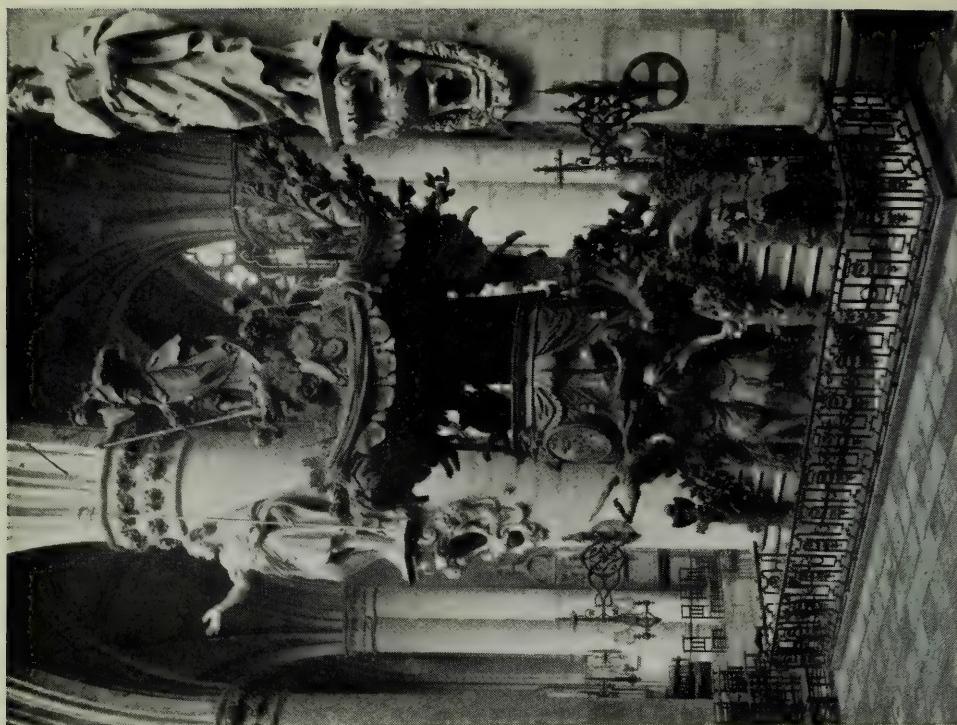


233. MAISONS DES CORPORATIONS, BRUSSELS

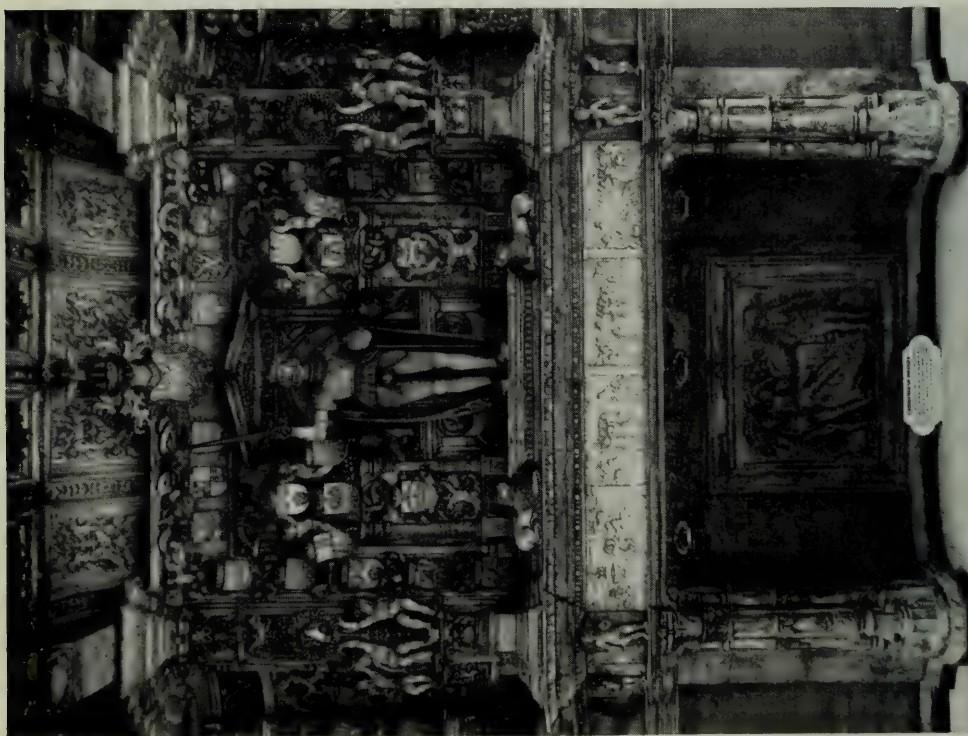
See p. 318

N.D. Photo

235. PULPIT IN SAINTE-GUDULE, BRUSSELS
N.D. Photo



234. LA CHEMINÉE DU FRANC
See p. 321
Photo Giraudon



ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

Floris (de Vriendt). He built it between 1561 and 1565. It was much damaged by the Spaniards, but was restored in 1581. Of the few other Flemish Renaissance buildings of the sixteenth century are notable various guild halls, such as those of the Drapers and the Tanners at Antwerp, and the Fishmongers at Malines; also the law-court building at Bruges dates from this period, but it has evidently suffered from rococo additions.

During the next two centuries (1600–1800) Flemish architecture was dominated by Late Italian Renaissance influence, especially—in the case of churches—by what is called the Jesuitic style. This style, as we have seen in the chapter on the Seicento, originated in the use of that superfluous and absurd ‘decorative scenery’ which even the great Michelangelo was guilty of employing, and which was used with audacious originality by Vignola in his design for the great Gesù church at Rome. The façade of this church has two stages of classical orders, one superimposed on the other, the former being flanked by huge volutes and topped by a large but simple pediment. The decoration of this façade consists in flat, otiose, attached columns and windows (some false, and used as niches) surmounted, as are also the doors, by heavy triangular, or curved, drip-stones. This façade proved to be the prototype of the façades, designed on the same general plan but often extravagantly elaborated and amplified, of the countless Jesuitic churches that exist in Europe and other parts of the world. The interiors of these Jesuitic churches are usually (as is the case with the Gesù church itself) gorgeously adorned, and many of later design are woefully deformed by parasitic overgrowth of luxuriant and vulgar barocco, or rococo, ornamentation. The Jesuitic church has generally a frescoed dome and a broad nave and transepts (often with superimposed columns and with galleries) canopied by gilded and painted vaults and flanked by profusely decorated chapels, which block up much of the space of the low and narrow and flat-roofed aisles.

It was early in the seventeenth century that this style was introduced, evidently by some of the artists who at that epoch began to visit Italy in ever greater numbers

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

(Rubens was in Italy from 1600 to 1608). And the rapidly increasing prosperity of Flanders under the rule of that zealous Catholic and wealthy patron of the priesthood and of art and learning, Albert, Archduke of Austria, resulted in the building of not a few universities, monasteries, and churches—and most of the latter, even when not actually built for the Jesuits, as was the (former) ‘Jesuits’ Church’ in Antwerp, were built in the Jesuitic style, now become so fashionable and affording such opportunities for the display of wealth by rich and devout merchants. Some of the more notable of these Jesuitic churches are that of the Grand Béguinage at Malines, that of the Augustine Order in Brussels, Saint-Pierre at Ghent, Saint-Michel at Louvain, and the afore-mentioned Jesuits’ Church in Antwerp, which was built between 1614 and 1621, and the ceilings and cupola of which were adorned with magnificent paintings, no less than thirty-nine being by Rubens.¹ In 1718 almost the entire edifice was burnt to the ground; but it has been rebuilt, the façade having been completed in 1910.

During the same period (roughly speaking, the seventeenth century) when in Flemish church architecture this Jesuitic style prevailed, we find a house architecture of a far more original and attractive character—a free adaptation of the contemporary Italian style, modified by French Renaissance influences. There are, indeed, some Flemish houses dating from the first half of the century which show the heavy palatial style of the Italian Renaissance. Of such type, to judge from its relics, was the house built for himself by Rubens at Antwerp. In those dating from considerably later we find a refreshingly playful and inventive spirit manifested. Although indulging in rich ornamental variety, they are entirely free from any taint of pretentiousness or grotesqueness or vulgarity. Very charming examples of such house architecture are the five guild houses (*Maisons des Corporations*) in the Grand’ Place, Brussels, facing the Hôtel de Ville (Fig. 233). They were built during the four years succeeding the bombardment of Brussels in 1695 in order to replace the old guild houses

¹ Watercolour copies, dating from 1711, of parts of these vanished paintings are to be seen in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

destroyed by the cannon of the Grand Monarch's general, Marshal de Villeroy.¹

The eighteenth century was for the Flemish Netherlands, now (since the Peace of Rastadt) under imperial Habsburger regents and enjoying peace and very considerable commercial prosperity, surprisingly barren in respect of art. In architecture, civic, ecclesiastic, and domestic, there was a tendency to pretentious display—the style being a modification of French *baroque*, with rococo features. In a few civic and domestic edifices of this period one notes a certain restrained dignity which testifies to the good taste of the architect—as, for example, in what is now the Royal Palace at Antwerp—a building designed (1745) by Van Baurscheit for a rich merchant.

The last years of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth century were full of troubles—invasions by French republicans and imperialists—for what in 1831 became the kingdom of Belgium. Except for the feeble and short-lived revival of pictorial art caused by the advent of the exiled French artist David there was during this period nothing notable produced by Flemish art. In more modern times there has been both in painting and also in sculpture and in architecture a very considerable activity. In architecture the tendency has been toward the revival of old styles, the Romanesque, the Gothic, the French *château* style, Flemish Renaissance, old-fashioned red-brick domestic architecture, and even Roman-Greek (as seen in the Brussels Bourse), and a kind of Greek-Roman-Assyrian style, seen in the colossal pile of Polaert's Palais de Justice at Brussels, built between 1868 and 1883.

As for Dutch architecture, in the Renaissance era (from the middle of the sixteenth century) there was of course much built, and a good deal of a pretentious character, especially during the heyday of Holland's maritime, colonial, and commercial pre-eminence, which period to a considerable extent coincided with that of the terrible Thirty Years War that ravaged Central Europe between 1618 and 1648. Of this architecture a few edifices may be mentioned on account of their size, and in some cases for their impressive boldness

¹ Conquered by Marlborough at the battle of Ramillies in 1706.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

in construction ; but there is little in Holland that appeals to one as artistic, except sometimes the very effective brick, or brick-and-stone, work, especially that of the houses. The blank desolations and still more painful disfigurements that one encounters when visiting old churches in Holland are of course mainly due to the iconoclastic zeal of the Dutch reformers, who also made almost a clean sweep of whatever existed before the great revolt in the way of sculptured works of art.

In Amsterdam there are big edifices (some in brick) dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of these probably the biggest is now the Royal Palace (1648-55). It is built in a pseudo-Classical style—due evidently to Italian or French Renaissance influences. If not important artistically it anyhow competes with St Mark's at Venice by reason of the 13,659 piles on which it is said to stand. Its architect was Van Campen, and it was richly adorned by the sculptor Artus Quellin and his son.

At Haarlem there are still older buildings. The Meat Market (now Office for State Archives) is a curious brick-and-stone edifice showing Dutch adaptation of Southern Renaissance. It was built (1602-3) by Lieven de Key, much of whose work is to be seen in this city. The Town Hall (Stadhuis), in Gothic times a palace of the Counts of Holland, was mainly rebuilt about 1625 in the then prevailing style. It now contains the museum, famous for the chief works of Frans Hals. At The Hague the Mauritshuis, containing a fine picture-gallery (mostly of Dutch masters), dates from 1633-44 and was built by Jacob van Campen, who later designed and began the above-mentioned palace at Amsterdam. The Hague also possesses, as do many Dutch cities, a Groote Kerk and a Nieuwe Kerk, the former a finely vaulted Gothic building and the latter a Renaissance edifice (1649), interesting as containing the cenotaph of Spinoza. The original buildings of the University of Utrecht date from 1636, and those of the still more famous and earlier University of Leyden from before 1577. The museum of Leyden occupies the old Lakenhal (Cloth Hall), which dates from 1640 ; and the Butter Market dates from 1658. Finally one should mention the seventeenth-century parts of the

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

Binnenhof¹ at The Hague, such as the Trèves Salon (built by our King William III in 1697, the year of the Peace of Ryswyk) and the Chamber of the Estates of Holland, dating from 1652.

I have now only to notice briefly (for there is scarcely anything in the way of veritable *ars statuaria*) some of the many carvings produced by, or in, the Netherlands after the beginning of the Renaissance era. In the sixteenth century Italian influence inspired some interesting work. Of this a good example is the well-known carved fireplace in the Court Room of the Palais de Justice at Bruges—called *La Cheminée du Franc* (the Franc de Bruges being a district formerly outside the city walls and free from the municipal taxes, etc.). The lower part is of black marble, with decorations and figures of white marble and alabaster in high relief. The upper part is of oak. Here large figures represent the Emperor Charles V surrounded by his ancestors, Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian of Austria, and Ferdinand with Isabella of Spain. The *cheminée* (Fig. 234) dates from 1530. It was designed by the painter Blondeel, one of the many Flemish artists who at that period were zealous imitators of Italian art. At Antwerp (Hôtel de Ville) is another richly carved fireplace, by Pieter Coecke of Alost, showing still closer imitation of Italian work, or rather, perhaps, of the work of that Cornelis Floris (or de Vriendt) whom we have already noted as the architect of the fine building in which this *cheminée* is to be seen, and who distinguished himself also as a sculptor by not a few works executed with almost masterly facility, such as the rood-screen in Tournai Cathedral, the tomb of King Christian in the royal mausoleum (Dom Kirke) at Roeskilde, Denmark, and a tapering tabernacle, 52 feet high, in the Gothic church of Saint-Leonhard at Léau. This was made in 1550–52.

Perhaps the best of all Netherland carvings produced in or near the sixteenth century is the tomb of Mary of Burgundy in the church of Notre-Dame at Bruges.² It was

¹ The oldest part of the buildings forming the square called the Binnenhof is the Hall of the Knights. It dates from about 1290, and is an interesting relic of brick Dutch Gothic, with turrets and high gables. It was the meeting-place of the Peace Conference of 1667.

² For Mary and her father see p. 306 and n.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

made in 1495 by a Brussels sculptor named Pieter de Backere, who, although evidently influenced by Italian art, has produced a work somewhat Gothic in its main features, but of original character and noble simplicity. Near Mary's tomb is that of her father, Duke Charles le Téméraire, whose body Charles V had transported to Bruges in 1550. This tomb—of a less simple, Renaissance, style—was the work of Jonghelinck of Antwerp, who is said to have received from Philip II of Spain, a descendant of the Duke, the royal emolument of 24,395 florins. Two rather fine sixteenth-century sculptures to be seen in the Netherlands, but neither probably the work of a Flemish sculptor, are the alabaster tomb of Archbishop Croy at Enghien and a great monument to a Count Engelbert at Breda.¹

Netherland sculpture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be dismissed in a few words, although the output of carved work, in wood and in stone, was very great.

To speak first of Holland, there is the sumptuous marble-and-bronze monument to the first William of Orange in the Gothic Nieuwe Kerk at Delft. It was made (1608) by Hendrik de Keyser, by request of the United Provinces, at a time when Holland was rising to the zenith of its mercantile and naval prosperity. It contains the effigy of the great Stathouder lying on a black marble sarcophagus overhung by a canopy and surrounded by allegorical statues. There are, moreover, in the Nieuwe Kerk at Amsterdam more or less grandiose monuments to five Dutch admirals. That erected to the memory of the famous De Ruyter occupies the site of the former high altar.

The Flemish, being mainly Roman Catholics and by nature more aesthetically inclined than the Dutch, produced during these two centuries much more carven work for the adornment of their churches—which, as we have seen, were then mostly of the extravagantly decorated class

¹ This monument, with alabaster recumbent effigies of the Count and his wife, and with other kneeling figures representing four great conquerors of classical times, is partially imitated in the monument to Sir Francis Vere in Westminster Abbey. The Breda tomb is probably the work of an Italian (Tommaso of Bologna, called Il Vincitore) who came to the Netherlands to superintend the weaving of some of Raphael's tapestries.

FLEMISH PAINTING

that is known as Jesuitic. The wondrous pulpits have already been noted (pp. 315-316, Fig. 235), as well as the multitudinous reredoses and sculptured stalls. Besides these there are to be seen in Flemish churches very numerous statues, in wood and in stone, which were made in order to replace (very lavishly !) those that had been destroyed by the iconoclasts during the revolt against Spanish domination. The great demand for monumental and architectural sculptures was met by an organized supply. As is the case with many Swiss wood-carvers who keep in their families the craft of producing certain animals in certain attitudes, certain Flemish families seem to have retained for long periods the accomplishment of turning out Apostles and saints of an orthodox type. The Colyns de Nole, Utrecht people who settled at Antwerp, and the three Artus Quellins (father, son, and nephew), and the Duquesnoys were some of these families that for generations supplied the large demand for works of sculpture. We have already noted two Quellins as having adorned the Palace (formerly the Hôtel de Ville) of Amsterdam, and those who know St Peter's at Rome will probably remember the colossal Berninesque statue of St Andrew erected against one of the mighty piers that uphold the cupola, but may have forgotten that it was the work of a Flemish sculptor, one of the Duquesnoys, who lived at Rome from 1618 to 1648—that is, just during the years when Bernini was abandoning the noble restraint of his earlier style in sculpture and was beginning to earn the admiration of his contemporaries and the disfavour and disgust of posterity by the extravagances and affectations of his later work.

(b) Flemish Painting (*c.* 1400-1830)

In the survey of the Gothic era given in the first volume a section (Part VI, p. 313 *sq.*) was mainly devoted to the faint spring-tide preheraldings and the sudden advent of that brilliant period (*c.* 1400-95) at the very beginning of which Flemish pictorial art attained with strange rapidity a development in some respects as wonderful as that which had been won in Italy by Florentine and Sienese painters

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

during a whole century—from the days of Cimabue, Giotto, Duccio, and Simone Martini to those of Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Angelico, who was born (1387) about seven years after Jan van Eyck. The more rapid Flemish efflorescence was doubtless due partly to the discovery, or successful use, of the oil medium by the Van Eycks.¹ But one must remember that long before the days of the Van Eycks, although apparently there had been no painting of altar-pieces and other easel-pictures in Flanders, there had existed a large number of very skilful French and Flemish *enlumineurs*, who adorned manuscript books of devotion, Bibles, Psalters, Gospels, Sacramentaries, Breviaries, Books of Hours, Lives of Saints, Missals, etc. This device of illuminating manuscripts is older than Christianity. It was introduced into Western Christendom by Byzantine and Benedictine monks as well as by pilgrims who brought home with them ikons and the works of early miniaturists. England and Ireland welcomed and practised the art, and in France and the Netherlands it flourished luxuriantly. By the sixth century there were rich monastic foundations in Flanders (that of St Martin in Tournai, for example), and we hear of some of them, such as the abbey at Nivelles, procuring (in the seventh century) illuminated MSS. from Britain and Ireland and Rome. It is well known that Charlemagne (*d.* 814), who built the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle after the design of the Byzantine S. Vitale at Ravenna, did much toward introducing learning and art into his Northern dominions, and founded many wealthy abbeys, such as Saint-Pierre and Saint-Bavon at Ghent. The chief centre of miniature-painting in Flanders was apparently Liége, and one of the earliest extant illuminated Flemish MSS. (a Latin Gospel) comes from this city.

The Duke of Berry (son of John II of France, and therefore brother to Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy) was a very zealous collector of illuminated MSS. The inventory of his collection, drawn up in 1401, some fifteen years before his

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 316–317 and n., for the nature of Flemish mural paintings before the days of the Van Eycks. In many Flemish churches (as also in not a few English) relics of old paintings have been discovered under whitewash; but the quest, however zealous, has resulted in no such artistically valuable finds as those sometimes made in Italian churches.

FLEMISH PAINTING

death, marks well the epoch at which the new tendencies in miniature art—such as are described on p. 317 of the first volume—began to herald the advent of what we may call genuine painting.¹

All five Burgundian-Flemish Dukes, down to Charles le Téméraire, who died in 1477, patronized miniaturists, and the art continued to flourish down to the latter half of the sixteenth century, when it became merely imitative of panel-painting. After about 1400 illuminated volumes of many kinds—not only devotional books, but secular histories for educational purposes (*Gestes de Charlemagne*, *Gestes d'Alexandre*, *Fleurs des Histoires*, etc.)—were produced in great quantities.

The miniatures of some of the later illuminated MSS. are wondrous little gems—like tiny reproductions in colour of large paintings. Perhaps the most wondrous of all is the Flemish *Grimani Breviary* (Fig. 246), now in the Library of St Mark at Venice. It may date from about 1512, and may thus be about a century more recent than the famous *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry, like which it contains illustrations of country life during every month of the year.²

Besides the art of illumination, there was another which should be mentioned as preceding picture-painting. Up to this time, both in France and England, ever since the full development of Gothic architecture—which was unfavourable to fresco-painting and to mosaics—stained glass had to a large extent supplanted painting as an architectural adornment, and this to some extent was the case in Flanders.³

¹ It may be remembered that the portrait of this art-loving Duke's ill-fated father, Jean le Bon, who was captured at Poitiers, is regarded as the earliest extant French picture.

² It was sold in 1520 to Count Grimani. When it was completed is not known for certain. Even if it was so late as in 1512, one cannot tell how long such a work might have taken to execute, so that the old sixteenth-century writer may possibly have been right when he stated that Memling, whose death took place about 1495, painted some of the miniatures. This is believed by some persons. See Vol. I, p. 322.

³ In Flanders there is to be seen fine stained glass, of which a very interesting specimen is in the Chapelle du Saint Sacrement de Miracle in Sainte-Gudule (Brussels). It was presented to the church, about 1550, by the rulers of the four chief Roman Catholic states of Europe as a memorial of a miracle of the same nature as the famous Bolsena miracle of the Bleeding Host (consecrated wafer)—the subject of one of Raphael's Stanze frescos. On this occasion the Hosts were stolen by Jews or Zwinglians (cf. p. 179), it is said, who, although repentant at the sight of the blood, were put to death. Also in Saint-Jacques at Antwerp there is some old stained glass.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

The beginning of a great pictorial art about the end of the fourteenth century one associates especially with the names of Hubert and Jan van Eyck (the latter of whom lived till 1440), but to some extent contemporaneously with this Bruges-Ghent school of the Van Eycks there existed at Tournai and Brussels a school to which belonged Roger van der Weyden, or de la Pasture,¹ a native of Tournai.

Van der Weyden was for some time in Italy, and may possibly have helped to introduce oil-painting there; but he acquired none of the gracious beauty of Italian art. His influence on German art was, unfortunately for Germany, far greater than that of the Bruges school. His works, of which numerous examples (e.g., a *Nativity*, a *Presentation*, an *Adoration of the Magi*, etc.) are at Munich, Berlin, and Frankfurt, are pretentious and able, but are devoid of poetic imagination, as well as of the beauty and truth which great painters attain by light and shade and aerial perspective. Besides the above-mentioned works and the *Entombment* (Vol. I, Fig. 247), he painted a *Descent from the Cross*, of which several replicas and many copies and imitations exist (the supposed original being in the Prado Gallery at Madrid), and a vast altar-piece (*Last Judgment*) for the chapel of a hospital at Beaune, near Dijon, where it is still to be seen. Also in the Antwerp Museum is his large and impressive triptych called *The Seven Sacraments*.

It is generally supposed that Memling was a pupil of Van der Weyden. If so, it is evident that he succeeded in casting off entirely the influence of his prolific and prosaic teacher. Some of the finest of Memling's numerous works are noted in the first volume (see pp. 321-322, and Figs. 248-249). The illustrations (Figs. 239 and 238) in the present volume give his *Marriage of St Catharine* and part

¹ The data of Van der Weyden's life are confusing—so much so that some believe in two painters, perhaps brothers, of this name—one at Brussels and the other at Bruges. At Brussels Roger may have been in the *atelier* of a Robert Campin, who has recently become famous by the attribution to him of various pictures (two in the National Gallery and others at Madrid and Frankfurt) hitherto assigned to an unknown 'Master of Flémalle.' The well-known 'Mérode' altar-piece at Brussels is also now given to him. The mysterious 'Master of Flémalle' (near Liège), like the primitive French 'Master of Moulins,' has never been certainly identified. Some hold him to be Jacques Daret, of Tournai, Campin's pupil, whose works (a *Visitation*, *Adoration*, etc.) are quaint, old-fashioned, and intensely prosaic productions.



237. LAST SUPPER

By Dirk Bouts. See p. 328

Photo Bruckmann



236. VIERGE AU DONATEUR

'Madonna of Chancellor Rollin.' By Jan van Eyck

Louvre

Photo Giraudon



238. CENTRE AND ONE WING OF THE 'MADONNA OF THE
DONNE FAMILY'

Early and small work by Memling. *Chatsworth*
Photo Mansell



239. MARRIAGE OF ST CATHARINE

By Memling. *Hôpital Saint-Jean, Bruges*
Photo Giraudon

FLEMISH PAINTING

of a small early triptych the central panel of which represents the Virgin enthroned and the donor, Sir John Donne of Kidwelly, with his wife and daughter. Some of the dates and other facts of his life are uncertain. His *Marriage of St Catharine* (c. 1486) bears the date 1479; but this is probably forged. A marginal note, we are told, in some old manuscript recently discovered asserts that Memling, or Memlinc, was born at, or near, Mayence (Mainz), and German writers have joyfully annexed the great painter, pointing out that there is a village near Mainz called Mömeling. They may be right; and there are other reasons that seem to make his German origin not impossible; but the genius of Memling shows qualities that would, I think, be very difficult to detect in any painter known to have been of pure Germanic origin. However that may be, in spite of the 'static' character of his work and the tendency toward a Netherlandish type of feature and form, Memling is a great master in his power of indicating that kind of calm beatitude which the spirit of Piccarda in Dante's *Paradiso* intimates in words perhaps the most expressive of the soul's serenity ever written :

*In la Sua volontade è nostra pace.
Ella è quel mare al qual tutto si muove,
Ciò ch'ella cria e che natura face.*

The life of Memling takes us to about the year 1495—that is, very nearly to the date at which this section nominally begins; but there are still several artists who should be mentioned as interesting, if not very eminent, representatives of Flemish painting in the fifteenth century, although some of them were necessarily passed over in the general survey of Northern Gothic painting. Of these I select the following four :

Petrus Christus (or Christi) was a follower, if not a pupil, of Jan van Eyck. Of the few pictures attributed certainly to him, the *Story of S. Godeberte* (now in America) is notable, not only for its very skilful execution, but because it is probably the first Flemish easel-painting (1449) that treats an episode of ordinary human life (not Biblical or legendary) in a style that is the precursor of that of innumerable Netherlandish *genre* paintings. (Jan van Eyck had already painted portraits. Of these our National Gallery possesses three specimens, including what perhaps represents the Medicean

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

bank-agent Arnolfini and his wife,¹ and the Vienna museum has two, while at the Hospital of Saint-Jean at Bruges there is the celebrated picture of his wife, painted in 1439). Petrus Christi also painted portraits (there was one lent to the National Gallery by Lord Burleigh), but this *Story of S. Godeberte*, though it may contain portraits, is, as has been said, notable as probably the first Flemish painting that depicts an event in what we may call the *genre* style. It shows the interior of a goldsmith's shop, where the goldsmith (incidentally a saint himself!) is placing on the finger of an unwilling bride what the anxious bystanding father believes to be a wedding-ring, but what is really a ring devoting her as a nun to perpetual celibacy.

Dirk, or Dierick, Bouts (c. 1410-75) was a Dutchman—one of the earliest of Dutch painters—who settled at Louvain. His works are numerous, and show very great mastery both in drawing and also in richness of colour. (These accomplishments can be well studied in the National Gallery, where there is a fine picture of his in *tempera*, an *Entombment*—one of the very few Netherlandish *tempera* pictures extant—and an oil-painting, a *Virgin and Child*, which is highly praised by experts for its superb *coloris*.) One of two *chefs-d'œuvre* is a great painting in five compartments. The central panel (a *Last Supper*) is, or was till lately, in Saint-Pierre at Louvain; the other four are at Berlin and Munich. This *Last Supper* (Fig. 237) illustrates very distinctly what we may consider as a defect in this artist—due probably to his undemonstrative Dutch nature—namely the frigidity of his faces and the rigidity of his figures.² This is still more notable in the side-compartments of the penteptych which show the sleeping Elijah and the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek. Another work of Bouts is said to be the earliest historical picture by a Flemish artist. It is in the Palais des Beaux-Arts at Brussels. It consists of two large paintings called *The Injustice* and *The Justice of Emperor Otto*, whose Empress played the part of Potiphar's wife, and, having caused her Joseph to lose his head, was burnt at the stake.

Van der Goes (c. 1420-82) was mentioned in the first volume of this book, and the central portion of his one well-known work, an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, was given as an illustration. Here should be added that the two wings of this large painting (which is in the Uffizi at Florence) give portraits of the donor and his wife, with their children and angelic patrons. This donor was Tommaso Portinari, who, like Arnolfini (mentioned above), was a bank-agent in Bruges of the Medici, and a descendant of that Folco Portinari who was father to Dante's Beatrice and founded the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova in Florence. It was to the chapel of this hospital that Tommaso dedicated this work of Van der Goes, which remained there for centuries. The artist, it seems, had already in 1476, when he painted this great work, shown signs of religious melancholy, and soon after retreated to a convent. In his later

¹ Dated 1434—that is, just after the return of Cosimo de' Medici from exile. Some think it represents Van Eyck himself and his wife; but this is improbable. For the story of its discovery at Brussels, soon after the battle of Waterloo, see National Gallery *Illustrated Guide*.

² It has been ingeniously surmised that some medieval artists, Bouts among them, imitated the *mise en scène* and the attitudes that they had observed at performances of miracle and puppet plays.

FLEMISH PAINTING

years he became quite crazy, and died a lunatic. He was probably, like Bouts, more Dutch by birth than Flemish (Goes is in Zeeland), but his genius was of a more imaginative and poetic type than that of any Dutch painter, except perhaps Rembrandt. The contrast between—or combination of—the supernatural and the natural offered by the gracious Madonna, with her little, bird-like, angelic attendants, and the realistic group of Flemish, or Dutch, boors who represent the shepherds is very remarkable. It initiates a new departure in Flemish sacred art. Other works in recent days assigned to Van der Goes are an *Adam and Eve* and a *Pietà* (both at Vienna), a *Death of the Virgin* (Bruges), which is so weird a thing that it seems to indicate insanity, and another *Adoration* (once in Spain, now in Berlin), resembling in general character the Florence picture, and offering an almost greater contrast between the graciousness and beauty of the central group and the rugged boorishness of the shepherds.

Gerard David (c. 1460–1523) was, like Van der Goes and Bouts, probably of Dutch origin. He was a pupil of Memling, but possessed none of his sense of beauty or poetic imagination. His work is formal and uninspired, showing merely great technical skill and industry. By his contemporaries he was highly esteemed, as is proved by documents discovered in the last century. These have enabled one to identify his paintings, which had for many years remained anonymous. At Bruges, in the Hôtel de Ville, there are big paintings of his representing an unjust judge being flayed by order of Cambyses of Persia—a scene which seems to affect the depicted bystanders and flayers with no emotion. In our National Gallery are his *Marriage of St Catharine* (Fig. 240) and the *Donor and Saints*, both dating from 1501. In the former the influence of Memling's painting, *The Marriage of St Catharine* (Fig. 239), and of the closely related but ten years earlier triptych (Fig. 238), is very perceptible; but what a difference between the work of the older master and this drowsy scene, in which the ceremony is going on amidst what seems to be, including the dog, a totally unconscious, or totally indifferent, *entourage*! The same somnolence pervades also the *Donor and Saints*; nor can the artist's *chef-d'œuvre*—the large altar-piece painted in 1509 for the Carmelite church in Bruges, and now in the Rouen Museum—be acquitted of soporific influences. It must, however, be admitted that in the touching picture of *St John and the Holy Women* (Antwerp) his skill in depicting silent sadness stands him in good stead. This picture is believed to have formed a wing of his earliest work, a triptych, the central piece of which was one of the minor treasures of the Layard Palace in Venice.

In many paintings where sacred persons and ordinary human beings are depicted together (as in this Mystic Marriage scene) the former are evidently to be regarded as visionary, and the latter are only spiritually conscious of their presence. But the difference between serenity and stolidity—between rapture and coma—is not affected by this fact. In this connexion may be noted the essential artistic difference between that wonderful intimation of movement which some artists, such as Raphael and Melozzo of Forli, can give by the curves of falling or fluttering drapery, or by other indescribable means (a fine example is the impetus of Melozzo's *Annunciation* angel alighting before the Virgin), and that oft-used, and often

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

tiresome, indication of past and probable future action which Chardin and hundreds of other painters have attained by such means as, say, a book or a half-darned stocking left on a table by a girl who is half-way to the window to greet her lover, or as Mohammed, returned from his visit to Paradise, preventing the fall of the lamp which the wing of his celestial guide had upset at the moment of their departure. The fact that an instantaneous photograph of a galloping horse—or of any swiftly moving object—does not depict *κίνησις* any better than the ‘cinematograph’ itself shows that in such matters art possesses powers beyond those of science. But these powers are not being used when—to take another example of the indication of past and of probable future happenings—a painter gives us the picture of a *skieur* behind whom, down a steep snow-slope, is the track of his headlong descent and a few yards in front of him, unseen by him, a yawning chasm. The situation is full of dramatic intensity and Sophoclean irony, but scarcely needs supreme artistic skill in the intimation of movement.

* * * * *

We will now pass on to Flemish painters of the sixteenth century. Of these we shall find two distinct classes. There was a fairly vigorous school of native art, which was chiefly represented by Quentin Matsys (or Metsys, or Massijs)—born only six years later than Gerard David—and by the three Brueghels ('Peasant,' 'Hell-fire,' and 'Velvet'), whose combined lives extended from about the date of David's death, 1523, to a couple of years before the death of Rubens, namely to 1638—that is, they lived through the whole period that saw the firm establishment of Spanish supremacy in the Netherlands after the capture of the French king at Pavia (1525), the great revolt of 1568, the iconoclastic devastations committed by the Protestants, the terrible siege and temporary ruin of Antwerp (1584–85), the rise of the Dutch republic under William of Orange, and the first two decades of the Thirty Years War. The painters of this school of more or less independent native art worked mainly at Antwerp, to which great and wealthy city, long before its disastrous siege, Matsys (and Mabuse too) had been attracted, and in which both he and the Brueghels, and Rubens also, spent a large part of their lives.

The other school was that of the 'Italianizers,' of whom I shall select as the most eminent representatives Mabuse and Van Orley. We have seen that in this sixteenth century Italian early Cinquecento architecture exercised on Flanders



240. MARRIAGE OF ST CATHARINE
By Gerard David. *London, National Gallery*



241. ENTOMBMENT
By Quentin Matsys. See p. 332. *Antwerp Museum*
G.H. Photo



242. VIRGIN AND CHILD
By Quentin Matsys

Louvre



243. 'BANKER AND HIS WIFE'
Or 'Moneylender.' By Quentin Matsys

Louvre

FLEMISH PAINTING

a limited but beneficial influence, the result of which is seen in some fine Flemish Renaissance buildings, notably in the nobly proportioned Hôtel de Ville at Antwerp (Fig. 232); and now we find that on the whole the effects produced by the great enthusiasm aroused in the minds of Flemish artists of the sixteenth century by their frequent visits to Italy were such as one can hardly regret. One certainly sometimes feels inclined to share the indignation of those who lament the ruin of indigenous art and customs by Brummagem importations, and can even understand, if not adopt, the point of view of those who regard with apparently sincere admiration the many monstrosities of ancient native Oriental sculpture and architecture and with equally sincere horror all signs of the presence in Eastern lands of Hellenic or of Arabian influence; but one may, I think, well ask whether Flemish pictorial art would have left so splendid a heritage as that which the world possesses in the works of the Van Eycks and Memling and Rubens—not to mention others—had not great Flemish artists committed the lamentable error of ‘ceasing to be national and of forsaking the delineation of their own homely people, their quaint old-world cities, and their flat landscapes’¹—in other words, of not confining themselves to the ordinary subjects of what, sometimes slightlying, one calls ‘Dutch art.’

Surely we need not lament because Mabuse, one of the first and most notable of these Italianizers, brought back from Italy ‘the true manner of arranging and composing historical paintings full of nude figures and of all kinds of poetry’—as we are told by the old writer Carl van Mander in his *Livre des Peintres*—but we certainly have some reason to disregard him as artist for being little better than a superficial imitator of the Italian style, and as far removed from Rubens as is earth from the empyrean, though Rubens drew almost all his inspiration from the great Italian masters.

Let us now note briefly the lives and works of the somewhat few important artists of these two different sixteenth-century schools—that of Matsys and the Brueghels, who were mainly associated with Antwerp, and that of

¹ *Flemish Painting*, in ‘Illustrated Text-books of Art,’ edited by Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

the so-called Italianizers, who were mostly wanderers, not specially addicted to any one city or patron. This, with a few words about the beginning of landscape-painting pure and simple, and about one or two fine portrait-painters, will suffice for a century which lies, somewhat sterile of really great works of art, between the two prolific periods of Flemish pictorial art.

Quentin, or Quinten, Matsys (Massijs, or Metsys) was born at Louvain, or possibly at Antwerp, in or about 1466. He passed most of his life at Antwerp, and died there in 1530. Those who know Antwerp well will remember the Gothic ironwork canopy over what is called *Le puits de Matsys* in the Marché-aux-Gants, near the cathedral. This canopy is probably the work of Quentin, for, according to the Flemish legend on his tombstone (once immured near the well, where a copy has taken its place) and a Latin inscription in the cathedral,¹ he was first a blacksmith, and was changed ‘from a Vulcan into an Apelles’ by the desire to wed a girl whose father vowed she should marry a painter. He may have studied under a son of Dirk Bouts. (Those who assert that Dirk himself taught him forget that Matsys was probably about nine when that painter died in 1475.) He first painted sacred subjects, as was the case with many who turned later to other styles with great success. In this early style² are the well-known *Veronica*—wonderful for the terrible realism with which the visage, streaked with blood and tear-besprent, is depicted—and the no less famous and (as the many copies prove) popular *Sacred Face*, and a similar half-length representation of the Virgin, and a great triptych, of which the *Entombment*, or *Pietà*, given in Fig. 241 forms the centre, the wings showing a *Herod’s Banquet* and a

¹ *Connubialis amor ex Mulcibre fecit Apellem*. Also there is said to be a portrait by him, either of himself or the painter Josse van Cleef, on which are the (possibly forged) words *Me pictorem fecit amor*. Some attribute the iron canopy to his brother.

² At Berlin is a *Madonna* (with the Child) seated in a throne of Italian architectural character; and the background shows such delicately pencilled landscape as one has in Perugino’s and Giovanni Bellini’s paintings. The Virgin is of Flemish type, and the colouring is of the rich brilliance peculiar to early Flemish painters. This may be his work. Another, less brilliant, ‘early Matsys’ (dated 1509) is a triptych in the Brussels Museum—the *Legend of St Anne*. It shows the family grouped beneath heavy Renaissance architecture. A large altar-piece (*Nativity* and *Magi*) found recently at Valladolid is thought to be an early work by Matsys.

244. REST ON FLIGHT TO EGYPT

By Patinir. *Madrid, Prado*
Photo Anderson



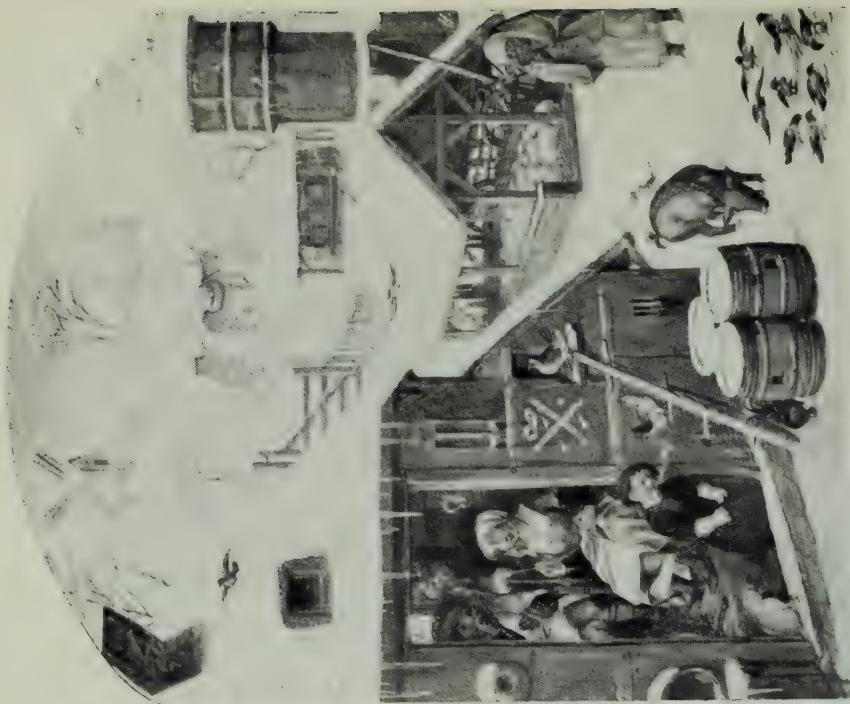


245. REST ON FLIGHT TO EGYPT

By Hendrik Bles

Basel Museum

Photo Aug. Höflinger, Basel



246. 'FEBRUARY'

Miniature in the *Grimani Breviary*. See p. 325

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana

FLEMISH PAINTING

Martyrdom of St John. This triptych (painted in 1508-11 as the altar-piece for the chapel of the Joiners' Guild in the cathedral) won such fame that our Queen Elizabeth and Philip II of Spain competed for its possession, but in vain. In it one finds a very striking contrast. The general idea reminds one of some old French primitive work (such as the *Pietà* of Fig. 147), but how different from the figures there are these mourners in feature, form, and dress! They are in most respects sixteenth-century Flemings; and the brilliant hues of their apparel (not reproducible in a photograph) seem new and strange in such a scene. All attests not only the marvellous technique of the Antwerp painter, but also the new tendency of the Antwerp school toward vivid effects of colour and toward realistic *genre* and portraiture. This tendency is very perceptible in the later work of Quentin Matsys, of which the *Banker and his Wife* (Fig. 243) is a good specimen.¹ Another well-painted but disagreeable example (owned by the Countess Pourtalès, Paris) shows an amorous old man of monkish type dallying with a finely dressed woman. These paintings enjoyed great popularity, and produced at Antwerp many imitators, not a few of whose works have been attributed to Matsys himself.

Distinct from this Antwerp school are two Flemish painters, Patinir (perhaps a pupil of Gerard David) and Bles. They were contemporaries to some extent of Matsys.² Patinir was, indeed, his friend and *collaborateur*, for he painted the landscape portions of some of the Antwerp master's works. But, although resident in Antwerp, he and Bles (Walloon from the neighbourhood of Namur) evidently remained untouched by fashionable *genre* influences. They both took to landscape, attracted to it apparently by a love for nature. Now, for almost the first time in European art, the natural world sometimes formed the main subject of a picture, much as it did more than a century later

¹ More probably a moneylender testing the gold of a client. The *Two Misers* (Windsor), of similar type, is probably by Jan, Quentin's son, who imitated his father closely. The *Banker* picture (Louvre) is signed by Quentin, and dated 1518. The *Banker*, or *Moneylender*, by Marinus van Roymerswael, in our National Gallery, shows to what regrettable results the example of Matsys led. Indeed, though much is admirable, some of his own later work is not free from *banalité*.

² Albrecht Dürer painted Patinir's portrait at Antwerp in 1521.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

in the historic landscapes of Nicolas Poussin and, later still, in countless works of Dutch and English painters. But in the works of these two early Flemish painters of flowers and woods and hills and dales and streams—or of Nature in her wilder and sterner aspects—the figures, sometimes very diminutive, are not such as Poussin introduces, but those of Biblical persons—the pilgrims of Emmaus, for instance, or St John baptizing the Christ, or the Holy Family resting during their flight to Egypt.¹

We must now turn to the later school of Antwerp—that of the Brueghels, a probable artistic precursor of whom was a Dutchman originally named Aken (c. 1450-1516), but generally known as Bosch—the word Bosch being short for 's Hertogenbosch,² a considerable town of Holland (south of Utrecht), where he spent a part of his life. The works of Bosch are scattered far and wide. At Madrid is a very cleverly designed, exquisitely finished, and wondrously quaint *Visit of the Magi* (Fig. 247), with a fine background full of figures and buildings. In this we see evident symptoms of that weird imagination which in other of his works indulged in the wildest delirium, creating nightmare monstrosities and distorting even sacred episodes now into the grotesque phantasmagoria of Northern *Spuk* and now into demonic *Walpurgisnacht* scenes. Nothing could exemplify more clearly this tendency in art and literature of certain Northern (especially Germanic) peoples toward what other races find repulsive in the mingling of the sacred and the grotesque than *The Mocking of Christ* by Bosch (in the Escorial) and his *Christ bearing the Cross* (Ghent); but the slight humour of the *Magi* picture, with its inquisitive shepherd on the roof and rustics peeping through windows and round corners, is only, as it were, a feather that shows which way the wind is beginning to blow, being in itself

¹ Note in Fig. 244 with what loving care are depicted in the foreground the foxglove and the mullein and the bramble and other plants and flowers. In the original are easily discernible more than thirty tiny human figures, mostly occupied with work or amusement, and numerous animals.

² Known also as Bois-le-Duc. Countless painters (especially Italian and Netherlandish) were commonly called after the place of their birth or residence. The Van Eycks, for instance, owed their name most probably to Maeseyck ('Meuse-bend' or 'Meuse-corner') on the Meuse, or Maas, north of Maastricht. Bosch seems to have lived for some time also in the South Netherland provinces.



247. VISIT OF THE MAGI

By Bosch. Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson



248. ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By Mabuse. See p. 336
London, National Gallery



249. ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By Pieter Brueghel the Elder
London, National Gallery

FLEMISH PAINTING

no more grotesque or irreverent than the uncouth shepherds of Van der Goes.

There are three well-known painters named Brueghel—a father and two sons. Pieter Brueghel, the father (*c.* 1526–69), was born in a Dutch village called Breughel (hence his name; but the family seem to have spelt it ‘Brueghel’). He was nicknamed ‘Viezen’ on account of his droll humour and ‘Peasant Brueghel’ because of the great popularity of his pictures of peasant life, such as his *Village Wedding-feast*, *The Return of the Herds*, etc. In his *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 249) one notes merely a slight tendency to the presentation of Biblical episodes under a Northern and grotesque guise. The power with which he can bring a scene vividly before us—a scene often crowded with puppet-like figures—is shown by the midnight and midwinter scene of *The Massacre of the Innocents*, and still more by the very skilfully painted but very painful picture (Fig. 251) of *The Road to Calvary*—like the *Massacre* and many others of his works, bought by the Emperor Rudolph II for his Imperial Museum at Vienna. In this painting a scattered multitude of evident holiday-makers fills the near and distant scene, and it is only with difficulty that one discerns any sign of the tragedy about to be enacted. Both in his very numerous and beautiful drawings (some of which are in the British Museum) and in such works as *The Hunters*, *The Return of the Herds*, and *The Blind Beggars* Pieter Brueghel shows considerable skill also as a landscape-painter.

His elder son, Pieter (1564–1638), acquired the name of ‘Höllen-Brueghel’ from some pictures in which he depicted demons and hell-fire. For the most part his work shows a somewhat weak imitation of his father’s style, but he was very skilful at depicting scenes with little puppet-like figures full of life. His younger brother, Jan (1568–1625), though classed with the Antwerp school, was of a different type, seeing that he was but little influenced by his father (resident then in Brussels) and became a great admirer of Italian art; and after a long visit to Italy he was made (*c.* 1596) court-painter at Antwerp to the art-loving Albert and Isabella, afterward the patrons of Rubens; and when that great artist settled in Antwerp (1608) he became his friend and

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

*collaborateur.*¹ About fifty of his pictures (those that he painted for the Archduke Albert) are in the Prado Museum at Madrid. Among them is the celebrated *Hearing*—one of the series in which he took as his subject the five senses. It presents a palatial room in which are to be seen great quantities of musical instruments and clocks and other symbols of sound, including several parrots, a cockatoo, a singing nightingale, and a singing child, as well as an undraped lady musician (or Muse ?), while through the arches of the loggia one sees what may be bell-towers amidst an enchanting landscape overhung by a sky full of various birds (Fig. 250).

Jan was nicknamed ‘Velvet Brueghel’ on account of his skill in imitating the dyes and textures of rich apparel—that Flemish skill in the use of brilliant and glossy colours which (as we have noted in Part IV) exercised at times so strong an influence on French painting, from the days of the ‘good King René’ and the artists of Aix and Moulins down to the days of Watteau—who, indeed, was himself more Flemish than French. There is only one known painting by Jan Brueghel in which he attempts such *Spuk* as his father loved to depict. It is a *Temptation of St Anthony* (Karlsruhe).

Turning now to the Italianizers—whose work, solely imitative, was barren of results and ineffective in the evolution of art—let us note, as representative, two only, namely Mabuse (c. 1470–1532) and Van Orley (c. 1490–1542), both to some extent contemporaries of Quentin Matsys.

The real name of Mabuse was Gossaert, but he is commonly known by this form of Maubeuge, the name of his native town. He seems to have begun painting in the style of Quentin Matsys, but after a sojourn in Italy (at Urbino and at Rome), whither a Burgundian duke took him, he adopted the style which is exhibited in Fig. 248. Others of his works, in similar manner—with heavy Renaissance architecture as setting—are *St Luke painting the Virgin* (Prag—dated 1515; and a replica at Vienna), and

¹ In the Hague Gallery there is a rather amusing *Garden of Eden*, where Adam and Eve (painted by Rubens) are surrounded by multitudinous animals, gambolling, meditative, or inquisitive. These, as well as the scenery, are said to be the work of Jan Brueghel.



250. 'HEARING'

By Jan Brueghel. Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson



251. THE ROAD TO CALVARY

By Pieter Brueghel the Elder. See p. 335

Vienna



252. LANDSCAPE

By Paul Bril. See p. 339

Dresden

Photos Bruckmann

FLEMISH PAINTING

two dating from 1527, namely *Danae*—a stupid, fat damsel sitting in front of a Renaissance bow-window—and a heavily built *Madonna* with an ungainly Child most uncomfortably enthroned on marble in a Renaissance alcove (both pictures at Munich). He was more successful (as in his *Adam and Eve*, a painting at Hampton Court) with his delineation of the nude human form—his enthusiastic admiration for which, in its finest development, he probably gained from acquaintance with Michelangelo. Van Orley seems to have sojourned in Italy twice, the first time about 1509 to 1515, when, at Rome, he must have come under the influence of Raphael, for it is perceptible in his many *Madonnas*. He too uses Renaissance architecture as background, but of far less cumbrous type; and his nude figures, though they show a study of Michelangelo, show also considerably more love for refined and gracious female beauty than we find in the paintings of Mabuse or in the works of the great Florentine. Two of Van Orley's chief works are a rather *mouvementée* presentation of the Last Judgment (Antwerp Museum) and *The Trials of Job* (Vienna), which, though it evidently borrows a Raphaelesque *mise en scène*, shows a total lack of that wondrous gift for harmonious and dignified composition that Raphael possessed.

There were many other Flemish Italianizers in the sixteenth century, but I omit their names, and their numerous works, not only for want of space, but in order that our wood shall not be hidden by its trees.

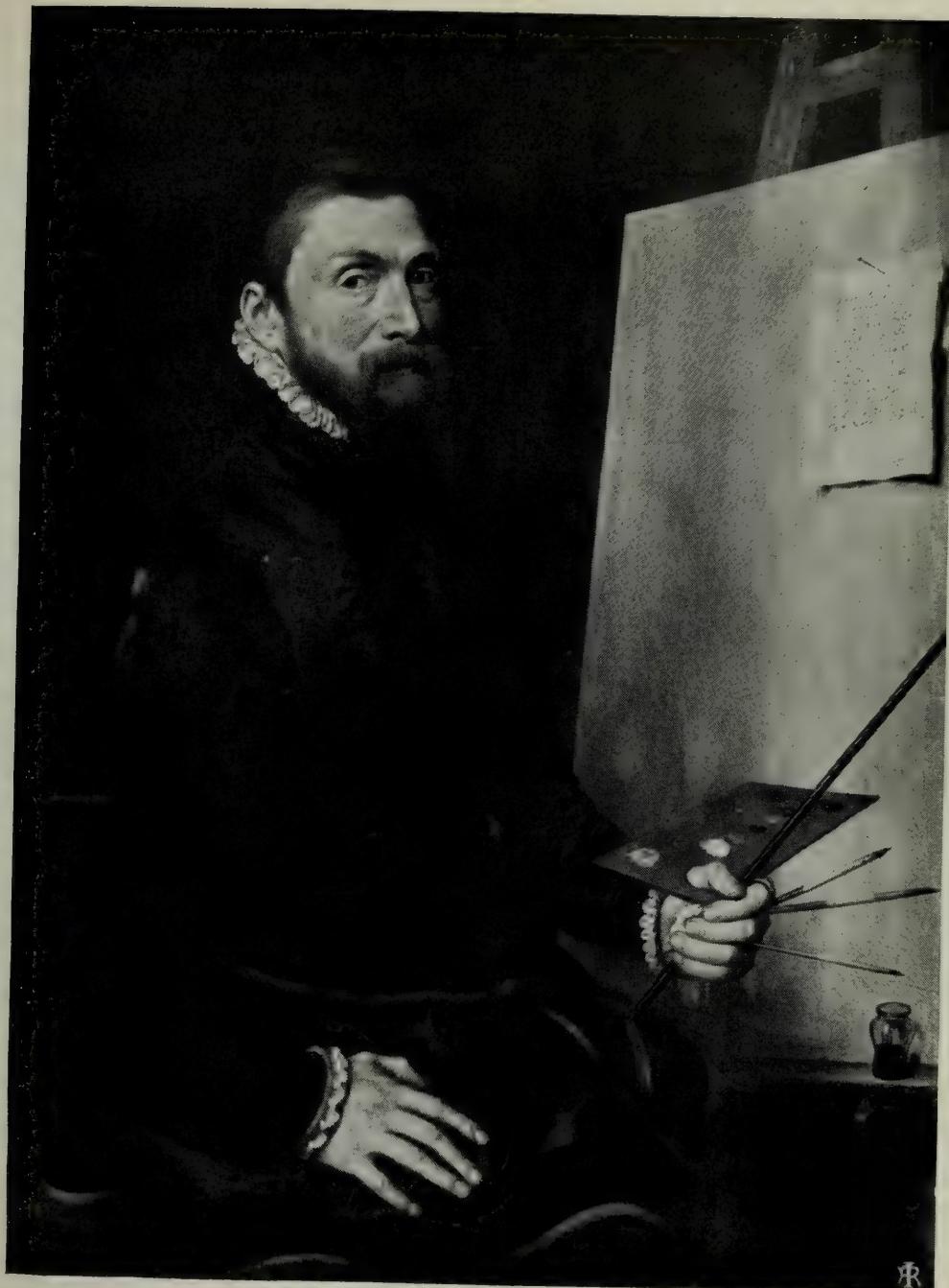
A fact, however, should be mentioned which had a great influence on the amount and the nature of the pictorial output in Flanders at the end of the sixteenth and in the early decades of the seventeenth century. When the fury of the iconoclasts, which began with the revolt of 1568 and raged and smouldered for many years, died out after the accession of Archduke Albert (1598) a great anti-Puritan revival took place, and innumerable altar-pieces and other religious pictures were ordered by the pious to replace what had been destroyed. This demand was met by Italianizers who attempted to combine the *gagliardezza* and dramatic manner of the Late Renaissance and Eclectic Italian masters with the rapidity of such a *fulmine della pittura* as Tintoretto;

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

but without his genius, or that of a Domenichino or Guido, or even that of such a decorator and *improvisatore* as the somewhat later Luca *fa presto*, these Flemings—of whom a protagonist was the astoundingly prolific Martin de Vos—were foredoomed to produce nothing but artistically worthless grandiosity and affectation.¹

But, somewhat later than Mabuse and Orley, there lived in this same sixteenth century numerous Flemish painters who, although not great artists, have—for the object that we have in view—considerable importance, seeing that they, following on the track, if not exactly in the steps, of Patinir and Bles, continued that painting of landscape, mixed and pure, which anticipated by at least a generation the ‘monumental and historic’ landscapes of Poussin at Rome and preceded by something like two centuries the work of the first great English landscape-painters, Gainsborough, Old Crome, and Turner. Among these Flemish depictors of nature were several couples, and even groups, of relatives, for (as we have already noted in the case of the seventeenth-century Flemish sculptors) whole families at this epoch used to specialize in certain branches of art. There were two Brils, and two Coninxloos, and several De Mompers and Van Valckenburghs, whose work extended over more than a century (c. 1550–1660). This work varies much both in size and in character. In some we have pure landscape; others give us scenes crowded with figures and buildings, as in the little so-called landscape (Dresden Gallery) by Frans Bol, who seems to have tried to compete with the miniaturists themselves in tiny detail.

¹ In connexion with Flemish pictorial art of the sixteenth century should be noticed the engravings and the tapestries. At first woodcuts reproduced many Flemish and German pictures (Dürer's among them), and not a few of the Italianizers made large use of both wood- and copper-engraving, by which Italian masterpieces and their own imitations became familiar to the Flemish public. But toward the middle of the century the fine old wood-engraving yielded to the easier copper process, and innumerable books and pamphlets and sheets illustrated with more or less inartistic engravings were published, especially by the famous Plantin Press at Antwerp. Already in the fifteenth century the tapestries of Bruges, Brussels, and other Flemish towns, including Arras, were as famous as were later the French Gobelins. (Arras, from which the English ‘arras’ and the Italian *arazzi* are derived, lost its industries when taken by Louis XI in 1479.) It was at Brussels that the tapestries from Raphael's cartoons were woven, and countless others, for which both foreign and Flemish masters supplied the designs. Thousands were bought by the kings and nobles of Spain.



253. PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF

By Antonis Mor

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Brogi



254. MARRIAGE OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS

To her uncle, the Grand Duke Ferdinand, acting as proxy for King Henry IV

By Rubens

Louvre

Photo Giraudon

FLEMISH PAINTING

The younger of the Brils, Paul, may be taken as perhaps the best representative of these sixteenth-century Flemish landscape-painters. As did many others of them, including his brother, he worked for years (from 1576 onward) in Italy, where not a few of his paintings are to be found (*e.g.*, in the Ambrosiana at Milan, in the Vatican, in the Rospigliosi Palace, and in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore). They vary from small and delicately finished oil-paintings on copper to large and boldly executed mural decorations—sometimes in watercolour.¹ In most of them landscape prevails. It is generally landscape of sub-Alpine, or South Italian, rather than Flemish character (Fig. 252). There can, I think, be no doubt that Nicolas Poussin must have known and been strongly influenced by the landscape art of Bril. Indeed, they very probably met, for Paul Bril lived till 1626 and Poussin first came to Rome in 1624, being then thirty years of age.

A few words must be added about some of the portrait-painters of this epoch. Of these Antonis Mor is indubitably by far the best.² Like some other eminent Flemish artists, he wandered far. He was Dutch by origin (born at Utrecht), but naturalized himself in Flanders and elsewhere. We have already noted him in Italy and (forty-eight years before the birth of Velasquez) at Madrid, where many of his works are to be seen, and where, under the name of Moro, he ranks often as a great Spanish artist (p. 168). He worked also at the English court, in the first year (1553) of the reign of Queen Mary, who probably knighted him as Sir Anthony More. Then he spent some time at Utrecht, whence he accompanied Mary's widower, Philip II, to Madrid, and later was in the Netherlands with Alva, and therefore was hostile to the patriotic Protestant party. After the failure of the revolt he seems to have settled in Antwerp, where he died, in 1576. In Fig. 123 we have the portrait of Queen Mary which he painted for Philip II—a revelation of character that cannot, one would think, have increased the

¹ Bril's *Martyrdom of St Clement* (in the Vatican Palace) is 66 feet long.

² Josse van Cleef, who worked much in England, and many of whose works are at Windsor, was also a skilful portraitist, as was Frans Pourbus the Younger, who worked mostly in Italy and in Paris, where he was court-painter to Marie de Médicis. Both Van Cleef and Pourbus had relatives who were artists.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

ardour of the kingly suitor. In the Uffizi there is a very fine *autoritratto* (Fig. 253). At Brussels there is a (copy of a?) very fine work of his that is given by M. Rooses—and he should know, if anyone—as the portrait of the merciless Duke of Alva. In all these, and in many others of Mor's works, is very perceptible what hitherto in the portraiture of Flemish, indeed of all Northern, artists—even of Holbein—had been lacking, namely that which one may perhaps call intimation of real character, of permanent personality, of what Plato calls the 'hegemonic,' or dominant, element in a human being—a thing very different from even the most skilful presentation of physical peculiarities and sensuous or intellectual proclivities.¹ It seems to me exceedingly probable that Mor may have found inspiration in Titian's portraiture. Indeed, he may have studied under him at Venice, for their lives overlapped for nearly half a century, Titian being ninety-nine, and Mor about fifty-six, when both died, in the year 1576.

* * * * *

We have now arrived at the era of Rubens, who was born on the festival of St Peter and St Paul, 1577—probably not at Antwerp, the home of his wealthy parents, but at Siegen, a hamlet in Westphalia. His father, a Protestant rebel, had fled from the Spanish conquerors and the Inquisition and had joined the camp of refugees collected round William of Orange; but on account of a foolish intrigue with William's half-witted consort he had been put under military surveillance at Siegen. Hither his wife forgivably came to share his misfortunes—and here, probably, Peter Paul first saw the light. It was not till the boy was twelve years old that, her husband having meanwhile died, the mother was permitted to return to Antwerp. Of considerable influence on the character and artistic tendencies of the great painter was doubtless the fact that, in order to propitiate the

¹ On the subject of Goya's portraits (pp. 180-181) I noted the delight that some painters seem to take in eliciting and snapshotting, so to speak, the 'brute within the man'—in magnifying and perpetuating the often microscopic *particulum*, vulpine, viperine, vulturine, or other, inserted by Prometheus into our human nature. Neither in his *Mary Tudor* nor in his *Alva* has Mor done this. Without embellishment or caricature he gives us the real character.



255. CORONATION OF MARIE DE MEDICIS

By Rubens

Louvre

Photo Giraudon



256. ROMULUS AND REMUS

By Rubens. See p. 345. *Rome, Capitol Museum*
Photo Anderson



257. SEVEN CHILDREN WITH GARLAND OF FRUIT

By Rubens. See p. 345. *Munich, Pinakothek*
Photo Giraudon

FLEMISH PAINTING

authorities, the good woman sent her son to a Jesuit school. His early art teachers had no perceptible influence on him. In 1600, at the age of twenty-three, he visited Italy, and at once developed enthusiasm for the splendours of the Venetian school, especially for the work of Paolo Veronese (*d.* 1588). In 1603 he was sent by Gonzaga of Mantua on a mission to Philip III of Spain, for whom he painted several pictures. Then he spent several years at Genoa, Rome, and Mantua, and in 1608 returned to Antwerp, where the persuasions of Archduke Albert and the attractions of Isabella Brandt, whom he married in 1609, induced him to make a home.¹ He soon had a large retinue of pupils, for his astounding powers both as draughtsman and colourist in a short time gained him European repute.

Then began that astounding and—except for a time during his remarkable political activity—continuous output of great works of art which occupied him for the rest of his life. To give even a brief account of the 2235 paintings, many of colossal size, which, aided of course by pupils, he completed during these thirty years or so would require a volume. I must be content to give a few more biographical facts, mention some of the chief of his works, and add remarks on their characteristics.

After a dozen years at Antwerp, largely employed by Archduke Albert and his consort Isabella, and producing some of his best-known masterpieces, he was invited to Paris by Marie de Médicis, widow of Henry IV, and there he (1621–23) completed or sketched (for elaboration in his Antwerp studio) that magnificent series of pictures in glorification of the Dowager Queen which, destined for her Luxembourg Palace, and long a glory of the Louvre, have for the last twenty-three years occupied a gallery (in the Louvre) dedicated solely to the great Flemish painter. The domineering Queen-Regent, after making war on her son (Louis XIII), was banished by him. On this account a

¹ At Mantua he was evidently much influenced by the masterful audacity and gross animalism of the earlier works of Giulio Romano. He made there the oil sketch (now in the National Gallery) from Mantegna's *Triumph of Julius Caesar* (Vol. I, p. 407), and at Florence a partial copy of the now lost *Battle of the Standard*, by Leonardo da Vinci. His Italian sketches of sculptures and paintings are countless.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

second series, which was to have glorified Henry IV, was not completed; but two great and magnificent pictures belonging to this series are at Florence. (See Fig. 264 and p. 221 n.)

From 1623 to 1628 Rubens assisted the Infanta Isabella, now a widow, in the government of the Netherlands, and was then sent by her to Philip IV of Spain, and proceeded, as his ambassador, to the court of our Charles I, where he successfully negotiated a peace that at last put an end to the long hostility between England and Spain.¹

Meantime his first wife had died, and in 1630 he married Hélène Fourment, whose features and (somewhat heavily built) figure are well known to us through many portraits painted by her devoted spouse. (Her sister, Suzanne, is also known to many from the picture *Le Chapeau de Paille*—which ought probably to be called *Le Chapeau de Poil*.) The last ten years of his life were spent for the most part in Antwerp, where he had built himself a house in Renaissance style, of which only a small portion remains in a courtyard. His death, in 1640, caused universal grief and consternation. He was mourned as the chief glory of his city and of European art. His tomb is in the Rubens chapel of Saint-Jacques, where his last work, a *Holy Family*, serves as altar-piece. The following are a few of his works:

Romulus and Remus (Capitoline Museum), a charming early work, painted probably at Rome about 1606 (Fig. 256). *The Four Philosophers* (Pitti); an early proof of greatness in portraiture; represents himself, his brother, and friends. *Madonna with St Gregory and St Domitilla* (Chiesa Nuova, Rome), painted in 1608, before leaving Rome. *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid), painted 1609 for the Hôtel de Ville of Antwerp. *The Elevation of the Cross* (Antwerp Cathedral), painted in 1610 for the church of St Walpurga.² The *Descente, or Deposition from the Cross*, was painted in 1612-14 for the Guild of Arquebusiers, as price of a wall separating his property from theirs. The story about St Christopher and the 'bearers of Christ' depicted here by Rubens is said to be legendary. *The Battle of the Amazons* (Munich), of 1610-12, presents what would be, if not absolutely impossible, a terrific combat, on horse and foot, on a bridge. It was apparently inspired by Raphael's Ponte Molle fresco,

¹ He received vast admiration in London, and high honours at Whitehall. Charles knighted him, and gave him his own sword and a great gold chain that he wore afterward continually. His exceedingly handsome and impressive person, coupled with his immense fame as artist, proved irresistible.

² An English missionary nun, whose fête, May 1, gave the title to the *Walpurgisnacht* ('Witches' Sabbath') of the Brocken, as readers of Goethe's *Faust* know.



258. DESCENTE DE LA CROIX
Centre of triptych. By Rubens
Anwerp Cathedral
Photo Bruckmann



259. DESCENTE DE LA CROIX
Later version. By Rubens
Petrograd
Photo Hanfstaengl



261. HÉLÈNE FOURMENT AS BRIDE

By Rubens

Munich, Pinakothek

Photo Giraudon



260. RUBENS WITH HIS FIRST WIFE

By Himself

Munich, Pinakothek

Photo Giraudon

FLEMISH PAINTING

Titian's (lost) *Battle of Cadore*—of which there is a sketch at Florence—and by memories of Michelangelo and of Leonardo's *Battle of the Standard*. Similar memories of Signorelli and of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* must have inspired *The Fall of the Damned* (on the Day of Judgment), a small picture (Munich) in which Rubens gives us the most astounding complications of writhing figures, outrivalling Correggio's ‘*ragoût of frogs*’ (*guazzetto di rane*) in the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Then, in the Antwerp Museum, among numerous celebrated works of his, we have the affecting *Last Communion of St Francis*, the Crucifixion scene called *Le Coup de Lance* (1626), the *Doubting Thomas*, the *Christ à la Paille* (the dead body lying on a straw-covered seat), *The Virgin being taught by St Anne* (1625), and another *Adoration of the Magi*, painted in 1625 for the church of St Michael—a ‘creation of dazzling splendour,’ as M. Rooses justly calls it. Some of these, it will be observed, date from after the visit to Paris; and even if one did not otherwise know this one might conclude it from the new method of depicting light and colour that is perceptible in the last two mentioned, for in later years Rubens, like Turner, became greatly interested in these phenomena, and many of his later works (such as the *Holy Family* that hangs near his tomb) show a wonderful radiance and a skilful use of chiaroscuro that is not to be found in his early paintings. About 1620 he executed thirty-nine large paintings for the ceiling of the Jesuit church in Antwerp. (This church was almost totally destroyed by fire in 1718; but there are watercolour copies of these pictures by Jacques de Wit, fortunately made about seven years before the disaster.) From 1621, for several years, he was occupied with the Herculean task set him, as already mentioned, by Marie de Médicis—probably the vastest of all his undertakings, and assuredly a wonderful work for the imagination and plastic power of a single man to have evolved in so short a time. Moreover, though it was regarded by Parisian art critics with but little favour (they were probably scared by its gigantic power), and certainly does lack the highest qualities of such a work of art as the ceiling-frescos in the Sistine Chapel, it shows a mastery in draughtsmanship and in composition incomparably greater than anything that had ever been possessed by any Northern painter (for Dürer's greatness was of another kind), and was destined to offer during many generations a foil against which the productions of the schools of Le Brun and David were to stand out conspicuous in their pretentious impotence.¹ In later times, however, a juster estimate of the greatness of Rubens has been shown by the Parisians. The Louvre possesses many fine works of his, besides the great series above mentioned.

A few years later, when on his diplomatic missions, he painted at Madrid many portraits, and in England painted the very appropriate *Minerva defending Peace* (National Gallery) and designed ceiling-decorations for Whitehall. In England there are numerous works of Rubens in private collections (a very attractive portrait of himself at Windsor), and about thirty in the National Gallery. Among these (Fig. 263) is a specimen of his landscapes, which number about fifty. It is one of the numerous views that he painted of a

¹ It is enough to compare David's *Coronation Scene* with (its model) the *Coronation of Marie de Médicis* (Figs. 219, 255).

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

country house and estate that he bought toward the end of his life (1635). This 'most vivid and powerful picture,' we are told by the writer of the National Gallery catalogue, strongly influenced the development of British landscape-painting, both Constable and Turner having been 'profoundly affected by it.'¹

Here, with reference to certain remarks of Goethe about the landscapes of Rubens which I cited (p. 257) when discussing the landscapes of Poussin, it will be interesting to repeat what Ruskin (subconsciously perhaps annexing Goethe's observations) writes on the subject in his *Modern Painters* (vol. i, II, i, 7): 'Rubens perhaps furnishes us with the first instances of complete, unconventional, unaffected landscape. His treatment is healthy, manly, and rational.' The licenses, he says, that Rubens takes in some instances 'are as bold as his general statements are sincere. In the landscape just instanced [one in the Pitti Gallery²] the horizon is an oblique line; in the *Sunset* [a small landscape in the National Gallery] many of the shadows fall at right angles to the light. In a picture in the Dulwich Gallery a rainbow is seen by the spectator at the side of the sun; and in one in the Louvre the sunbeams come from one part of the sky and the sun appears in another. These bold and frank licenses are not to be considered as detracting from the rank of the painter. . . . Yet . . . ?—and so on.

A charming picture (Fig. 260) shows us Rubens with his first wife. There exist also numerous portraits (five at Munich) of his second wife, either alone, or with him or one or more of their children. It was just about the time of his second marriage (1630) that he undertook to paint a large triptych for a church in Brussels, the central part of which presents a miracle connected with S. Ildefonso, or Alfonso (a seventeenth-century Archbishop of Toledo). This work, now at Vienna, is praised by some writers—the well-known German art critic, Springer, among them—as one of the finest of Rubens' compositions; and certainly it differs very much from most of his religious

¹ As in many other cases, especially where the beauty of a painting depends a great deal on luminous golden atmospheric effects (such as we have in the works of Claude, Rubens, and some of the Dutch landscape-painters), photographic reproduction veils the scene in a murky mist. Almost all Rubens' work suffers greatly in this respect. His luminosity and his magic colours are woefully maligned.

² Doubtless the *Ritorno dai Campi* (*Return from the Fields*). I have always imagined that, if it was not the Louvre picture mentioned here and above, this Pitti picture may have been the one an engraving of which Goethe and Eckermann discussed. A group of trees does certainly in this picture throw *toward* the sun a dark shadow, and is effective as a foil to the figures.



262. THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

By Rubens. See p. 345

London, National Gallery



263. CHÂTEAU DE STEEN

By Rubens. See pp. 343-344

London, National Gallery



264. ENTRY OF HENRY IV INTO PARIS

By Rubens

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Alinari

FLEMISH PAINTING

pictures in its dignified self-restraint and in the mien, the figures, and the apparel of those present at the miraculous event. His last important painting, a *Holy Family*, already mentioned as hanging in the chapel of the church of Saint-Jacques where he is buried, is a wonderful specimen of that glow and reflected radiance of light which in his later years he loved to depict. The group contains portraits of himself (as St George), his father (St Jerome), and both his wives (Martha and Mary).

Some have expressed in strong language—what many feel without trying to express—the ‘soul-lessness’ of Rubens, and have inveighed against his ‘coarseness,’ his ‘animalism,’ and other deplorable qualities or defects of his genius. The poet Coleridge asserts that his satyrs and Silenuses, his lions, tigers, and dogs, are ‘godlike,’ but that his gods and goddesses, his nymphs and heroes, are ‘absolute, unmitigated beasts.’ Without going so far as this in either direction, I think it will be allowed by almost every one that Rubens seems to have no gift, as artist, to grant us any glimpse of the eternal and divine as manifested in the human face or form. To take one case, although in some of his paintings he gives us exceedingly handsome female faces, and although his *children* are often most charming—as, for instance, in the *Romulus and Remus* (Fig. 256) and the exquisite picture of seven nude, chubby, perhaps rather too chubby, little mortals carrying a heavy garland of fruit (Fig. 257)—the ideal he presents us in his later paintings of nude womanhood¹ seems to resemble that of some Central African potentate, whose herds of *pombé*-fed wives may be seen squatting or wallowing in the dust of a royal kraal like so many fatted swine—black, and therefore less repulsive than the reddish-white collops of human flesh displayed by Graces and goddesses as depicted by Rubens. See, for example, the otherwise fine picture given in Fig. 262. In another, perhaps older, version, at Madrid—with Paris on the left—the three goddesses are still less attractive.

But who would deny that Rubens possessed absolute mastery over form, and a great power of invention? Who would deny that he brought from Italy, as a new Prometheus, the living fire of that radiant luminosity which the older

¹ When speaking of such ideal one instinctively recalls the *Venus of Cnidus* of Praxiteles, or the *Rokeby Venus* of Velasquez, or perhaps the grander but beautifully moulded form of the *Venus of Melos*.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Flemish painters, in spite of all their brilliant, superficial colours, never attained, and that art of composition, or creation, which makes a picture a vital, organic entirety? If such merits do not set him side by side with the noblest of the Italian masters, he is nevertheless surely one of the very greatest of Northern painters.

The one really important pupil of Rubens was Van Dyck. But we should note in passing, as large producers of Rubenesque canvases—pictures that display amazing imitative skill, and sometimes prodigious grandiosity—three others, namely Gerard Zegher, Cornelius Schut, and Cornelius de Vos, who assisted Rubens as portrait-painter. Also here should be noted two at least of the contemporaries of Rubens who, to use the phrase of a recent writer, ‘escaped the contagion of Italian plagiarism.’ One of these was Snyders, the well-known painter of animals, either alive—for instance, a boar attacked by dogs—or dead, and lying exhibited in a game-seller’s or poultreyer’s shop amidst fruit and vegetables. The other was Jordaens, who lived to the age of eighty-five (*d.* 1678). From Fig. 265 one may gain a fairly correct idea of his productions. He is intensely realistic, and has not unjustly been called ‘the vulgar Rubens’—for in spite of his escape from direct contagion he contracted some taint of Italian influence by working in the studio of the great Antwerp master, and among his very numerous works, many of which show a jovial temperament, there are also many ambitious attempts in the grand Rubenesque style—as, for instance, his *Presentation in the Temple* (Dresden).

Another Flemish partial contemporary of Rubens was Sustermans, or Suttermans (1597–1681). He was born in Antwerp, but, after studying under Pourbus in Paris, spent most of his long life at Florence, where he worked under the patronage of Cosimo II and two other Grand Dukes, mainly as portrait-painter. Very fine portraits by him are to be seen in the Florentine galleries and in the royal apartments of the Pitti Palace, whither they have been transferred from Poggio a Caiano. In portraiture he was certainly influenced by Van Dyck, with whom he was intimate when that youthful genius was in Italy on his first visit; but his composition and brushwork and treatment of light and shade, as seen in

265. CONCERT APRÈS LE REPAS

By Jordaens. *Louvre*
Photo Giraudon





266. CHARLES I
'Le Roi à la Chasse.' By Van Dyck
Louvre
Photo Alinari.

FLEMISH PAINTING

such historical paintings as *The Florentine Nobility taking the Oath of Allegiance to Ferdinand II* (Uffizi), owed much to the Bolognese school and to the chiaroscuro effects of Caravaggio. It is in portraiture that he is at his best ; and here he is indubitably a great artist.

Antoine, or Anthony, van Dyck, of Antwerp (1599–1641), was a marvel of precocity ; and, considering that he died in the prime of life, the number of his works is prodigious. When about thirteen he was accepted as a pupil by Rubens, and by the time he was nineteen he was painting pictures which his great master did not disdain to improve a little and pass off as his own. In 1620 he was invited to the English court by James I ; but his stay was short, and the next six years, except for a brief visit to Antwerp—where his father lay dying—were spent in Italy, especially at Venice, Rome, and Genoa, in which last-named city he painted, as Rubens had done some eighteen years before, some fine portraits of the Genoese nobility (most of them now badly damaged). Then for a time he was at Antwerp ; but in 1632 he returned to London, this time as court-painter to Charles I, and worked there almost continuously till his death, which took place eighteen months after that of Rubens and a few months after the English Parliament had gained its first great triumph over tyranny by the execution of Strafford. Very numerous portraits by Van Dyck of the ill-fated Charles and other members of the royal family, and of the English aristocracy, are in England, many hidden away in private galleries. ‘Every year,’ says M. Rooses, writing in 1914, ‘reveals some that had remained unknown.’ There are several well-known and charming pictures of King Charles’s children. The best is perhaps that at Turin. Our National Gallery has a very interesting portrait, painted by Van Dyck when he was about twenty years of age, of Cornelius van der Geest, a friend and patron of Rubens. It shows what extraordinary skill the artist had already acquired in portraying character. But the finest painting of Van Dyck in this gallery—indeed, perhaps anywhere in the world—is the portrait of King Charles mounted on a splendid white charger—a work of the artist’s later years. Another very well known and attractive portrait of the monarch is

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

in the Louvre (*Le Roi à la Chasse*; Fig. 266). This painting, however, with its Münchausen steed, may seem to many to be wanting in skilful composition—a lack that is certainly sometimes observable in the work of Van Dyck—the picture giving one the uncomfortable feeling that it is not an entirety, but a part of some larger design. In Van Dyck's pictures of sacred subjects, though, like all his work, they are devoid of strong imagination, there is sometimes a pathos which some may disparage as theatrical and sentimental, but which by its gentle, affectionate, and reverential spirit, together with the beauty and the dignity of the persons depicted, appeals to one far more strongly than the power and almost Michelangelesque *terribilità* of Rubens. This, I think, will be felt if one compares Fig. 268 with the *Descente* (Figs. 258, 259).

In Italy Van Dyck was called *il pittore cavalleresco*, a title that well describes the refined and gracious character of many of his paintings and at the same time indicates the aristocratic class to which the originals of his multitudinous portraits belonged. Indeed, in this era of European history pictorial art was mostly devoted to the service of rulers and nobles. In Spain and in England monarchical absolutism, amounting at times to genuine tyranny, held sway. At Florence the later Medici were no less absolute in their smaller sphere. In France art had become, and during the long reign of Louis XIV was to become still more, the bondmaid of imperious royal favour—an even more disastrous influence than ever had proved the patronage of the Church and the popes. This ecclesiastical patronage had now mainly given way—especially, of course, in Protestant lands—to patronage exercised by courts, nobles, and plutocrats.¹ The great portrait-painters were to a very large extent occupied with immortalizing the physical charms or the

¹ In Germany, since the days of the great Emperor Charles V, who was also King of Spain, and took prisoner the King of France, and imposed a half-mulatto bastard on Florence as its duke, imperialism had flourished under several 'Holy Roman' Emperors, until, near the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Protestant princes of Germany formed a 'Union' that, aided by Denmark and by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, for thirty years carried on a ferocious war against the imperialists and their great captain, Wallenstein, until Catholicism and imperialism were forced to sign the Peace of Münster (Westphalia) in 1648—the year before the English Puritan Parliament for a time abolished monarchy by the execution of Charles.



267. FRANÇOIS DE MONCADA
Commandant of Spanish troops in Flanders. By Van Dyck

Louvre

Photo Giraudon

268. VIERGE AUX DONATEURS
By Van Dyck
Louvre



269. TEMPTATION OF ST ANTHONY
By David Teniers the Younger. See p. 352
Louvre



FLEMISH PAINTING

magnificent costumes of court beauties and other such favourites of Fortune.

Also in the south-western provinces of the Netherlands, of which Flanders and the cities of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp had long been in regard to pictorial art the most important parts, the almost regal supremacy of the Burgundian dukes and then the invincible and splendid tyranny of Spain had both dazzled and terrorized the people, and had rendered at last not a few artists (and among these we must regretfully class both Rubens and Van Dyck) eager to accumulate wealth by using their genius in the service of the enslavers of their own country and of others.¹

But a change was at hand. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch, the one free people, except the Swiss, in Europe, had gained such security on land—damming out their foes as they dammed out the ocean—and such world-wide commerce and naval power that they soon became a terror to the Spaniards, and hardly less of a terror, for a time, to the English; and, as we shall see in the next section, Dutch painters—most of whom belonged to the Reformed Church and would have nought to do with Catholic sacred art—had already by this time become popular as depicters of the occupations and interests of the citizens of the republic, in which the nation took such justifiable pride. But the struggle for independence had been long and severe, and many a Dutchman of artistic endowment had during this period found his way to Flanders and won a high place among Flemish painters. Flemish painting, however, after reaching its meridian height in the seventeenth century, declined rapidly. After Van Dyck there are very few Flemish painters whom, considering the main object

¹ See Fig. 267, where is given Van Dyck's fine equestrian portrait of the generalissimo of the Spanish troops occupying the subjugated country of the artist. Antonis Mor is another Flemish portrait-painter who, as we have seen, devoted his talents largely to his country's oppressors; and most of Sustermans' portraits were of royal and imperial personages, and popes, and Grand Dukes of Tuscany. Whether monarchy or democracy, or any other political status, including foreign domination or self-rule, is most favourable or unfavourable to art and literature is a question that history does not seem to solve satisfactorily. Some of these Spanish monarchs combined tyranny with successful patronage of art; and the Archduke Albert and his Spanish wife, the patrons of Rubens, seem to have conducted much to the quantity, if not the quality, of the works of art produced by contemporary Flemish artists.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

and the limits of this book, I need mention—and the only one of wide renown, David Teniers, was more Dutch than Flemish in his choice of subjects.

There are, however, three portrait-painters who founded their style more or less on that of Van Dyck and gained renown. One, Philippe de Champaigne, of Brussels (1602–1674), we have already met (pp. 222, 274) as practically a French painter. His essays in religious subjects, to judge from a *Presentation* in the Brussels Museum, show a total lack of ability in design and composition such as is essential for dramatic art; but in single figures and in the indication of character by mien and bearing he proved a true artist. His *Richelieu* is a masterpiece.

The second of these portraitists was called ‘the little Van Dyck.’ This was Gonzales Coques, or Cocx (1618–84). He was in great favour, we are told, with persons of high estate. He succeeded best in depicting family groups, arranged as if by a skilful photographer. A good specimen of his work of this kind is in the Wallace Collection. Another is at Dresden. The persons forming the groups are all very nicely dressed and well groomed and evidently well behaved. Very high praise is given by M. Rooses to Coques for his ‘superb scale of tones, of such warmth that they seem impregnated with silver and gold.’

The third of these portrait-painters is well known to most of us as Sir Peter Lely. He was Dutch, and was born at Soest, near Utrecht, in 1618. At first he was called Piet van der Faes; but his father changed the family name to Lely. After studying art at Haarlem he went over to London, where he arrived a short time before Van Dyck’s death, in 1641, and some eight years before the execution of Charles I. In England he assimilated the Van Dyck manner, and quickly acquired a large amount of aristocratic patronage, which he successfully retained for forty years save one—so successfully that his art collection, sold after his death in 1680, fetched the (then) very large sum of nearly £26,000, a fact that offers a startling contrast to the experience of poor Rembrandt, who some twenty years earlier had been forced to keep the wolf from the door by selling at an auction a large collection of art treasures

FLEMISH PAINTING

and many of his household goods and chattels, and obtained only 5000 guilders, say about £500. Sir Peter painted countless portraits of titled folk (one of the finest is that of the third Earl of Carnarvon and his family). He seems to have flourished fairly even during the Commonwealth; but the Restoration naturally brought an immense amount of grist to his mill. The series of *Windsor Beauties* at Hampton Court—among whom are notable *Lady Bellasys*, *Miss Jane Kelleway* (as Diana), and the *Countess of Grammont*—and his very numerous works in the National Portrait Gallery—among which are the well-known *Nell Gwyn*, *Mary Davis*, *Charles II*, the *Duchess of York*, and the *Duke of Buckingham*—well show the nature and extent of the patronage that he received.¹

Besides these portraitists the Flemish school (to which the Dutchman Lely really belonged) produced at this epoch many landscape-painters, mostly Antwerp artists, who were doubtless influenced by the older work of Patinir and his pupils. In them we still see nature used chiefly as the *ambiente* of a group of human beings, or animals, or buildings on which the eye is to be focused, but there are signs of the advent of pure landscape, over which the eye may roam with undisturbed delight in the loveliness, or grandeur, of earth and sky and sea. Of these landscapists—who preceded Wilson and Gainsborough by a century or so and Constable by a century and a half—the most notable (notable only, however, as precursors of the great English landscape-painters) are Wildens (1585–1653), Uden (d. 1672), Siberechts (d. 1703), and Alexander Kerricx, who worked mostly in England. There were also some animal-painters of the school of Snyders and his imitator, Paul de Vos. Of these Jan Fyt (1611–61) developed powers of vivid and bold presentation that make his pictures of living animals, dogs and hunted

¹ In this connexion let us here note (in the sense of the Latin *notare*) a successor of Lely's in England, the German (Lübecker) Kneller, whose portraits of royal and blue-blood personages and literary and other celebrities of the Georgian era occupy a very considerable space in our National Portrait Gallery—quite reasonably, seeing that the function of that gallery is historical rather than artistic. As artist Kneller is beneath criticism. Sir Walter Armstrong puts it very mildly indeed when he calls Kneller 'the least interesting painter who ever monopolized the patronage of any society.' He does well to add that Kneller's success was 'fatal to English painting during his life.'

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

stags and boars and eagles, far truer to life and far more impressive than those of the renowned Snyders himself. He also surpassed him as a painter of what is called 'still life.'

We have now watched, almost to the fading away of its last gleams, the setting of the sun of Flemish pictorial art. The one notable painter that has yet to be mentioned was, as I have already said, more Dutch than Flemish in his choice of subjects, and in their treatment. This is David Teniers the Younger (1610-90), son of a David Teniers who was an Antwerp painter of religious pictures and peasant scenes. In 1650 the son was summoned to Brussels as court-painter to the Spanish viceroy.

Now Antwerp had, as we have seen, already produced numerous painters, such as Quentin Matsys and the Brueghels, who, turning from the Italianizers, had treated attractively burgher and peasant life. It was, however, Adriaen Brouwer (1606-38), a Fleming who had spent the greater part of his short life in Holland but his last six years in Antwerp, whose very numerous clever little pictures of brutalized boors boozing or brawling in filthy barns or taverns or hovels proved a source of inspiration for the gifted young painter now raised to a post of honour at the vice-regal court. But, whatever his innate or acquired tendencies may have been, Teniers evidently found it politic henceforth to use his gift for depicting low life in a manner attractive for decent-minded folk. We have, therefore, from his brush some very charming pictures of village life—festive scenes, such as those of the *Vogelwiese* (*Shooting at Popinjays*) and *Kirmes* (*Kirchmesse*, or *Fair*)—good examples of which are to be seen at Brussels, Munich, and Vienna (see Fig. 270). In the Louvre we have a work of Teniers of a very different character—a *Temptation of St Anthony* (Fig. 269). He seems, indeed, to have tried his hand at a great variety of subjects. Two of his imitators, Van Tilborch and Ryckaert, met with fair success. Ryckaert showed the true artistic instinct (for it was more than a matter of taste) to avoid scenes of drunken bestiality and the like, and to treat the home-life and the occupations of peasants and the *bourgeoisie* in a manner something like that of Jan Steen or Chardin. He also gives us some jovial scenes *à la Jordaeans*.

270. VILLAGE WEDDING

By David Teniers the Younger. Munich, Pinakothek

Photo Hanftaengl





271. PART OF A TRIPTYCH IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON, ATTRIBUTED TO A DUTCH (?) PAINTER WHO WORKED (c. 1520) IN DELFT

DUTCH PAINTING

The latter part of the seventeenth century had brought many troubles on the Netherlands, and in Flanders all great pictorial art died down to the root before the land recovered from the wounds it had received in the desperate struggles between the armies of Louis XIV and the Spaniards ; and ere the root could again throw out fresh growths a new disaster fell upon the country, which suffered terribly from the ferocious struggle between the Austrians (now its masters, instead of the Spanish) and the invading armies of the French republicans. Nor under Napoleonic supremacy was it less afflicted. Then, after Napoleon's fall and the arrival of the exiled French painter, Louis David (who had served both the chiefs of the Revolution and the Emperor), a short spasmodic attempt was made in Brussels to revive painting ; but it failed, and once more the art withered away, until in modern times, about 1830, a new school of Flemish painters was founded, and had begun to give some promise of excellence before the outbreak of the Great War.

(c) Dutch Painting (from c. 1500)

It will be remembered that not a few well-known Flemish painters (Van der Goes, Bouts, Gerard David, Bosch, and others) were by birth Dutchmen. For a long period after the revolt of 1568 Holland was engaged in a desperate struggle for liberty, and it is not surprising that many of her artistically gifted sons should have sought a home in a neighbouring land where art was so highly favoured by those in power and in possession of wealth, and where they might hope to find also congenial fellow-workers.¹ The practice of art in Holland, after it had won independence

¹ The relics of the Dutch primitive school which existed in the fifteenth century, evidently somewhat later than, and probably largely derived from, the school of the Van Eycks, are very rare. This is partly to be accounted for by the destructive fury of anti-Papists ; but it is probable that the number of really good artists among these Dutch primitives was comparatively small. As among the French primitives there is a painter known only as the 'Master of Moulins,' so there is a Dutch 'Master of Delft,' who seems to have worked early in the sixteenth century, and was evidently inspired by Italian, and Flemish, sacred art. A specimen of his work (Fig. 271) is in our National Gallery. It will be observed that, while the general character of this great altar-piece is Italian, the faces, figures, and dress of most of the persons are unmistakably Dutch. But whether he was Dutch is questionable.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500—c. 1820)

in State and Church, was subject to several unfavourable limitations. It is true that, if we take into consideration the innate character of the people and the nature of their country—endeared to them by the heroism with which they had rescued it from the invasions of foes and the encroachments of the ocean—we may find reasons to believe that the limitations imposed on them by a severely unaesthetic form of religion and by a republican form of polity, which kept them to a great extent aloof from other nations and from the main sources of European art, may have helped them to concentrate what artistic talents they possessed on certain homely subjects. And this may have enabled Holland to develop a native school of painting which, though it never—except in one singularly abnormal case—showed either the power or the wish to attain the higher spheres of art, has gained the sincere respect of the world by its honesty and industry and love of nature, and has occasionally won intense admiration for real genius in portraiture. The main characteristics of Dutch pictorial art are described so accurately and succinctly in the following passage that I take the liberty to borrow it from a little *Histoire de l'Art* by Professor Roux, of Paris.

Le Hollandais, pratique, raisonnable, méthodique, a un certain sens de la beauté, mais d'une beauté qui ne reflète en général aucun rêve intérieur. Il aime sa maison et la vie de famille. Aussi il s'est intéressé, en art, aux portraits et aux ‘intérieurs.’ Il a un grand sens de la vie civique, c'est pourquoi chez lui les portraits de corporations et de groupes sont si nombreux. Point de formation classique, donc point de mythologie en sa peinture; point de glorification dynastique, donc pas de tableaux ‘historiques’ ou allégoriques. Il reste près de la vérité de tous les jours. En ce pays du Nord les jeux de la lumière sont subtils; nulle école ne les connaît mieux et ne les pratique avec plus de bonheur que celle de Hollande. Mais le peuple hollandais, épris de son pays, ce qui fit naître les paysagistes, ne songea pas à le parer du grand décor architectural. De même, plus sensible à la lumière qu'à la forme, il n'eut pas de statuaire. Aussi son art se résume à peu près dans les œuvres des peintres de portraits, d'intérieur, et de nature.

DUTCH PAINTING

Somewhat in accordance with this classification I shall divide the subjects of Dutch artists into the following classes, treating Rembrandt, though in most respects *hors ligne*, under the first heading: (1) earlier portraits, not of kings and nobles, but of ordinary burghers, or republican officials, burgomasters, and 'regents' (presidents of clubs, administrators of public buildings, etc.), members of *Doelen* (*i.e.*, shooting-galleries for crossbowmen and arquebusiers), Municipal Boards, Civic Guards, and so on; (2) burghers and working people at their occupations or amusements, interiors and domestic scenes, and a few portraits; and (3) landscapes and sea-pieces.

In each of these classes there is discoverable, of course, multitudinous external variety, just as every leaf or an oak-tree differs in shape and colour and other accidentals from all the rest; but there is, if not an external, an essential similarity—a homogeneity—between pictured Dutch burgomasters or boozing boors and pictured Dutch cows and *vrouws* such as does not exist between the *Madonnas* of Raphael, and still more evidently is non-existent between, let us say, a *Madonna* of Raphael and a *Madonna* of Giovanni Bellini or Giorgione. In the realm of supreme art all is essentially differentiated. Many of the products of ordinary Dutch pictorial art seem to have that kind of homogeneity one with the other which one imagines to have prevailed in some primordial state of things before the coming of the spiritual *Noës*, which differentiated all into cosmos and dowered man with consciousness of his affinity to the divine.

As this is so—or appears to me to be so—I feel it will not be necessary to do more than discuss fairly fully a few representative painters of each class and offer a few illustrations of their work. But, as already stated, one Dutch painter stands by himself alone, above all classification. After leading up to him by noting some of his predecessors, I shall devote a considerable space to his portraits and other paintings and then treat the rest of the Dutch artists somewhat briefly under their respective headings.

Of the so-called early Dutch painters—born in the first half of the sixteenth century, or even in the last decades of

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

the fifteenth, and therefore from fifty to a hundred years before Rembrandt—it is, as we have seen, often difficult to say whether they should be regarded as belonging to the Dutch or the Flemish school. Some writers, among whom is Kugler, class the Dutchman Engelbrechtsz (1468–1533) among the degenerate Flemish painters of the late fifteenth century, although he was born at Leyden, and is said to have introduced oil-painting there, and although in this city is his only authenticated work (a large altar-piece), and although he was a teacher of his fellow-townsman, Luc Jacobsz, commonly known as Lucas van Leyden, whom most authorities regard as one of the first genuine Dutch painters, and that too in spite of the facts that he worked for years in Antwerp and knew Quentin Matsys and probably formed his style after that of the Antwerpian master.

A few paintings by this Lucas van Leyden exist. Among them are a large *Last Judgment* at Leyden, of which Kugler uses the words ‘strikingly poor,’ ‘flat and weak,’ and so on; a much more successful smaller work (evidently inspired by such paintings of Matsys as the *Banker and his Wife*) called *A Card-party*, with nine figures, cleverly designed (Wilton House); a *Crucifixion* (Munich); and an *Adoration of the Magi*, in our King’s collection.¹ It will be seen, therefore, that, whether we regard this painter as belonging to the early Dutch or to the early sixteenth-century Flemish school, he is in no wise to be regarded as a precursor of Rembrandt, nor of Frans Hals, the greatest of the group of early Dutch portraitists who preceded Rembrandt.

(1) Earlier Portraitists and Rembrandt

The names of some of these numerous early Dutch portraitists are Teunissen (of whom works dated 1533 and 1557 exist); Barentsz (1534–92), who, like many Netherland artists of the sixteenth century, studied in Italy (perhaps under Titian); Aert Pietersz (1550–1612), some big pictures by whom are in the Rijks Museum at

¹ The Munich *Crucifixion* shows very distinctly that he was also influenced by Italianizers, such as Mabuse. He was a really skilful engraver (inspired doubtless by Dürer, who was in the Netherlands in 1522), but coarse-minded in conception.



272. PORTRAIT OF A LADY

By Ravesteyn

Brussels Museum

Photoglob

356



273. BANQUET OF ST HADRIAN'S CROSSBOWMEN

By Frans Hals

Haarlem

Photo Giraudon

DUTCH PAINTING

Amsterdam ; Michael van Miereveldt of Delft (1567-1641) ; and Jan Ravesteyn (1572, or 1580, to 1657), whose largest paintings are at The Hague, his native city, and are (as their names show) very similar in subject to the better-known and unquestionably much more skilfully constructed and powerfully painted works of Frans Hals. The titles of some of these paintings by Ravesteyn are *The Civic Guard leaving the Doelen*, *A Banquet of the Town Council* (1618), and *The Officers of the Civic Guard* (1638). His portraits, if not so powerful as those of Hals and Rembrandt, show more refinement. Specimens are to be seen at Amsterdam, Berlin, and Munich. (Two were destroyed by fire at Rotterdam.) The beautiful *Portrait of a Lady*, of which I give a reproduction, is in the Brussels Museum.

Frans Hals the Elder (so called, rather needlessly, to distinguish him from a son who copied his father's works, and painted, apparently, a little better than any of his four brothers) was born, probably in 1584, at Antwerp, whither his parents, who were Dutch, natives of Haarlem, had migrated some five years before. About 1616 Frans left Antwerp and settled in Haarlem, where he spent practically all the rest of his long life—a life said to have been notorious for disreputable habits. But so impressed were his fellow-citizens by his almost Rubens-like mastery as an artist, and probably also by his geniality, that he was elected to many posts of honour. He died in 1666. He was therefore a contemporary of Rubens for about fifty-six years and of Rembrandt for about sixty. The nature of almost all his paintings may be learnt from the example given as illustration. The subjects of his chief works are very similar to those already mentioned in connexion with Ravesteyn, namely banquets and groups of members of various *Doelen*, or of officers of the Arquebusiers, or of the Civic Guard, etc. One, of the 'regents' and 'regentes' (governors and lady managers) of the hospital for the aged, in which he is said to have died, has a pathetic interest. All these paintings are at Haarlem, besides various smaller portraits, e.g., one of the Burgomaster of Haarlem, and two pictures painted by him when over eighty years of age. He has

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

also left a portrait of himself and his second wife (in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam), and the *Portrait of Hille Bobbe*, a Haarlem fishwife (Berlin), which reminds one of Hogarth's *Shrimp Girl* (Fig. 354). At Amsterdam and elsewhere there are other such quasi-humorous studies of his: e.g., *The Toper*, *The Madman*, and *The Laughing Peasant*; and in the Wallace Collection is the well-known *Laughing Cavalier*.

One can easily imagine the pride and exaltation of spirit with which the Dutch of this era were feeling more and more assured of that republican freedom for which they had so long and so desperately striven, and it is not surprising that a very large demand should have arisen for this sort of painting. One can also imagine how each one of these jovial, boisterous, somewhat wine-heated, and aggressively self-important arquebusiers and officers of the guard would try to bulk large in the picture, and how every 'regent' in a group would after the banquet assume his most impressive attitude—'in fair round belly with good capon lined'—and his most impressive mien—'with eyes severe and beard of formal cut'—so as to live for posterity as one of the heroes of the rise of the Dutch republic.

But there was not only a demand for such paintings as Ravesteyn and Hals usually supplied. Religious pictures were also to some small extent in request—not, of course, such as were produced in vast quantities by the Italians and Flemish, but homely scenes, of ordinary Netherlandish type, both as to persons and surroundings; and the same desire of being portrayed for the benefit of posterity which created so large a demand for the work of Ravesteyn and Hals gave occupation also to Dutch painters of sacred subjects, seeing that even the sternest anti-Papists often felt themselves flattered when introduced, under a thin disguise, in Biblical scenes, even if only as passive spectators.¹

* * * * *

We now pass on to Rembrandt,² who was born, near

¹ The practice of introducing 'donors' as spectators was, as every one knows, very common in Italian and Flemish sacred art. But in some Dutch religious pictures the burgomaster and the *vrouw* are to be discovered in the sacred personages themselves.

² Rembrandt belongs, of course, to the class of portrait-painters, and may best be treated here, though he was much besides a portraitist. I should note

DUTCH PAINTING

Leyden, in 1606, some twenty-two years after Hals, and lived till 1669. At Leyden he studied painting under various masters, but he was wiser than his teachers and went his own way, and ere long settled as painter at Amsterdam. Malicious writers have tried to make out that he lived a loose life and associated with drunkards, but his character has been cleared, and it has been proved that he was intimate with most respectable officials and literary persons, and, in 1633, married (the first of three wives) a burgomaster's daughter, Saskia van Ulenburch, whose pleasant homely face is known to those who have visited the Zwinger Picture-gallery in Dresden, where hangs the famous *Rembrandt with his Wife on his Knee*. (A better portrait of her, in profile, is to be seen at Cassel.) In later years Rembrandt lost his popularity as painter because he had abandoned his realistic, Dutch, unimaginative style and had passed into a higher sphere of art, entirely beyond the range of the sympathies of his fellow-countrymen. Influential patrons, such as he had delighted by the portraits in his *Lesson in Anatomy* of 1632 and his *Night Watch* of 1642, deserted him; all Saskia's four children died early, and she herself died in 1642; he became a bankrupt, and had to sell his valuable collection of pictures (some by Giorgione and Palma, as is proved by the extant inventory), together with many of his other possessions, including seventy of his own paintings and all his etchings. But he went on courageously, trusting to the lodestar of his genius and assured of reaching, whenever it might be, a glorious haven.¹

What was admired and desired by Rembrandt's fellow-

here also two painters who were partial contemporaries of Hals and Rembrandt, namely Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp (1575, or 1595, to c. 1652) and Thomas de Keyser. This Cuyp was father to the more famous Albert Cuyp, whom we shall meet later. Numerous portraits once attributed to him are perhaps by De Keyser, but his landscapes, several of which are at Munich, are now recognized as notable. He transformed, says Crowe, the minute and dry method of the Brils and the Brueghels into a broader and warmer imitation of nature. The same well-known art critic gives high praise to De Keyser as a portraitist, affirming that he was scarcely inferior to Hals. In the National Gallery there is a *Merchant and Clerk* by him. Among the Dutch Italianizers of this period was the popular Gerard von Honthorst, called by the Italians Gherardo delle Notti because of his many lamplight pictures in which he obtained exaggerated Caravaggio-like effects.

¹ *Se tu segui tua stella
Non puoi fallire a glorioso porto.*

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

countrymen, besides the satisfaction of having portraits of themselves and their mates, and mementos of jovial meetings, was just that which also for us is attractive in Dutch art—in its portraiture and landscape and especially in the portrayal of domestic life—namely wonderful perfection in imitative execution, as well as a homely and affectionate sincerity, which often touches the heart and excites sympathy. What is lacking is just that which, whatever one may call it—soul, inspiration, imagination, revelation—makes a painting a vital entirety, a living creation.¹ In many an old and naïve Italian pre-Raphaelite painting, and in some old Flemish paintings, we find very great skill in *coloris* and wondrous detail together with this indefinable *tertia vis* which is so conspicuous by its absence in most Dutch pictures. Rembrandt's early work attracted, as did the work of Ravesteyn and Hals, those who did not expect, or desire, in a painting what he offered them in his later work—less meticulous elaboration, less smoothness, less contrast of colours, but more real mastery over form and expression and wondrous success in the intimation of that which in a human being we call the real character, or the soul. This change may be observed in the two portraits that I have chosen as illustrations (Figs. 278, 279). In his masterpieces he adopted gradually more and more a broad and bold touch and rich golden-brown tones, merging into deep reds, and a strong chiaroscuro—characteristics which are associated in one's mind with his name; and more and more his work became inspired with imagination of the noblest kind—not mere fancy, such as in Flemish art was inclined to degenerate into grotesqueness and *Spuk*, but a strong, yet self-controlled, poetic imagination not unlike that of Milton.

The paintings attributed to Rembrandt number about 550. Many are in private hands. Only about thirty have remained in his native land, but among these are some which are regarded as the finest, although it may be doubted whether any are, in the highest sense of the words, greater as works of art than his *Pilgrims of Emmaus* and *Offering of Manoah*.

¹ 'He who wishes to understand or to describe anything,' says Goethe in *Faust*, 'first tries to expel the life. Then he has got the parts in his hand. The only thing lacking is the spiritual bond.'



274. A LESSON IN ANATOMY
By Rembrandt. See p. 361. *The Hague*



275. 'THE NIGHT WATCH'
By Rembrandt. See p. 361. *Amsterdam*
Photos Photoglob



276. THE PILGRIMS OF EMMAUS

By Rembrandt. *Louvre*

Photo Giraudon



277. THE OFFERING OF MANOAH

Part of the picture. By Rembrandt. *Dresden*

Photo Mansell

DUTCH PAINTING

Some of the most admired of his works are the following :¹

The rather gruesome *Lesson in Anatomy* (Fig. 274), painted in 1632, and now at The Hague, is a 'regent' picture, evidently ordered by the professor and other members of the Amsterdam Guild, or College, of Surgeons.² Also the so-called *Night Watch*, painted ten years later, probably represents the members of a guild (corporation) sallying forth from, or on their way to, their *Doelen*. A considerably later (1661) work of similar character, in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, shows the governors of the Guild of Steelworkers. Rembrandt's treatment of Biblical subjects naturally accords with the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church, inclining to the realistic rather than to the supernatural, to the rational rather than the ecstatic; but at the same time it shows reverence and profound feeling. In some cases his realism induced him, perhaps unfortunately, to use as models the so-called Jews of Amsterdam. Among his Biblical paintings are a *Descent from the Cross* (1633), now at Munich, notable for its colours and its chiaroscuro; *Christ and the Magdalene*, in the collection of our King (1638); and another *Descent* and *Christ and the Adulteress* (1644), in the National Gallery. In the Louvre there are many of his works, including *Tobit and the Angel*, *La Sainte Famille, ou Le Ménage du Menuisier* (1640), a *Good Samaritan* and *The Pilgrims of Emmaus* (both of 1648). At Dresden there is the fine *Offering of Manoah*, besides the portrait of Rembrandt with his wife, and the grimly humorous *Ganymede*—a picture of a fat, ugly, terrified, squalling little boy being carried off by an eagle. Among his oil-paintings must also be mentioned portraits of himself, at different ages, and other exceedingly fine portraits, of which the National Gallery possesses several. Lastly, Rembrandt's drawings, of which about 1500 are extant, show an amazing dexterity in producing with a few strokes what gives as satisfying an impression as a completely finished work. As etcher he is held to be absolutely supreme. In this department, as Kugler remarks, even more than in that of painting, he stands alone. The magical effects of chiaroscuro that he produces in his etchings (of which some 250 are extant) are said to be such as no other artist has ever attained. Some of the best of these etchings are landscapes with most wonderful effects of light and shade; others show Biblical subjects, such as *The Raising of Lazarus*, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, *The Healing of the Sick*, and an *Ecce Homo*—a most powerfully conceived and (considering the means at an etcher's disposal) a most amazingly realized dramatic presentation of the scene of Christ before Pilate. Though one may feel repelled by the odiously ignoble types of humanity here perpetuated (and the Christ himself has not even the dignity of an ordinary innocent man), one cannot but allow that this etching is one of the most impressively dramatic creations of pictorial art. It proves that, had Rembrandt possessed the very essential sense of beauty and nobility in the 'human form divine,' he might have been a supreme artist.

¹ An interesting specimen of his rare landscape-paintings, the so-called *Ideal Landscape*, is in the Wallace Collection.

² At Amsterdam there was another, different, but equally gruesome, *Anatomical Lecture*; but the greater part of it was destroyed by a fire in 1723.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

(2) Post-Rembrandt *Genre* Painters and Portraitists

Rembrandt had numerous pupils (most of whom he is said to have penned up, each alone, in attic rooms) and a good many other imitators. All these I shall note under the headings to which their works mainly belong, mentioning the portraitists as they fit in most conveniently. And, as the object of this book will not necessitate the inclusion of any but a few of the best representatives of the homogeneous groups into which Dutch painting, after the days of Rembrandt, divides itself by natural cleavage, the reader will be saved the wearisome task of wedging his way through the dense and knotty growth of the innumerable names and productions of painters who have had no discernible influence on the evolution of anything great in pictorial art.

Of the Dutch artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who may be placed in our second class—which includes so-called *genre* painters—those dealt with on pp. 364-366 are probably the best representatives. The class contains, of course, many varieties, and some of these (as varieties among flowers of the same species) show remarkable accidental divergences from the normal; but, in spite of the fact that rare varieties of Dutch paintings have at times changed owners at prices even higher than those ever attained by Dutch tulips, it may be safely asserted that, with the exception of Rembrandt's best works and a few fine landscapes, Dutch pictures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—whether they represent burgomasters or bulls, or dames playing the clavichord, or reading a letter, or feeding a parrot, or opening a window, or making lace, or selling fish—all occupy very much the same, somewhat lowly, position as works of art, and have intrinsically such close affinity that one may, I think, to some extent act up to the maxim *Ex una discē omnes*.

It will be noticed that not a few of the artists first mentioned in the following list were contemporaries, and some of them pupils, of Rembrandt. Most of these endeavoured to adopt his manner; but scarce one proved able to do more than imitate, feebly at the best, certain obvious external characteristics; scarce one seems to have duly appreciated his mastery over form, or his dramatic power,



279. PORTRAIT OF AN OLD LADY (?)

By Rembrandt

later work
London, National Gallery



278. FRANÇOISE VAN WASSERHOVEN (?)

By Rembrandt; early work
London, National Gallery

Photo Mansell



280. 'THE PEACE OF MÜNSTER'

Congress for the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. By Gerard Ter Borch. See pp. 364, 378, 425

London, National Gallery

DUTCH PAINTING

or his high imagination. What appealed to them as mere painters was his treatment of light and shade.

One of the wonderful gifts of a great artist is the power of giving an impression of diffused light. We may note this luminosity in not a few older Italian painters, and it is conspicuous in many pictures of Rubens. It was a cheaply won success when painters such as Correggio, and then Caravaggio and his followers (whose influence proved very widespread and deleterious), used all kinds of artifices in order to produce vivid effects by introducing a strong beam of natural or artificial¹ light into a dimly illuminated, sometimes scarcely visible, scene. This capturing of sunlight, or lamplight, and using it for striking effects was a trick that took the fancy of a people living in a dank and foggy land. They loved to see, in pictures as in reality, a ray of sunshine entering some room and illuminating smiling faces, or forming a path of light across the floor, or touching into radiance things of glass and polished wood and metal. Rembrandt's mastery over light and shadow confirmed these tendencies in Dutch pictorial art, and many artists who in other respects were apparently untouched by his influence seem to have derived from him, or to have shared with him, a devotion to the study of the play of sunlight and of lamplight amidst sombre surroundings. These were especially the so-called *genre* painters, and of these *genre* painters the following somewhat bare list mainly consists.

It has already been told (p. 352) how the great Flemish painter of peasant life, Teniers the Younger, was influenced by Brouwer, a depicter of what one may justly term low life—for he seems to have chosen for preference such subjects as boozing or drunken boors. This Brouwer, though a Fleming by birth, worked during his earlier years at Haarlem, perhaps as a pupil of Frans Hals, and also at Amsterdam, and some regard him as the originator of the seventeenth-century school of Dutch *genre* painters. This may be so. But I prefer to class him with Teniers and to omit him here.

¹ In Correggio's picture known as *La Notte* the light, as all know, emanates from the divine Child. Some Netherlandish painters gained great popularity by their pictures of lamplit scenes. One of the most successful was Honthorst, or Gherardo delle Notti, as the Italians called him. His really fine *Christ before the High Priest* is in our National Gallery.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Jan Levers, of Leyden, and at Antwerp (1607-63). Friend of Rembrandt. In England painted portraits of the royal family (1630). Treatment of sacred subjects 'thoroughly *genre*' (Kugler). *Isaac blessing Jacob* (Berlin) shows much dignity in typical Jewish face of patriarch. *Visitation* (Louvre). Portraits at Amsterdam and Munich. Bakker, of Harlingen, and at Amsterdam (1608-51). Portraits and historical subjects. Studied under Rembrandt. Works at Amsterdam, Brunswick, and Dresden. Terburg, or Ter Borch, born at Zwolle, 1608; studied at Haarlem; visited France, Germany, and Spain; settled at Deventer, where he died in 1681. Regarded as first Dutch *genre* artist who chose more 'respectable' subjects than those favoured by Brouwer and, too often, by Teniers—e.g., flirtations and correspondence between well-groomed officers and young ladies (The Hague, Louvre, Berlin, Munich, Amsterdam). His portraits are usually painted on a small scale. (Fig. 280 painted during a visit to Münster at the time of the Congress assembled for signing the Peace of Westphalia, 1648.) Praised for his 'highly delicate but not over-smooth execution' (Kugler), and for his skill in imitating rich apparel, especially white satin. Adriaen Janz (1610-85), self-named Van Ostade (perhaps from a hamlet now called Ostedt), was born at Haarlem, where he became a pupil of Hals and perhaps a fellow-pupil of Brouwer, but seemingly was much influenced by Rembrandt in treatment of light and by Ter Borch in choice of 'respectable' *genre* subjects—e.g., *Rural Concert* (Madrid), himself in his *Painter's Studio* (Dresden), *Alchemist* (National Gallery), *Itinerant Fiddler* (Fig. 281). Nearly 400 of his works are extant, many in private English galleries. As etcher almost rivals Rembrandt in skilful chiaroscuro. Adriaen's younger brother and pupil, Isaac van Ostade (died in 1649, when only twenty-eight years old), failed to rival him in this kind of *genre*, but developed great skill in depicting scenes of peasant and bourgeois life in the midst of landscapes which by their luminous atmospheric effects and the mastery shown in design and rich colouring give this artist a place among the best of the Dutch landscape-painters. His work was justly in great request among owners of private collections in England, where most of his best paintings are to be (not easily) discovered. One of his favourite subjects was an ice scene with skaters, etc. In a very well designed and executed picture he shows the *Seashore of Scheveningen*, with fisher-folk selling their catch. Van der Helst (c. 1613-70), perhaps of Haarlem. Settled at Amsterdam. Evidently a follower of Frans Hals, as proved by his *Banquet of the Amsterdam Bowmen* (commemorating the Peace of Westphalia in 1648). This great picture hangs opposite to Rembrandt's so-called *Night Watch* in the Rijks Museum, but resembles much more the *Doelen* and 'regent' pictures of Hals. Another, once still more famous, painting of the same nature, in the same gallery, has been, it is said, ruined by careless cleaning.

Gerard Dou, or Dow (1613-75), of Leyden, studied for a short time under Rembrandt, but soon followed his natural bent and became first a portraitist and then an expert in depicting what one may call little incidents, domestic, sentimental, or other, of the 'trivial round.' His pictures, mostly small, show indescribably minute finish. (He is said to have spent three days in elaborating his painting of a broomstick.) His works enjoyed very great popularity. They number about 200. Some of them are *Old Woman reading*



281. LE MÉNÉTRIER (THE FIDDLER)

By Adriaen van Ostade. *The Hague*

Photoglob



282. LANDSCAPE WITH CATTLE

By Albert Cuyp. See p. 369. *London, National Gallery*



283. 'GRACE BEFORE MEAT'

By Jan Steen
London, National Gallery

DUTCH PAINTING

Bible, *Maid-servant pouring Milk into Basin*, *Greengrocer-woman serving Buyers* (these all in Louvre); *Scene in Poulterer's Shop* (National Gallery); *Evening School*, a fine candlelight scene (Rijks Museum); *A Woman picking Grapes at Open Window* (Hague); and numerous scenes in which the family doctor or dentist takes a part. One of these—the *Woman Sick of the Dropsy* (Louvre)—is regarded as his masterpiece. He had a *penchant* for depicting hermits. Of these there are several examples extant. Of his skill in portraiture his own likeness in our National Gallery is a good specimen.

Dou's popularity was great, and, as was natural, he had many imitators. Of these **Metsu**, of Leyden (c. 1630–67), chose subjects similar to those of Dou, such as *The Officer and the Young Lady* (Louvre), *The Chemist* (Louvre), *The Lace-makers* and *The Poulterers* (Dresden), and *The Music Lesson* (National Gallery); but he shared Ter Borch's *penchant* for finely dressed people, and is prized for the richness and harmonies of the colours that he used in depicting apparel. A rather successful, somewhat later, imitator of Dou was **Frans van Mieris**, of Delft (1635–81). Among his popular productions was *A Doctor feeling a Lady's Pulse* (Vienna) and *A Lady fainting in Front of a Doctor* (Munich) and *A Boy blowing Soap-bubbles* (Hague). His dramatic picture of a tinker holding a big saucepan up to the light, to discover its leak, in the presence of an anxious housewife (Dresden) is really clever.

Eckhout, of Amsterdam (1621–74), a prolific pupil of Rembrandt, treated both *genre* and Biblical subjects, and produced many portraits. His paintings, we are told by Professor Springer, frequently bear the name of his teacher. They are fairly common. Good examples are *Ruth and Boaz* (Rotterdam), *The Adulteress* (Amsterdam), and *Jairus' Daughter* (Berlin). **Hoogstraten**, of Dordrecht (1628–78), another pupil of Rembrandt's, was a wanderer, spending years in Italy and in London. He produced many *genre* pictures and portraits. One of the best is (like Dou's masterpiece) *A Sick Woman and a Doctor* (Amsterdam).

Another, younger, pupil of Rembrandt who took to *genre* and portraiture was **Nicolaes Maes** (1632–93). He and the three following painters form a group of artists whose work raised Dutch *genre* painting to a higher level. Instead of merely meticulously imitated pots and pans and broomsticks, and interiors with, often solitary, persons engaged in somewhat trivial occupations, such as, with a few most refreshing exceptions (e.g., the two Ostades), the earlier *genre* painters give us, we find at last some real human character, and not seldom a 'touch of nature' which arouses feelings of respect and affection, or admiration, or sometimes amusement. A good specimen of the work of Maes is his *Idle Servants*, of which there is a version in our National Gallery. (Maes is regarded by Kugler as a master in colour harmony and contrasts. Of one of his pictures he says 'the art with which the cool harmony of broken colour finds its contrast with the red—from the girl's petticoat in the foreground to a house in the landscape—is perfectly admirable.' Such remarks raise questions analogous to that of *nature choisie*. One may wonder whether a blue petticoat would have necessitated a different scheme of colours in the landscape.) Some six years senior to Maes was **Jan Steen**, of Leyden (c. 1626–73), of all Dutch *genre* painters perhaps the one who appeals most strongly to many, especially to those who understand children, demure or

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

frolicsome. In his *Grace before Meat* (Fig. 283)—a picture evidently imitated by Chardin in his well-known *Benedicite* (Fig. 212)—and in many others of his works, where, for instance, schoolboys are playing tricks while their fat old master is dozing, or are ‘ragging’ at a beanfeast, he shows childhood and boyhood in various aspects. But his geniality—attributable partly perhaps to the fact that he was the ‘jolly landlord’ of a tavern besides being a painter—is shown by the humour of many of his (over 200) extant works in which jovial scenes are depicted. In the Hague Gallery is his picture of himself and his family—all teeming with jollity—and an oyster feast with about twenty figures, which painting for some abstruse reason is called *A Representation of Human Life*. Steen on rare occasions attempted Biblical subjects. At Brussels, in private hands, is his *Marriage at Cana*, and in the Leyden Museum his *Laban searching for his Images*. Two-thirds of his paintings are said to be in England.

The last two artists of this class whom I shall mention are a Delft painter, **Pieter de Hooch** (born about 1629), and **Jan Vermeer** (b. 1632). They are both highly prized nowadays, especially in England, on account of their great skill in ‘painting light and air.’ Their choice of subjects may be inferred from such titles as Hooch’s *Dutch Cabin* (Munich) and *Interior of a Dutch House* and *Courtyard of a Dutch House* (National Gallery), and from the fact that Vermeer, though he was at first under the influence of Rembrandt (he was born near Rotterdam, and probably studied at Haarlem), came later to Delft and adopted methods and subjects not unlike those of Hooch. In most instances he gives us scenes in small rooms lighted by casements. ‘Sometimes,’ we are told, ‘it is the painter himself in an elegant studio, sometimes a girl smiling at her lover, or a maiden touching a harpsichord, or weighing pearls,’ and so on.

(3) Landscapes and Sea-pieces

I have used a wide-meshed net for securing only really important specimens of the countless Dutch portraitists and *genre* artists, and I shall not let down a finer amidst the multitudinous school of landscape-, marine, and animal-painters. Indeed, I think we may content ourselves with a still less numerous catch, seeing that landscapes and animal life in Holland offer no such great variety of subject as can be found in the human face and form (even when not divine) and in human character and human interests—not to mention human apparel.¹ Some of the limitations to which Dutch pictorial art was subject have been already noted, and it has been suggested that they were probably a blessing in disguise, for they induced the Dutch burgher

¹ It is sometimes suggested that the love of many Dutch painters for brilliant colouring, often evident in portraiture and *genre* pictures, and sometimes in landscape, may have been due to Holland’s connexion with tropical lands through its maritime ascendancy and its colonies.

DUTCH PAINTING

to value, and the Dutch painter to paint, pictures that, however lacking (as a whole) in imaginative sublimity and some other essentials of great works of art, were at any rate genuine native products and probably the best (speaking generally) that under any conditions Dutch artistic talent could have turned out. And as for landscape- and animal-painting, it seems questionable whether, in either case, what is grandly wild is a more inspiring subject for art than what is tame, familiar, and endeared. Turner's versatile genius has proved this, perhaps, for some of us in the case of landscape. And, in passing, we may note that Turner's comparatively rare representations of really wild nature, such as those of the higher Alps, do indeed prove that he was one of the few cases of a great artist, or great poet, feeling an instinctive attraction toward the grandeur and mighty forces of untamed nature, but also prove that he evidently found a delight in the subjugation of nature by humanity, even when helped by the devil to bridge some terrific chasm. Art and poetry seem alike to shrink from the objective presentation of genuinely 'pure nature' in landscape. It is almost non-existent in older European art,¹ as also in poetry. The great Roman poets evidently shrank from the very thought of high mountains—though Virgil gives us pictures of storms and the furious flood of the Eridanus. Dante shrinks from Alpine precipices and ravines and glacier-fields, and although he too describes with a fierce delight tempests and raging floods it is always the human interest in his pictures that wins one's attention. Even Wordsworth's passionate love for nature as found in the English lake-scenery is intensely subjective, and dies away into something like a shudder when he finds himself amidst the wild grandeur of an Alpine pass. Schiller has given us in his *Wilhelm Tell* some fine pictures of wild Alpine scenery, and Byron found inspiration amidst the Alps for magnificent outbursts of poetical rhetoric, and in his address to the ocean glorifies its exultant contempt of the powerlessness of man; but amidst the storm of his eloquence we

¹ Indeed, it is not easily found in most European countries. Salvator Rosa had a *penchant* toward 'pure nature,' but Italy could afford him very little material.

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

cannot help thinking of the Lucretian *Dulce mari magno*, or of the Horatian *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*, and imagining the poet of *Childe Harold*, or of the *Carmina*, inditing his stanzas in a comfortable garden-chair, with a bottle of claret, or a cyathus of Falernian, at hand.

But, to return to Dutch landscapes, it is probably fortunate that these Dutch artists as a rule limited themselves patriotically to the scenery of their native land and to the products of their farmyards, stables, and kennels—extending their licence seldom even to their woods and marshes. At any rate we have here something honestly genuine—something better than menagerie art.¹ In connexion with this question of native and exotic landscape one may note, with some surprise, that, although Holland was a great maritime power and had tropical colonies, there is (except perhaps in the above-mentioned occasional brilliance in colouring) almost no sign of the influence of exotic scenery in seventeenth-century Dutch art. The only case known to me is that of Everdingen (1621–75), who was wrecked on the Norwegian coast, and ever afterward displayed a great fondness for depicting Norwegian fiords, mountains, and pine-forests. Ruysdael, though probably without similar experiences, now and then gives us what may be a glimpse of Scandinavian scenery.

The following are perhaps the most important Dutch landscape- and animal-painters of the seventeenth century. It will be remembered that the Flemings were the first to paint numerous pictures in which natural scenery (hitherto used almost exclusively for backgrounds, often crowded with diminutive figures of men and animals) began to form the principal subject. Patinir and Bles preceded the Dutch landscape-artists by a full century, and Paul Bril was born more than seventy years before Jacob van Ruysdael. It was from Flanders, if from anywhere, that Dutch, and perhaps also English, landscape-painting was derived. But in art, if not in nature, spontaneous generation seems a possibility—or perhaps one may better intimate the truth by some such word as re-creation.

¹ To discuss the achievements of photography in 'snapshotting' and 'filming' wild animal life would take me far beyond the scope of these volumes.



284. 'COUP DE SOLEIL'

By Ruisdael. *Louvre*

Photo Giraudon



285. 'COUP DE CANON'

By Willem van de Velde. See p. 370

London, Wallace Collection



286. THE AVENUE
By Hobbema. See p. 370
London, National Gallery
Photo Mansell



287. VILLAGE WITH WATER-MILLS
By Hobbema. See p. 370
London, National Gallery

DUTCH PAINTING

Jan van Goyen, of Leyden (1596–1656), is generally regarded as the first important Dutch painter of landscapes, and as the one whose somewhat matter-of-fact and prosaic treatment of Dutch scenery was—one knows not whether fortunately or unfortunately—adopted by many later and more skilful artists. There are pictures by him in the Louvre and at Amsterdam. He was a contemporary of that Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp, already mentioned, whose son, **Albert Cuyp** (1605–91), was certainly one of the most gifted of the group that we are considering. Besides being notable as a painter of animals, especially cattle and sheep (in which subject he was accepted as a master by his younger contemporary, the still more famous **Paul Potter**), Albert Cuyp shows great skill, as landscapist, in the treatment of light, almost rivalling Claude le Lorrain, although his paler, mist-veiled sunshine is very different from the golden glow of Claude's Italian evening skies. (In pictures of golden or even pale yellowish luminosity, such as those of Claude and Cuyp, and as Ruysdael's *Coup de Soleil* (Fig. 284), photography too often fills the scene with a murky fog which seems to belie one's descriptions.) **Philip de Koninck**, or **Koninck**, of Amsterdam (1616–89), may here be noted in passing as an early Dutch landscapist highly praised by some writers. Kugler calls his paintings very attractive for their surprising truth in the presentation of nature and for the sense of space that they convey, as well as for their warm and clear colouring. **Philip Wouwerman**, of Haarlem (1619–68), is more famed for the cleverly painted figures in his landscapes than for the landscapes themselves, which, however, in spite of Ruskin's severe criticisms, are sometimes attractive. He gives us both men and animals, especially men on horses—among them often one or more conspicuous white horses—engaged in hunting, cavalry skirmishes, and so on. His extant works number about 800. There are about sixty at Dresden. **Jacob van Ruysdael**, of Haarlem (c. 1628–70), was the son of Salomon van Ruysdael, a gifted landscape-painter and pupil of Van Goyen. He worked in Amsterdam as well as in his native city, where, it is said, he died in destitution. Of all seventeenth-century Dutch landscape-painters he was the only one at all highly endowed with a poetic feeling for nature—but this feeling was somewhat shrouded in a veil of melancholy. Even when illuminated by a *coup de soleil*, as in our illustration, his work—although it may not be of the nature of the gloomily desolate Dresden picture of a *Jewish Cemetery*, made more desolate by a distant rainbow—is apt to remind one of Wordsworth:

Clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober colouring from an eye
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.

Somebody—I cannot say who first did so—has given Jacob van Ruysdael the rather appropriate name of 'the Melancholy Jacques of painting.' His extant works are very numerous. Fine specimens are to be seen in the Louvre and at The Hague, Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and Amsterdam. Many are in private British galleries. The National Gallery possesses over a dozen. In some he used the co-operation of other artists. In the very fine Dresden picture called *A Stag Hunt*, for instance, the hunters and animals are the work of **Adriaen van de Velde**. This talented artist, born at Amsterdam in 1639, died there at the early age of thirty-two. Even

THE NETHERLANDS (c. 1500-c. 1820)

as a boy of fourteen he had won a distinguished place among painters of animals, both domesticated and wild. He also developed conspicuous skill in landscape-painting, generally choosing the scenery of the sea-coast, or else a frozen expanse with skaters—a fairly common subject, as might be expected, with Dutch painters. One of his skating scenes, in the Dresden Gallery, seems to have inspired Lancret's *Winter* (Fig. 209), but the natural surroundings are decidedly finer than in the work of the much later French artist. Adriaen's paintings, of which he left a large number (nearly 200) in spite of his short life, were highly prized, and can be found in many Continental galleries. Our National Gallery possesses about six, and there are as many in the royal collection. His elder brother, **Willem van de Velde** (1633-1707), was probably the best of Dutch marine artists. He, like Claude, was fond of picturing the sea in its calmer moods, whereas his contemporary, **Ludolf Backhuysen**, preferred to depict its storm-tossed waters. Willem and his father, also named Willem, spent the latter part of their lives (from 1677) in England, mostly at Greenwich. The father was a skilful marine draughtsman, and received a pension of £100 from Charles II and James II 'for making draughts of sea-fights'; which draughts the son, at a like pension, was required to 'put into colours.' Now some eleven years before settling at Greenwich and painting his father's sketches of British naval victories the younger Willem had been present at the naval victory of De Ruyter over the British fleet—a calamity that took place in the same year as the still greater disaster of the Fire of London (1666); and in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam there are two pictures by him of this battle, in one of which he has represented himself as present in an open boat. Whether or not this fact was known to his English patrons, royal and other, it seems to have made little difference in the popularity that Van de Velde's paintings have enjoyed, and still enjoy, amongst us. Of the many that are to be seen (not always easily) in private hands as well as in public galleries perhaps the most impressive is the large picture (7 ft. 7 in. × 5 ft. 6 in.) called *Shipping in a Calm*, or, more appropriately, *Le Coup de Canon* (Fig. 285), which is now, fortunately, in the national Wallace Collection at Hertford House.

The last representative that I shall mention of this group of Dutch landscape and marine artists is **Hobbema**, of Amsterdam (1638-1709), a contemporary of Jacob van Ruysdael, from whom he differs in some important points. He certainly does not show any such profound poetic feeling for nature, but he takes delight in skies less obscured by massive rain-clouds and in light not limited to *coups de soleil* but diffused in luminous expanses flecked with silvered or fleecy and translucent cloudlets. In this respect Hobbema may well be compared with the English master of cloudland scenery, Constable—although it is held by some high authorities that the not very well known Amsterdam painter, **Jan van de Cappelle**, the junior of Hobbema by about thirteen years, surpassed both the painter of *The Haywain* and the painter of *The Avenue*. The last-named picture (Fig. 286) scarcely does justice to Hobbema's best qualities, but, in spite of its presentation of a very thoroughly subjugated specimen of nature, it has assuredly something in it that appeals strongly to what Wordsworth calls our 'essential' affections.

PART VI

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

PRELIMINARY

IN the general account of the Romanesque and Gothic eras given in the first volume I have noted some of the principal German cathedrals and the beginnings of German pictorial art. It will be remembered that in Central Europe, as in other countries to the north and west of Italy, architecture attained a high development long before the appearance of what one generally means by ‘pictorial art.’

It is true that rare specimens of primitive mural decoration have been discovered, and it is also true that the art of miniature-painting, derived probably from the Alexandrines, was introduced by Byzantines and by early Benedictines into North-western Christendom, and found its way from England and Ireland, together with Christianity, into regions of Central Europe which in later days constituted the main part of the German dominions of Charlemagne.¹

But neither in respect of civilization nor of art can we regard as one country the vast central part of Europe, whose heterogeneous peoples from time to time have been grouped together, more or less loosely, into confederations or empires. Those regions which came under the

¹ We have noted Dante's allusion to the French illuminators of manuscripts. A much earlier mention of the art of miniature occurs in the *Nibelungenlied*, which, though not composed until about 1200, is probably founded on documents far older, perhaps dating from the era of Attila or Theoderic (450 or 500). A very beautiful picture is given by the poet when he is describing the first meeting of Kriemhild and Siegfried. He likens her to ‘the moon outshining all the stars and gleaming forth bright and clear from between the clouds,’ and of Siegfried he says ‘so fair and so knightly one saw him standing there, as if painted on parchment by the skill of good masters.’ The discovery of the *Nibelungenlied* (in 1750) gave to Germany an ancient epic such as no other nation of Europe possesses. But our literary guides seem incapable of appreciating it any more worthily than did Frederick the Great, who refused to admit such ‘wretched stuff’ into his library, saying that it ‘wasn’t worth a pinch of powder’—gunpowder, apparently, not snuff.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

supremacy and the civilizing influences of the Romans—torch-bearers, however inefficient, of Greek art—possess monuments and records of the arts of civilization that antedate by many centuries those of the northern and eastern parts of what formed the realm of the later Germanic ‘Holy Roman’ Emperors. Not very long after the age of Augustus rays of light, heralding the advent of art, had begun spreading northward and westward, over the Alps and across the sea, and creeping up the valleys of the Rhone and Rhine; and in spite of the ever darker and more threatening thunder-clouds of barbarian invasion the later Roman Empires, East and West—not by conquest so much as by the might of civilization and Christianity—succeeded in kindling and fostering along the Danube, in Rhineland, in Gaul, in Spain, and elsewhere in ultramontane regions, a light that has never since then been totally extinguished.¹ But for many centuries after that happened Northern and Eastern Germany remained in almost Cimmerian darkness.

Before, therefore, entering upon any enumeration of the very various products that one classes roughly under ‘German’ art, it will be advisable to give a slight sketch of the gradual formation from its diverse elements of what one calls the German nation—a name that includes loosely the Austrian—and point out some phases in its development which account for the notable diversities in the character of the many ‘works of art’ produced during the same period in different parts of the country. So I shall start by recalling to remembrance a few historical facts which will, I believe, make more intelligible and, I hope, more interesting the somewhat brief subsequent summaries of the chief buildings, paintings, and sculptures of Germany.

Of the peoples, of Eastern origin, that deluged Central Europe during the Great Migrations the first (to omit prehistoric possibilities) were probably the Gallic Celts, some of whom destroyed Rome about 390 B.C. Then came Cimbrian Celts and Germanic Teutons, whose huge armies, some 290 years later, Marius annihilated. The Romans then became,

¹ At Vienna exists a medieval copy (the falsely named *Peutinger Tablet*) of a Roman map of the Rhine and its tributaries, with all the important Roman towns, from Basilea to Colonia Claudia Agrippina, and connecting roads, and many of the larger edifices marked.

PRELIMINARY

nominally, the lords of the world—*terrarum domini*; but much of Germany remained unconquered, and after the disaster that befell Varus and his legions in the Teutoburg Forest (A.D. 9) it was with difficulty that Rome held even the strongly fortified line of the Rhine valley and some adjacent provinces. Little by little the Empire was undermined, and before the end of the fifth century Rome fell,¹ the last Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, being deposed by the barbarian Odovacar in 476. Ere this took place Northern barbarians had occupied a great part of the Western Empire and had invaded Italy and taken Rome on several occasions.

In the fifth century these Northern peoples consisted mainly of three great groups—the Vandals, the Goths, and the Franks. The Vandals, a restless and devastating people, moving ever further westward, had by 409 established themselves in Andalusia (Spain), to which they gave their name, and half a century later had founded a powerful empire in North Africa, had swept the Mediterranean with their fleets, and ultimately captured Rome in 455.

The second group was that of the Goths, a people receptive of intellectual, if not of the highest artistic, influences. They formed a powerful empire extending from the North Sea to the Euxine, and many of them accepted Roman-Byzantine civilization and (Arian) Christianity. But this Gothic Empire was attacked by the Huns, a Tatar race from Central Asia; the East Goths submitted; some of the West Goths (Visigoths), driven south under Alaric, captured Rome (410), while others made their way to Central and Southern France, where they founded a powerful kingdom—and what specially interests us in connexion with art is the probability that a tribe of Burgundians associated with these westward-moving Visigoths decided not to follow the main body but to settle on the left bank of the higher Rhine, where they founded a kingdom extending for a considerable distance into what is now France and Switzerland. This realm was the original Burgundy and had for its capital, not Dijon, but Worms.² Etzel (Attila) with his Huns followed the

¹ Twelve centuries after its foundation (in 753 B.C.), as had been prophesied by ancient Roman augurs. The Byzantine Empire continued to exist for about a thousand years.

² For Worms Cathedral see Vol. I, pp. 252 n., 253, and Fig. 199. The present,

GERMANY (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1820)

retreating Visigoths, ravaging and slaughtering, until he was overthrown by the Romans and their Visigoth allies in the year 451, near Châlons—not far from the battlefields of the Marne, where Western Christendom was lately once more saved from a terrible fate. Then, after an attempted invasion of Italy, Attila suddenly died, and the Huns withdrew to Hungary, and disappear from history.

The third great group of Northern barbarians who, although at times in alliance with Rome, brought about the disintegration and collapse of the Empire was that of the Franks. By the fifth century they held most of the country round the Lower Rhine and the Meuse and that of the ancient Belgae, and about 490, under their Merovingian king Clovis (predecessor of Pipin and Charlemagne and the Carolingian kings), occupied Northern France, and made Lutetia (Paris) their capital, and became converts to orthodox (Roman) Christianity.

Under Austrasian and Merovingian rulers (from the fifth to the eighth century) doubtless Roman temples and other buildings of the Rhineland were converted into churches, and Christian basilicas were built ; on the sites of some of these later arose Romanesque and, still later, Gothic cathedrals.

The chief of the rare relics of these early Christian times are the columns still lying near the cathedral at Trèves (Trier). They belonged to a Roman temple, or town hall (basilica), erected probably by the Emperor Valentinian I and perhaps converted by him (*c.* 370) into a basilican Christian church. This church, which was burnt down, was rebuilt about the year 600 in early Roman-Lombard style, as is evident from sculptured arches and capitals still forming a part of the building ; and then, in the eleventh century, having been destroyed by Norman pirates (who made their way up the Rhine and some of its tributaries, and committed great devastations), it was restored in the later Romanesque

Romanesque, edifice dates from the twelfth century, but it was built on the site of an ancient Christian church, probably a basilica. It is interesting to note that in the *Nibelungenlied* the cathedral is mentioned. (The two queens quarrel about precedence at the church portal.) But the poet, who lived about seven centuries after Attila, could not have known the old basilica (perhaps destroyed by the Huns, whose slaughter of the Burgundians and their king Gunther probably took place at Worms, not at Etzelnburg in Austria, as stated in the poem). Perhaps I may refer the reader to my small edition of the *Nibelungenlied* (Blackie).

PRELIMINARY

style.¹ In the same city there is a vast, oblong, brick-built edifice, now a Protestant church, which originally was a genuine Roman basilica—a town hall or law court—and was in the year 1197 given over to the Archbishop of Trèves.

A great part of Germany was amalgamated in the huge realm of the Frank monarch Charles the Great (Charlemagne), who was crowned by the Pope at Rome, in 800, as Emperor of the Western Roman Empire. He was an admirer of Southern art and learning, and not only built at Aquisgranum (Aachen), his German capital, the famous royal chapel that has given the town the name of Aix-la-Chapelle—a building copied from the Byzantine church of S. Vitale at Ravenna—but showed great zeal in attracting scholars and artists to his court and in trying to introduce education and law among his Germanic subjects. But the wild peoples of Northern and Eastern Germany, especially the Saxons, gave him very great trouble, and remained for about two centuries—even after the reign of their great emperor, Otto—untamed and uninfluenced by the manners and arts of the more civilized, southern and western, parts of the realm. And this semi-barbarism continued for centuries; nor indeed, if one may regard high attainment in the arts as indicating progress toward true civilization, has there been much change for the better—except in respect of picture-galleries and music—since the days of Charlemagne.

When and whence **Romanesque architecture** was introduced into Western Germany are questions not easy to answer with certainty. In the Part dealing with Romanesque in the first volume I have given what I believe to be the most satisfactory theory as to the origins of this noble style and have described the different forms that it took in Italy, Sicily, Spain, France, and England; and I have pointed out that it was probably imported into France and into the Rhineland about the same time and by similar means, namely about the eleventh century and by

¹ See Vol. I, p. 235. The present volume deals principally with art after 1500. In this preliminary note, after picking up a few threads, I shall give a historical framework into which I shall fit the accounts of later architecture, sculpture, and painting, as was done in the case of France and in that of Flanders. For a general sketch of German Romanesque and Gothic see Vol. I, pp. 251 sq., 289 sq., and 310.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Provençal and Burgundian architects.¹ Of Romanesque cathedrals in the more central regions of Germany the finest was probably that of Bamberg, and in spite of much Gothic reconstruction it still shows finer Romanesque towers than any at Speyer, Worms, or Mainz.² Romanesque, almost always more or less in artistically Gothicized, and not seldom giving birth to big, ugly hybrids, with decorated round arches, continued to be in vogue in Germany long after many a magnificent Gothic cathedral had been reared in France, and not a few in England.

In spaciousness and height these Gothicized later German Romanesque churches, of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries, seem to have sometimes had the ambition to compete with the lightly poised cathedrals of France and England, whose ‘triumph of the void’ is one of the miracles of the new Northern style. But the effort resulted in total failure. Although some—such as the well-known, four-towered, round-arched church at Andernach, and that at Arnstein—possess a certain matronly comeliness and air of self-satisfaction, there is a total lack of that buoyant, ethereal, fascinating grace and *verve*, that perfect balance and proportion and lissomness of form, and that exquisite taste in adornment which constitute the charm of genuine Gothic. A striking illustration of this desire to rejuvenate staid old churches of the somewhat ungainly German Romanesque type is S. Sebaldus at Nürnberg, originally erected, in the middle of the thirteenth century, on a basilican plan similar to that of the Romanesque cathedrals of Mainz and Worms, with choirs at both ends of the nave; but in the next century the aisles were enlarged and

¹ It is, I believe, more than possible that the primitive Romanesque style of Lombardy, which began in the days of Queen Theodelinda and Gregory the Great (c. 600), and was about at its prime in the days of Charlemagne (c. 800), may have been carried now and then direct from Italy to the Rhineland. To such sporadic transmission seems to have been due the ancient Romanesque ‘kernel’ of Trèves Cathedral, which shows carvings very similar to those of early Roman-Lombard. The old campaniles have disappeared under pretentious and unlovely Gothic minarets.

² At Bamberg a great deal that, on account of pointed arches and other seemingly Gothic features, is often (and perhaps rightly) taken for transition or even genuine Gothic is stoutly defended as ‘pointed Romanesque’ by some German writers. The sculpture at Bamberg is perhaps now, since the destruction of over 230 Gothic statues at Strassburg by the French revolutionaries in 1793 and their questionable restorations, the most important in German Gothic art.

PRELIMINARY

Gothicized and the Romanesque western choir heightened and a second (eastern), Gothic, choir built—the celebrated ‘St Sebald’s choir,’ with bronzen shrine by Peter Vischer.

It was not until the latter half of the thirteenth century that the real **Gothic** style, transplanted from France, began to strike root deeply. There are, indeed, a few genuine German Gothic churches, such as the Liebfrauenkirche at Trèves, which date from before the middle of the century; and Cologne Cathedral itself, the first architects of which were doubtless inspired by the cathedral of Amiens, can boast of having been founded in 1248.¹

But on the whole one may state that before new Gothic buildings were erected most of the old Romanesque edifices received important additions in *opus francigenum*, as the new style was commonly called. Thus Strassburg (Strasbourg) Cathedral, of which the choir and a transept are mainly Romanesque, began to receive Pointed additions about 1227, and by 1275 its Gothic nave was finished. The rich Gothic façade and much else was the work of a Meister Erwin, who unquestionably had studied long in France. The steeple was not completed until 1437. And here it may not be superfluous to observe that, although much that is admirable in Strassburg Cathedral was assuredly due to French influence, the construction of the building took place mainly, if not wholly, while the city belonged to Germany; for Strassburg had been during centuries one of the numerous ‘free cities’ of the German Empire ere it was seized (in time of peace) by the army of Louis XIV, who had annexed a considerable amount of German and Flemish territory during and after the horrors of the Thirty Years War. On the other hand, the big, but not strikingly beautiful, Gothic cathedral of Metz is French work, for it was built in the thirteenth century, and the city, in early days the Frankish capital of Austrasia, had held its own against German emperors, such as Charles V, and remained French till 1871.

Among the later German Gothic churches are notable

¹ It is the only great Gothic cathedral—not excepting even Salisbury and certainly not Milan—that during the whole course of its construction (and this lasted over six centuries) received no additions in any other style. This, however, does not save it from being painfully unattractive.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

those of Freiburg (begun c. 1270), Ratisbon, called by Germans Regensburg (c. 1275), Augsburg (altered to Gothic in 1321), S. Lorenz (c. 1280) and the Liebfrauenkirche in Nürnberg (c. 1355), Frankfurt Münster (finished 1338), Ulm (mostly brick, with one of the highest church spires in the world; 1377), and S. Stephan at Vienna.

Besides the Gothic cathedrals and other churches mentioned here and in the first volume there are in various parts of Germany many others which date from the Gothic era (say, 1250-1550), but have, for the most part, suffered much from reconstruction and apparently, with the exception of a few Rhineland churches, such as those of Oppenheim, Altenberg, Xanten, Schlettstadt, Limburg, and Thann, never had much artistic value. Buildings of this character are to be found throughout a great part of Germany, and sometimes in Bohemia and Austria. In northern regions, where building-stone is scarce, there are, as I shall remark later, numerous big brick-built churches the architecture of which is nominally Gothic; and these are not limited to the stoneless flats of North Germany, as the huge and ugly Frauenkirche at Munich bears witness. Even after the general acceptation of the Italian Renaissance style there were Gothic buildings of a sort, erected, and it was not till the middle of the sixteenth century—more than a century after Brunelleschi's Early Renaissance initiative at Florence—that in Germany the degenerate Gothic gave place entirely to the Neo-Classical style.

During the same era not a few Gothic municipal buildings were erected, of which, however, many have been reconstructed in the Renaissance style. The chief of those that still show a considerable amount of Gothic are the town halls (*Rathäuser*) of Brunswick, Lübeck, Rothenburg, and Münster. (In the great Saal of the last the Peace of Westphalia was signed.) See Figs. 302, 303, 305.

Of the very numerous castles in Germany there are scarcely any that still possess any extensive portions with marked Gothic features. There are, of course, many which stand on more or less visible Gothic foundations, and some which, like Schloss Eltz, on the river Mosel (Fig. 299), have either genuine or reconstructed Gothic pinnacles, turrets,

PRELIMINARY

windows, etc., and others which have retained massive Gothic towers, generally with reconstructed Gothic or with Renaissance superstructures. At Rothenburg on the Tauber, a kind of medieval show-place (such as San Gimignano in Italy), the almost 'Cyclopean' town walls and their picturesque round and square towers, reminding one somewhat of the Gothic bridge at Cahors (Vol. I, Fig. 224), are perhaps the most attractive relics of Gothic fortification in Germany; but among the following, mainly ruined, Gothic and pre-Gothic castles some must have been formidable strongholds :

Frederick Barbarossa's castle at Gelnhausen; the group of castles—Girsberg, Ulrichsburg, and Hohen-Rappoltstein—at Rappoltsweiler (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries); the Wasenburg, between Strassburg and Saarbrücken (fourteenth century); Schloss Girbaden, in the Central Vosges (early thirteenth century); Hohen-Königsburg (fourteenth century?); the picturesque ruins of the Hoh-Barr, perched on precipitous rocks and dating from the tenth to the sixteenth century; Rheinfels, Reichenberg, Schönburg, the Katz, Fürstenburg, Sooneck, Falkenburg, Rheinstein, Ehrenfels, Stahleck, Gutenfels, and other well-known castles on the Rhine, dating from about 1200 onward.

Impressive, too, by their size, and sometimes attractively picturesque, are the huge German gates (*Tore*), many of which date from the Gothic era; but they are now mostly compounds of Gothic with Renaissance, or else with weird forms of North German brick architecture, which in its ambition to show originality developed (as may be observed in Fig. 303) fantastic outgrowths of no lasting or reproductive vitality. As one might expect, the Rhineland shows also in its *Tore* more dignity and a higher sense of artistic self-restraint and proportion. The Speyer Altpörtel (Fig. 288) is one of the oldest and one of the best of these gates—a nobly dignified building. Except for the sixteenth-century loggia it is nearly pure Gothic. Besides those given as illustrations the following fine, or quaint, gates may be noted as dating from the German Gothic era, or from a little later :

The Maintor, Sulzbach (Kitzingen), fifteenth century; Wienertor, Hainburg, on the Danube (massive Gothic); Altstädter Brückentor, in Prag (1400, but rebuilt); Wörnitzertor, Dinkelsbühl; Ellingertor, Weissenburg on the Saale (partly Gothic); Jerusalemtor, Büdingen (strongly fortified; not far from Gelnhausen, above mentioned); the curious Krahnenstor in Danzig (old Gothic

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

towers, and between them a building furnished with a crane apparatus); the Anklamer and Neubrandenburger Tore in Friedland, Mecklenburg (brick-built, very rough and primitive, with square brick pinnacles; fifteenth century); Swedtertor (brick), Königsberg, Neumark, North Germany; Stargardertor, Neubrandenburg (brick, with most curious, very high, vertical parallel cavities like blind lancet windows, and nine strange female effigies suspended, one in each of these cavities, at a great height); the Burgtor in Lübeck (brick, built 1444); Treptowertor, Neubrandenburg (fifteenth century; of brick, and with large and roughly constructed, but rather impressive, rose-window traceries above Gothic blind windows); the Klevertor (*i.e.*, the gate of the road to Cleves), in Xanten, Lower Rhineland (built 1393); and the Kuhtor (Cow Gate), in Kempen, Lower Rhineland (c. 1370).

Before leaving the subject of German Gothic architecture we should note that in North Germany, as we have already found to be the case in Holland, there are numerous churches and other edifices built in brick—a fact of course accounted for by the want of stone, and one that, also of course, necessitated very considerable modifications in style. The conditions were decidedly unfavourable. Romanesque lends itself infinitely better to brick construction than does Gothic, which without the sculptural and other possibilities offered by freestone is unable to make use of its special gifts and display its special charms. North German brick-built churches sometimes possess fine recessed portals, reminding one at times of Southern Romanesque work, but both exteriorly and interiorly most of them make a dull show, and the bigger they are the more depressing is the effect.

Sculpture, in stone and wood, was largely and extensively used in not a few of the Gothic churches in Germany. Much has disappeared, partly through Puritan and revolutionary iconoclasm, and the greater part of what remains is of a rude and ungainly character, sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally grotesque. There is almost no trace of that attractive *naïveté* which is not seldom found in primitive art, pictorial and plastic. Despite all the zeal and erudition of German scholars and antiquarians, and despite all the art theoretics and art enthusiasms of the Neo-Classical school of Winckelmann and Raphael Mengs and their followers, the German artist—whether he builds or paints or carves—has proved one thing to the general satisfaction of the world, namely that, what-

PRELIMINARY

ever other gifts the German race may possess, it is wholly incapable of receiving creative inspiration from Greek art.¹ And as the Greek spirit is specially manifest in sculpture, it is in sculpture especially that the German shows himself devoid of what is essential for the production of a work of art. This is, of course, not merely imitative skill, but that creative inspiration, as I have called it (and not even Praxiteles could have defined it), which enables the sculptor to realize his ideal, as did Michelangelo, and as every really great sculptor has done, in accordance with the fundamental principles underlying the best Greek sculpture, however different from anything Greek may be the form in which he chooses to realize it.

In all genuinely native German sculpture, ancient or modern, as well as in much German painting, there are evident proofs that this inspiration is lacking, and some of these diverse proofs may be indicated by such words as ungraciousness, ungainliness, affectation, pretentiousness, or grotesqueness in presentment, and by that dull, unpoetic, unimaginative, though often rudely, and sometimes coarsely, fantastic boorishness in conception which seems native to the German sculptor and is not easily expressible except by the German word *Plumpheit*.

As representative of genuine German Gothic *Bildnerei*, or *Bildhauer-kunst*, we may take the sculptural products of North and Central Germany. In the north of Germany there exist (till recently mostly unknown or ignored) very numerous works of stone- and wood-sculpture dating from the Gothic era. They are, with a few notable exceptions, scarcely worth mention except as being interesting for the antiquarian; but the general characteristics of this native product should be pointed out, although, as was natural, it proved barren and had no influence on the development of art. A speciality of German carvers in former days, both in North and in South Germany, was the adornment of altars, which were often lofty and showed on the front large reliefs, sometimes crowded with many figures. Besides these carved altars there are to be seen in North German churches and museums bronze fonts, large sculptured or cast crucifixes,

¹ Goethe's *Helena* (*Faust*, II.) and *Iphigenie* are exceptions.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

candelabra, screens, carved stalls, *Sakramentshäuser*, bronze tomb-slabs, and statues or high-reliefs of Madonnas, Apostles, and so on. The following is a list of some of the places mentioned, as of interest in this respect, by Professor Much, to whose monograph on *Norddeutsche gotische Plastik* I am here indebted :

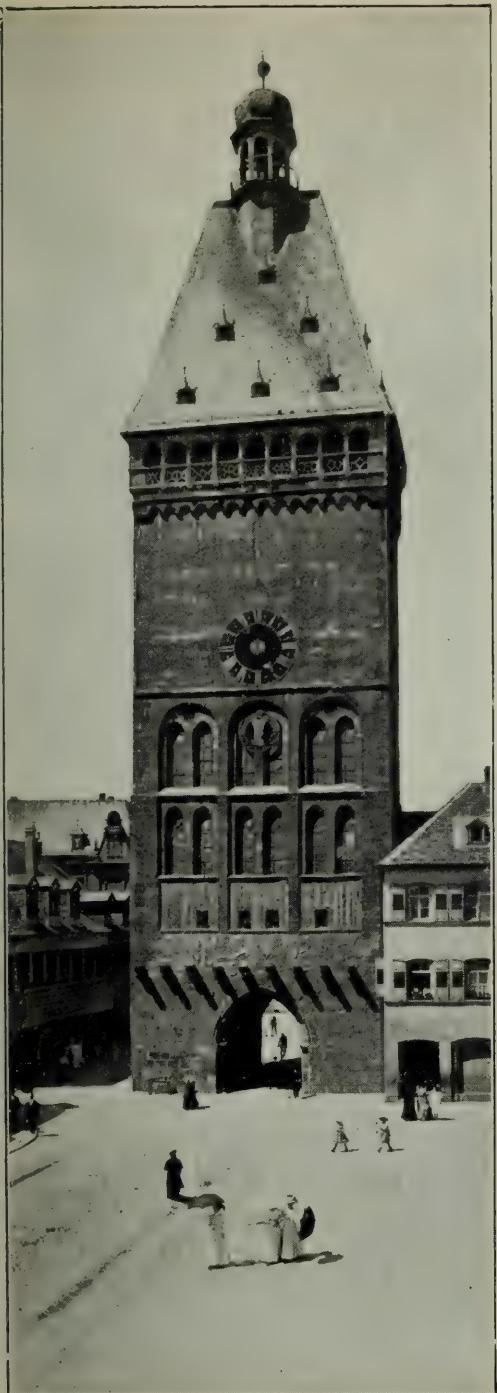
Doberan, in Mecklenburg : a lofty triumphal cross in bronze. *Güstrow* : in the (brick) Dom figures of Apostles, some of them fine; altar with carvings; a fine bronze font. *Wismar* : in S. Jürgen a magnificent altar; well-carved choir-stalls. *Lübeck* : interesting and quaint sculpture in the Dom, the Marienkirche, and the museum (*St George and Dragon*). *Kiel* : sculptures by Meister Brüggemann. *Altenbrück*, by Cuxhaven : a splendid altar-shrine. *Schleswig* : altar with wood-carving by Brüggemann. *Frankfurt an der Oder* : grand bronze candelabra. *Hamburg* : Kunsthalle, crucifix (Meister Bertram). *Stendal, Brandenburg, Stralsund, Danzig, Berlin*, and various other places : various sculptures in churches and museums.

The two North German sculptors of the Gothic era whose names are best known are the above-mentioned Meister Bertram and Meister Brüggemann. Neither of them produced, as far as I know, anything at all comparable with the better work of the most primitive of the French Gothic sculptors, nor even with such Romanesque sculpture as that of Provence ; and to imagine Bertram's or Brüggemann's productions side by side with such contemporary French work as that at Amiens or in the north portal of the façade of Notre-Dame at Paris might excite a smile ; but nevertheless one does find now and then something very much above the average. Bertram's large wooden figure of Christ (now in Hamburg Kunsthalle) is astonishingly beautiful, and Brüggemann's dramatic wood-carving of a *Kreuztragung* (*Way to Calvary*) is exceedingly clever in its design, allowing us to see a long procession in a small space.¹

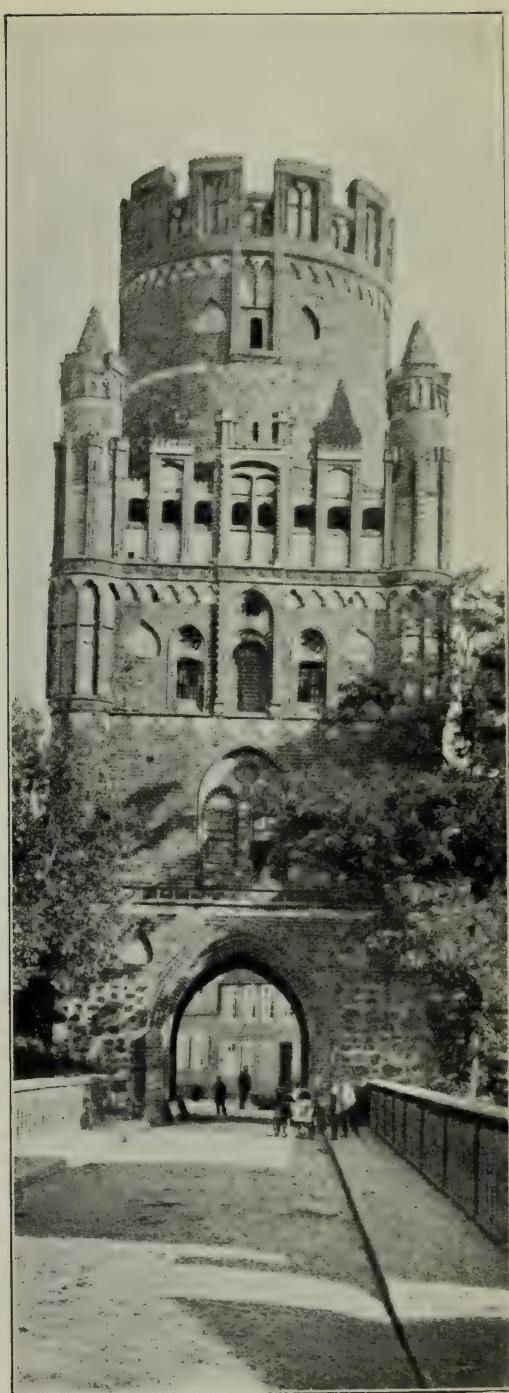
At Naumburg, between Halle and Erfurt, in the round-windowed Gothic Dom, there are notable thirteenth-century statues of the ten founders of the church. At Freiburg im Breisgau, on the Gothic Münster, are figures of wise and foolish virgins, and inside the church are Apostles and other rather poor sculptures.

At Bamberg, in Central Germany, the Dom possesses

¹ This is one of twenty scenes carved by him on an altar-shrine (c. 1520) at Schleswig.



288. DAS ALTPÖRTEL, SPEYER
Built in thirteenth century; gallery added
in sixteenth



289. DAS ÜNGELINGERTOR, STENDAL
Built early in fifteenth century



290. 'ECCLESIA'

Gothic sculptures of about 1200

Strassburg Cathedral

By courtesy of Professor Dehio. Photos Piper, Munich



291. 'SYNAGOGUE'

PRELIMINARY

a number of carvings which probably show native German Gothic sculpture reacting, somewhat feebly, to external influences, Italian or French—unless, indeed, we like to suppose that through some such medium as Byzantine or Benedictine missionaries, or traders, or possibly Crusaders a knowledge of Greek, or Roman-Greek, plastic art, or even now and then a classical sculpture, was brought to Germany—a supposition that in the case of French Gothic statuary and also of early Flemish bronze work we may admit to be not entirely unreasonable. The Bamberg sculptures, however, in regard to subject, resemble those of Strassburg, and these indubitably owe much to French influence, so perhaps we may infer that French influence extended not only to Freiburg im Breisgau, but as far as Bamberg. These Bamberg sculptures comprise a really comic relief of the *Last Judgment*¹ and figures of wise and foolish virgins, and some really remarkable, if Gothic, symbolic statues—*Ecclesia*, representing the Christian Church (or New Covenant), and *Synagoge*, the Jewish Church (or Old Covenant). Besides these there are statues of Heinrich II, the founder, and his queen, and an equestrian statue, one of the earliest in post-classical art (an earlier being the *St Martin* at Lucca, for which see Vol. I, p. 327). It perhaps represents St Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary (tenth century), or more probably Kaiser Conrad III.

Strassburg Cathedral—which was founded during the reign of the great Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and was to a large extent completed in the reign of Rudolf of Habsburg—was adorned externally and internally with a large amount of Gothic sculpture (a *History of Creation*, a *History of Redemption*, equestrian figures of Kings Clovis and Dagobert and of Rudolf of Habsburg, etc.²); but many of the statues

¹ In this comic *Last Judgment* every one is grinning. Compare this grotesqueness with the dignity of old French reliefs! (Vol. I, p. 265.) How far these Bamberg statues are the work of late restorers it is difficult to say. Anatomically the figures are much more correct than the very ungainly, genuinely Gothic, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoge* of Strassburg Cathedral, and the faces raise doubts as to whether in more modern days some clever French or Italian sculptor may not have been employed to effect large restorations. German grotesqueness, however, is difficult to efface. In the portal the Apostles are standing on the shoulders of prophets. What ludicrous symbolism!

² To these was later added an equestrian statue of the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV, who seems to have regarded with self-complacency what German

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

and reliefs are restorations. Indeed, of the building's former wealth in Gothic carvings almost nothing original remains, for over two hundred and thirty of them were destroyed, or hopelessly damaged, by the French republicans in 1793. The order given by the revolutionary Government (says Professor Dehio, in his monograph on the cathedral) was *Abattre toutes les statues*, but pious, or art-loving, Strassburg citizens saved a few of the more accessible sculptures, and among these were two unquestionably fine statues, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoge* (Figs. 290, 291)—far finer than those at Bamberg, which we have already noted. Such effigies are not uncommon in medieval symbolism. The Christian Church is represented as victorious and crowned, the Jewish with broken spear, discrowned and blindfolded. There are also two much-restored groups of wise and foolish virgins, which originally may have been impressive, but are ruined by later German faces full of *Scheinheiligkeit* and *Naseweisheit* on the one hand and *Albernheit* and *Gemeinheit* on the other.

The question of restoration is always difficult to solve where art or antiquarian interest is concerned, but in the case of Strassburg Cathedral we must allow that the necessity for restoration was caused by the French and not by the Germans.¹ We must, however, also allow that much that is so beautiful in the Gothic architecture of this cathedral was, if not actually French work, at least due to French influence; and, if we can judge from the comparatively few remains, much that was admirable in its Gothic sculpture was due to such French Gothic sculpture as decorates the cathedrals of Amiens and Chartres and that of Notre-Dame de Paris.²

writers denounce as his 'treacherous surprise and capture of Strassburg in a time of peace.' Whether this work of art was annihilated in 1870, or still exists in, or has been restored to, its former place of honour, I cannot say.

¹ It is asserted that the magnificent Late Gothic spire (of 1439; 465 feet high), of open-work, like that of Antwerp and Freiburg, was saved from destruction by the French revolutionaries only by the fact that it was provided with a red (metal) republican 'cap of liberty'! In the siege of Strassburg by the Germans (1870), although terrific devastation was caused in the immediate vicinity, the cathedral was scarcely touched. The precision of the long-range artillery was marvellous—at least, it seemed so to me when a few months later I viewed its effects from nigh the top of the spire. The great metal cross on the top had been bent by a passing projectile, and one shell had pierced the roof—but that was all, I think.

² A very doubtful tradition attributes much of the Gothic statuary at Strassburg to Sabina, daughter of the master-builder Erwin von Steinbach, the maker of the splendid façade, who worked about 1280–1320. See p. 377.

PRELIMINARY

Also in the portal of the very remarkable, almost circular, Liebfrauenkirche at Trèves (Trier), which I have already mentioned several times, there are numerous statues that are symbolical of the Old and New Covenants, and present Old and New Testament subjects, and, being probably some half-century more ancient than the Strassburg sculptures, are for this reason interesting ; but there is among them nothing that equals the above-mentioned *Ecclesia* and *Synagoge*. One other example of fairly early German Gothic sculpture is afforded by the well-known, richly canopied, and, of course, modernly restored statues of Christ and the Virgin and the twelve (originally coloured) Apostles which are to be seen in Cologne Cathedral, standing precariously on brackets affixed to the pillars of the high choir. They show no certain trace of French or other salutary influences, and are notable chiefly as a proof that the unaided German Gothic sculptor was as rarely able to produce anything worthy to be regarded as a work of art as were later his Renaissance and his more modern successors.

A few not undignified bronze monumental effigies dating from Gothic times are to be found in Germany. One of these is in Cologne Cathedral. It is that of the bellicose Archbishop Conrad von Hochstaden, who laid the foundation-stone of the Dom in 1248, and died in 1261. But the tomb dates only from about 1430, and is, of course, restored. Other tombs worthy of mention are to be seen in the Dom at Mainz and the Münster at Frankfurt.

The beginnings of **German painting** were incidentally mentioned in the first volume when a general account was being given of Northern Gothic art. It has also been pointed out in the present volume how in the case of Flanders (and it is true also in that of Germany) miniature-painting developed characteristics which tended toward the depicting of figures and scenery on a larger scale—not as frescos¹ or other decorative mural paintings (for which Gothic architecture was ill adapted), but as what one usually means by the word ‘ pictures ’—and how these pictures began

¹ The early Bohemian (Prag) school of fresco-painters (Vol. I, p. 318), which owed its existence to the patronage of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, was a transient phenomenon, and produced no lasting influence on German art.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

to be used, as altar-pieces and otherwise, to adorn churches, as had already become the fashion in Italy early in the fourteenth century, in the days of Giotto and Duccio and their followers.

The first German picture-painter of whom we hear is mentioned by the old *Chronicle of Limburg* (1380) as a wonderful artist of Cologne named Wilhelm, ‘able to paint every man as if alive.’ This ‘Wilhelm of Cologne,’ as we noted in the first volume, may possibly be identical with Wilhelm Herle, or rather of Herle (a village near Cologne), to whom certain pictures have been, without much reason, attributed ; but Wilhelm of Herle died in 1378—two years before the date of the *Chronicle of Limburg*, which seems to speak of the Wilhelm of Cologne as still alive—and seeing that there exist in and near Cologne some pictures, by an unknown artist and of primitive character, but painted with considerable skill and vigour, dating from about forty years later—that is, from about 1420—it has been suggested that these are works of the mysterious Cologne painter who was so highly praised when a young man by his contemporaries.

But while Wilhelm von Cöln is now credited with various paintings hitherto regarded as of unknown origin, he has been deprived of one very remarkable work—a large triptych—which adorns the chapel of St Agnes in Cologne Cathedral, and is known as the *Dombild*—the ‘cathedral’s picture’ *par excellence* (Fig. 316). To whom it is now assigned, and wherefore it is thus assigned, will be told when we come to treat of German painting of the fifteenth century.

Historical Framework

In the Rhineland there are numerous relics of Roman camps, theatres, baths, and other constructions, and Rhenish museums contain much that is interesting to the student of the civilization and the religion (Mithras-worship and Christianity) of the Western Empire, but there is in Germany scarcely anything of artistic value dating from this era except the Porta Nigra and the basilica at Trier. And what few churches of basilican or of early Roman-Lombard type may have been erected after the fall of the

PRELIMINARY

Empire (such as, perhaps, were the first Christian cathedral at Trier and the original S. Gereon at Cologne) have almost utterly disappeared—doubtless destroyed during the turmoil caused by the later migrations, which may be said to have lasted from the first advent of the Huns, about 375, until the establishment of the Christian Frank supremacy in the seventh century, or even until the accession of the all-conquering Franco-German monarch, Charles the Great, in 768. But although Charles showed great zeal in trying to introduce Southern arts and letters into his Northern dominions, there is, besides the Byzantine octagon of the Münster at Aachen, very little trace of his efforts. Indeed, for two centuries after the coronation of Charles by the Pope at Rome (in 800) and his recognition as successor of the Roman Emperors, neither architecture nor sculpture nor painting (except illumination of manuscripts) seems to have been at all successfully practised. This may have been (as it certainly was in some other parts of Christendom) to some extent due to the terror and depression caused by the universal belief that the world would come to an end in the thousandth year of the Christian era.¹ It is anyhow noticeable that as soon as the thousandth year had passed a number of great churches were built in the Rhineland, as in other countries. Soon after 1000 were founded the cathedrals of Bamberg (1004) and Speyer (1030); that of Worms was founded about 1100; those of Trier and Mainz were rebuilt in 1010 and 1016 respectively. (The Mainzer Dom was burnt down and rebuilt four times between 1009 and 1181.)

It was therefore not till after A.D. 1000 that the earliest notable, extant, German architecture began, and, as we have seen, the only notable early German sculpture dates from the latter decades of the thirteenth century, and the painting of altar-pieces and other such pictures from about 1380. So a historical framework into which one may fit the German artists and their works need include little but the centuries after the eleventh, and will serve our purpose if it extends

¹ Also probably to the Norman invaders, for during the so-called Carolingian period both the Rhineland and the north of France suffered much from these pirates, who penetrated up all navigable rivers and committed great devastation till (in 911) they were allowed to settle in what was afterward Normandy.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

from about the Norman conquest of England to about the battle of Waterloo. First, then, will be given a few remarks from the historical point of view about the Romanesque era. Then will follow a table that will explain itself. But one must remember that the Italian, French, and German Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance eras were by no means contemporaneous, and that in Germany these eras overlapped each other considerably.

We may consider the German **Romanesque era** to have begun, at the earliest, about the time of Charlemagne, or Karl der Grosse, as Germans prefer to call him. It extends through the whole Carolingian period and the establishment of a 'German Realm' (*Deutsches Reich*) by the Saxon king Heinrich I (919–936) and of a 'Holy Roman German Empire' (*Kaisertum*, or 'Caesardom') by Otto I, the Great, who was crowned at Rome in 962 by the young ruffian Pope John XII. Then it extends, further, through the reigns of various Holy Roman Emperors, Saxon and Franconian—two Ottos, a Conrad, three more Heinrichs—till we get to the First Crusade (1095–99), and then, some fifty years later, to the Second Crusade and to the days of Frederick Barbarossa, the great Hohenstaufener Emperor, who destroyed Milan in 1162 and suffered severe defeat at Legnano (near the rebuilt city) in 1176, and finally was drowned in Asia Minor during the Third Crusade (1190). By this time the Gothic style had made progress in France and also in England, the Gothic choirs of Notre-Dame de Paris and of Canterbury having been begun about 1160 and 1174 respectively. But not till some forty years, at the very least, after the tragic death of the great Barbarossa (whom popular superstition for many years expected to return and re-establish the German Empire) was the first large German Gothic church—probably the Liebfrauenkirche in Trier—founded. Therefore it will suffice if our table begins with the reign of Barbarossa's famous grandson, Kaiser Friedrich II, who because of his many accomplishments, and probably also by reason of his strange devotion to his kingdom of Sicily and to Saracen customs and ideas, was named 'the Wonder of the World' (*Stupor Mundi*), but left the German Empire in a state of pitiable disorder.

PRELIMINARY

Gothic Era (from c. 1250 to c. 1550)

(German Kings); many crowned as Emperors.

Friedrich II, 1215-50. Crowned Emperor at Rome, 1220. His son, **Conrad IV**, 1250-54. Conrad's son, Conradi, captured and executed in South Italy by Charles of Anjou in 1268. End of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. [Louis IX, 'Saint,' 1226-70. Henry III, 1216-72. Dante born, 1265.]

Interregnum from 1254 to 1273 [during which Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, is elected German King, but fails to be received as such].

Rudolf, Count of Habsburg (Habichtsburg, or 'Hawksburg,' in Switzerland), in 1273 is chosen German King by the Electors (*Kurfürsten*), and reigns till 1291. [Founder of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty, which later produced continuously many Holy Roman Emperors and lasted till 1918.] Rudolf succeeded by **Adolf of Nassau**, 1291-98, who is conquered by **Albrecht of Austria**; and Albrecht is murdered in 1308 by John the Parricide. [Confederation of the three original Swiss cantons, 1291. Wilhelm Tell supposed to have lived about this time. Edward I, 1272-1307. Philippe le Hardi and Philippe le Bel reign in France. Dante exiled, 1302.]

Heinrich VII, of Luxemburg, 1308-13. Crowned Emperor at Rome. Dies in same year, and is buried at Pisa. [From 1309 to 1377 the 'Babylonish Captivity' of the popes at Avignon. From 1337 to 1453 the Hundred Years War.] **Ludwig of Bavaria**, 1313-47. Crowned Emperor at Rome, in 1328, by Sciarra Colonna. [1346, the blind King John of Bohemia killed at Crécy.]

Charles (Karl) IV, of Bohemia, 1347-78. Receives fugitive Cola di Rienzo at Prag, but surrenders him to the Pope at Avignon, 1351. Crowned Emperor at Rome by the Bishop of Ostia, 1355. [1348, the Black Death.]

From 1378 to 1493 there were five unimportant monarchs, the last of whom, the Habsburger **Friedrich III**, reigned fifty-three years (1440-93) and was the last German (or Austrian) king crowned as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome (1452); but the title was still retained by the Habsburgers for centuries. [In 1450 Gutenberg invents printing. 1453, Constantinople taken by the Turks. In 1477 the Netherlands become Austrian.]

Maximilian I, 1493-1519, son of Friedrich III, and grandfather of Charles V (Quint). [In 1517 the German Reformation begun by Luther's ninety-five theses. Henry VIII, 1509-47.]

In 1516 Charles (grandson of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy) becomes, as Charles I, King of Spain, but in 1520 is crowned at Aachen as **Charles V**, German Emperor. At Pavia in 1525 his troops capture Francis I of France, who is imprisoned for a time at Madrid. Charles crowned Holy Roman Emperor at Bologna, by Clement VII, 1530. Abdicates, 1556. Dies, in Spain, 1558. [Diet of Worms, 1521. Council of Trent, 1546-63. Albrecht Dürer died 1528. Holbein died 1543.]

Renaissance and Barock Era

Ferdinand I of Austria (brother to Charles) succeeds as German Emperor, 1556-64. [The son of Charles becomes King Philip II of Spain and the Netherlands, 1556-98. Mary Tudor, 1553-58. Elizabeth, 1558-1603.]

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Maximilian II, 1564-76. [Revolt of Netherlands against Philip II, 1568.] **Rudolf II**, 1576-1612. [Rise of Dutch republic begins, 1581. Rubens born 1577. Rembrandt born 1606. After Philip's death Spanish Flanders has the Austrian Archduke Albrecht (Albert) as governor, 1598-1621.] **Matthias**, 1612-19. **Thirty Years War** begins, 1618. **Ferdinand II**, 1619-37. Tilly and Wallenstein, generals of the Imperial and Catholic League, at first victorious over the Protestant Union, led by Mansfeld and King Christian of Denmark. Then Gustavus Adolphus comes to aid of the Union, 1630. He conquers, but is killed at Lützen, 1632. Wallenstein assassinated, 1634. **Ferdinand III**, 1637-57. Tortenson and his Swedes victorious at Leipzig, and are joined by Turenne and Condé, 1642. **Peace of Westphalia** (signed at Münster), 1648. [Louis XIII, 1610-43. Louis XIV, 1643-1715. James I, 1603-25. Charles I, 1625-49. Commonwealth, 1649-1660.]

1648-1740. Germany disunited and weakened by the Thirty Years War, and Flanders (Spanish) attacked by Louis XIV. **Peace of Nymwegen** (1678) gave him much Netherland territory and ten cities of Alsace and Freiburg im Breisgau (Lorraine was already French). He also seized Strassburg, 1681. Vienna besieged by Turks, 1683. William of Orange (Dutch Stathouder) made King of England, and with the British and Dutch fleets forced Louis XIV (Peace of Ryswyk, 1697) to surrender much of his conquests. Meanwhile the Great Elector of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollern **Friedrich Wilhelm**, 1640-88, and his successor, **Friedrich III**, had united the electorate of Brandenburg with the duchy of Prussia, and in 1701 the powerful military **Kingdom of Prussia** was established. Then came the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13), in which England allied with Austria and Holland against Louis XIV. [Marlborough and Prince Eugen.] **Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia**, 1713-40. In 1740 dies also **Karl VI**, the (Habsburger) Austrian Emperor, who is succeeded by **Maria Theresia**.

Reign of **Frederick the Great** (Friedrich II) of Prussia, 1740-86. In the three so-called Silesian wars he fights about eighteen and wins about fifteen important battles—first attacking Silesia, then Bohemia, then Saxony, then beating the Austrians, then the Russians, and again the Austrians, till at last, when the final peace is made, at Hubertusburg (near Leipzig) in 1763, Prussia has become the leading state in Germany and, for its size, a most formidable military power.

In 1789, three years after the death of Frederick the Great, the French Revolution began. In the wars against the revolutionary armies Prussia took a conspicuous part, and at the second and third dividing up of Poland (as they had done on the occasion of the first, in 1772) Prussian diplomatists managed to secure great territorial additions. The story of the Napoleonic wars is too well known to need retelling here. And it is needless to say that, if one is to believe German histories and German professors, it was the Prussians (to whom all due praise be given for what they really did at the mighty *Völkerschlacht* of Leipzig, and elsewhere) who won the battle of Belle-Alliance, as they call Waterloo.

CHAPTER I

SCULPTURE (c. 1500-c. 1800)

In the preceding section I have picked up various threads left loose in the brief survey of German Gothic art given in the first volume, and have tried to present a fairly full and continuous account of the development of architecture down to the first visible effects of Renaissance influences. I also described the main characteristics of the best specimens of purely Gothic sculpture that are to be found in German cathedrals, and told rather more explicitly than in the former volume how German painting first began.

The phases in the evolution of these arts are often far from being contemporaneous. While following the course of Gothic architecture in Germany we found ourselves brought down to 1550, and even later, while the best German Gothic sculptures belong mostly to the thirteenth century. And now, having to treat of German art from about 1500, we find Renaissance sculpture taking the precedence of Renaissance architecture.

The overlapping and ultimate eclipsing of Gothic by the gradually adopted Italian Renaissance style took something like half a century (roughly speaking, from 1550 to 1600), but long before this period of waning was over many old German Gothic civic buildings, such as castles and town halls and gates (*Tore*) and palaces, had been transformed, externally at least, into edifices of German Renaissance character.¹ Thus we have a considerable amount of architecture which might be classed as Gothic (which it is at the core) or else as belonging to the Renaissance era;

¹ Old Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and other churches, both in Germany and in France and England, have enjoyed much immunity from rebuildings and additions in the Classical style, although there are, of course, many and vast Renaissance ecclesiastical edifices. Great civic and private Gothic buildings, on the other hand, seem to have lent themselves easily to transformation.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

and in order to avoid patchwork, and to give some continuity to my account, I shall leave the buildings of the transitional period to be dealt with under Renaissance architecture, which first asserted itself as the prevailing style in Germany toward the end of the sixteenth century—that is, more than a century after the death of Brunelleschi, and some eighty years after the Italian expedition of Charles VIII had begun to excite the enthusiasm of France for the new Italian style.

But while German architecture was passing through this long transitional phase a certain amount of wood- and stone-carving, as well as second-rate painting, was produced contemporaneously with the work of the great Italian Quattrocento sculptors, such as Della Quercia (*d.* 1438), Ghiberti (*d.* 1455), Donatello (*d.* 1466), and—to omit not a few famous names—the maker (possibly with the help of Leonardo da Vinci) of the finest equestrian statue in existence, namely the sculptor and painter Verrocchio.

During the fifteenth century German—especially South German—sculpture consisted mainly in wood-carving. Stone, which had been used earlier in the Gothic era with some success as the material of a genuine *ars statuaria*, was now seldom in request except for the recumbent effigies and the carved decorations of such tombs as those of princes and prelates, very numerous monuments of whom, dating from the thirteenth century onward, are to be seen in the cathedrals of Mainz, Würzburg, Gnesen, and elsewhere.¹ Wood-carvings, on the other hand, were in great demand. Sometimes the carved figures were of life-size or even larger. These were used especially for crucifixes, *Calvaries*, *Depositions*, *Entombments* (such as we have noted in early French art), or those ‘Stations of the Cross’ which in some countries flank approaches to cemeteries and pilgrimage churches. But usually the carvings were reliefs, crowded often with figures of small dimensions. Such reliefs were used very

¹ Also bronze figures on tombs dating from the early decades of the fifteenth century exist, such as those of Archbishops von Hochstaden and von Saarwerden in Cologne Cathedral. At Bamberg and in North Germany (the Hanseatic region) bronze slabs incised with figures are found, but they are rare. The great age of German bronze sculpture (that of the Vischer family) was to come a century or so later.

SCULPTURE

frequently to adorn the fronts of altars, which were made of very considerable height and width. Also above the altar, like the huge Spanish retablo, was often erected a great reredos, not seldom a triptych, the central part of which consisted of sacred scenes and numerous single figures, sometimes of considerable size, in wood-carving, while the wings, or shutters, were decorated on both sides with paintings. The wooden figures too, like groups of puppets, or standing singly, under carved Gothic canopies, were usually painted and gilded, and the whole thing generally presented, as may be imagined, a gaudy and banal appearance. But it was just the kind of thing that gratifies the taste and satisfies the pious requirements of the inartistic majority in all countries, Italy certainly not excepted.¹ Almost every church in Germany that could afford such self-indulgence furnished itself with an altar of this nature. Almost every artist trained himself to carve and to paint, and worked at the fabrication of these richly decorated altars. Nor did he lack material, for wood easy to use in such work (comparatively rare in Italy) has been plentiful in Germany ever since the days of the vast Hercynian forest.

But amidst all this output there was scarcely anything of any artistic value. Now and then one of these innumerable carver-painters possessed some real taste and skill, and one is at times surprised to light upon a gracious face or form, or even a well-composed scene and a touch of poetic imagination; but, with very rare exceptions, what was produced by German sculpture during the fifteenth century (and the same, or nearly the same, may be said of the painting), even when one compares it with such primitive Italian sculpture as that of Antelami of Parma and Guido of Lucca—not to mention Niccolò of Pisa in 1260 and, later, Andrea, or the early French Gothic sculpture!—may be dismissed as interesting perhaps for the student of the evolution of national characteristics, but as not worth detailed description under the heading of art. There is very rarely indeed in this German fifteenth-century retable

¹ Perhaps some may feel inclined to retort in favour of 'the general' that a taste for caviare is acquired, and depraved.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

work any trace of promise such as is so often discernible even in the rude attempts of early stone-carvers in countries which, like Greece and Italy and France, have produced great sculptors.

The painted wings of these fifteenth-century triptych reredoses will be considered in a subsequent section. Here I shall briefly mention churches and other places where some of the more important of these altars and altar-pieces are to be found, and the names of some of their more or less obscure makers. And, besides these, some stone-sculptors and their works will be noted.

What German writers call *den neuen, schweifenden Stil* (the new, freely curving style) in German sculpture doubtless took its rise in France and, strongly impregnated with Teutonic affluents, reached the central regions of South Germany by way of Strassburg, Freiburg, and other Rhine-land cities and towns, where we have noted its presence even in the thirteenth century. Rottweil, on the Neckar, to the east of the Black Forest, possesses a 'Chapel-Church' whose Gothic tower is decorated with a 'cycle' of stone reliefs and free figures (*Prophets, Apostles, etc.*) dating from the first half of the fourteenth century. These are regarded as the immediate source whence the new and freer style¹ spread to Ulm, on the Danube, and to Augsburg, on the Lech, a southern affluent of the Danube, and then eastward and northward.

The Münster at Ulm shows some signs of the new freedom in a few of its sculptures, amongst which a *Schmerzensmann* (*Man of Sorrows*) is notable for its free, but at the same time very ungainly, attitude. It dates from about 1430 and is like a bad dream of *le beau Dieu d'Amiens*. It is probably a work of Multscher, who was also a painter of conventional scenes on *Altäre*. To him are with certainty attributed the large wooden statues of a great altar, dating from about 1460, now in the Town Hall of Sterzing, some of which show bold and skilful treatment of drapery, especially a *Madonna* in what seems to be Tirolese or Italian costume, with a *ciuffa*

¹ One is reminded of Daedalus and his statues that had to be chained to their pedestals—but how different the results of this new freedom in Greece and in Germany!

SCULPTURE

over her head. If the *Schmerzensmann* was an early work of his, Multscher evidently learnt in thirty years a great deal about the true principles of the *ars statuaria*. Perhaps he visited Italy. Another vast reredos of similar character, carved and painted (mainly, at any rate) by Schülin, an Ulmer, is in the church of Tiefenbronn, a village near Pforzheim. It dates from 1469. In the same church are several other fifteenth- or sixteenth-century altars, and paintings by Lucas Moser.

At Augsburg—where in 1530 the Protestants made their bold Confession of Faith, and where in 1555 (the year before the great Emperor Charles V resigned) a covenant of mutual toleration was signed between Protestants and Catholics—the Dom still contains a number of old monumental reliefs in stone, some of unquestionably artistic character, dating from the fourteenth century down to the epoch of the Reformation, which was in course of time to be followed by the terrible Thirty Years War, during which all art ceased.¹ In passing we may note that in these Augsburg reliefs the new freedom begins to disclose that Germanic sentimentality, that want of self-control, which was so fatal to greatness in sculpture. As a well-known modern German art critic, Springer, says, evidently regarding what he says as the highest compliment, the German sculptor now begins to express, with deeper and truer observation of life, deeper and more reverential piety. ‘Scenes of the Passion,’ he says, ‘now move our compassion, and stir our feelings, and console us more profoundly. The prayer of the suppliant becomes more importunate, the intercession of the saint more fervent.’ The fluttering of drapery and the contortions of features and forms have become almost Berninesque, heralding from afar the advent of rococo.

Between Augsburg and Nürnberg, some twenty miles north of the Danube, lies Nördlingen. Here Friedrich Herlin produced most of his work, and this town, as well as Rothenburg, where he was born, and other places, possesses some of his many altar retables. One with sixteen

¹ One of the latest of these is a notable monument to Bishop Friedrich von Hohenzollern, dated 1505.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

paintings is in the church, and his most celebrated work, the so-called *Familienaltar*, painted in 1488, is in the Rathaus Museum.¹

Nürnberg (Nuremberg) has for centuries exercised a strong fascination by its picturesque architecture and its fame as the home of celebrated sculptors and painters and poets (Hans Sachs and those other *Meistersinger* who lived while Albrecht Dürer and the Holbeins were the great painters of the age). Its principal churches, S. Lorenz, St Sebald (Sebaldus), and others, already existed, as did also its Schöner Brunnen,² in the days of the early Nürnberg sculptors and painters. It possessed also already strong city walls (completed in 1452), but they were reconstructed much more strongly, and furnished with their round towers, in the next century, and Albrecht Dürer (like Michelangelo) helped by his designs to fortify his native town. But at the epoch of which we are now treating—that of the early Nürnberg sculptors, Stoss and Krafft and Vischer—the charm of picturesque domestic and municipal buildings is said to have been lacking; certainly what are shown as Krafft's and Vischer's houses are not attractive, nor are the cobbler-poet's home and workshop.

But we are trenching on material more suitable for the next section. Our present subject is chiefly concerned with the work of three Nürnberg sculptors, Veit Stoss (c. 1440-1533), Adam Krafft, or Kraft (c. 1440-1509), and Peter Vischer the Elder (1455-1529). These men, although immeasurably far removed from the great sculptors of Greece, Italy, and France, are probably about the best that Germany has produced, and were anyhow not merely clever craftsmen trained in carving and painting for the production of such work as great, pretentious, and oppressively uninspired altar retables—of which we have heard enough, but which will

¹ It has been lately surmised that none of the carved work of these altar reredoses was by Herlin himself. We shall note him as a painter later.

² As *Der Schöne Brunnen*, first erected, it is said, 'after 1361,' has been of late years completely remade (after an old coloured drawing) I have not mentioned it under Gothic sculpture. Some of the multitudinous original statues (which represented Biblical, classical, and medieval heroes, as well as prophets, evangelists, and church fathers) are in the Germanic Museum. The spire-shaped structure is 60 feet high. See Fig. 295. (On account of the difficulty caused by adjectival terminations when one tries to wedge a 'Schönen Brunnen' into an English sentence I shall henceforth call it the 'Beautiful Fountain'.)

SCULPTURE

have to be mentioned again, especially in connexion with painters such as Pacher, Witz, and Herlin.

Stoss did indeed fabricate *Altäre*, as Germans call these reredoses, but he did more. He went off early in life to Cracow (still metropolis of the Kings of Poland), where is to be seen his first work—a huge wood retable, the central piece (*The Virgin's Death*) composed of large figures, and the wings showing eighteen smaller reliefs. Doubtless he began—and continued—in this line because there was immense demand, and because he loved money, as seems proved by the fact that he was publicly branded as a forger; but this vast reredos showed his artistic superiority to the ordinary carver, some of the figures being really fine, and the composition masterly; so, on his return to Nürnberg (1496), he devoted his talents mainly to sculpture, in wood and in stone, and rough, graceless, and repellently grotesque as his work often is, it shows robustness and independence, if not imaginative originality. His chief products were four stone reliefs in S. Sebaldus, all exceedingly coarse in conception, but strong in execution, the *Last Judgment* being a curious mixture of grotesqueness and vigorous modelling;¹ an *Annunciation*—a decoration suspended inside the church of S. Lorenz, with figures of carved wood amidst an oval framework of roses decked with medallions (the latter containing small reliefs of *The Seven Joys of the Virgin*); a carving (a *Crucifixion*) on an *Altar* at Münnerstadt, with rough paintings perhaps by him; another at Schwabach (1508), with paintings by Wohlgemut, the well-known Nürnberg master; and many smaller objects in the Germanic Museum at Nürnberg and elsewhere, some even in Italy.

Krafft was trained as a simple stonemason, or perhaps

¹ While trying to do all possible justice to the occasional vigour of German sculpture, and endeavouring to estimate it solely according to the fundamental principles of great plastic art, I cannot but express my astonishment that such things as these comic *Last Judgments* and *Last Suppers* should be tolerated within any Christian church. One of these reliefs by Stoss in the church of S. Sebaldus shows us eleven of the Apostles, three seated and others standing, round a large trencher, in which are the remains of a paschal lamb, which they have been greedily devouring and are now washing down with copious draughts of wine that they pour from large flagons into capacious mugs. Their faces are all of repulsively coarse, or otherwise unpleasant, type, and some of them are unquestionably represented as in a state of maudlin booziness. This is not *naïveté*, but coarse irreverence and total lack of any sense for beauty and dignity.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

stone-carver.¹ His first and greatest work was a series of seven reliefs for the seven 'Stations' of the *Via Crucis* which leads from one of Nürnberg's city gates to St John's Cemetery, where it ends in a *Calvarienberg* such as we have already noted when treating of French sculpture. These reliefs were ordered by a wealthy Nürnberg, Ketzel by name, who had made two journeys to Jerusalem in order to collect traditions and to study local details. Copies have been substituted for six of the reliefs (the *Calvary*, Krafft's last work, remaining inside the cemetery). The originals have been placed in the Germanic Museum. They are executed in very high relief—vigorous and clever in workmanship, but coarsely realistic and unpleasant in conception.

However different it may be in subject and style, Krafft's work has an essential affinity to all fairly typical German sculpture of the next two centuries. Irrepressible Teutonic *Plumpheit* begins now to manifest itself more and more as facility in execution is acquired, and ere long it rendered unattainable for the German the power that sculpture possesses of expressing what lies beyond the range of pictorial art.

Another great undertaking of Krafft's was the making of the great *Sakramentshaus* (Receptacle for the Host) for the church of S. Lorenz—a stupendous task for one man to complete even in four years (1492–96), though it is not so big as the Receptacle in the Münster of Ulm, which is 85 feet high. The summit of the tapering Gothic spire is most inartistically made to resemble a huge episcopal crozier, and the great limestone structure, crowded with many statues, rests on life-size figures of the sculptor and his three assistants—again a most inartistic device, causing by overwhelming weight and sheer impossibility more discomfort to the spectator (*rancura in chi lo vede*, says Dante when describing something similar) than the writhing balcony-bearers of medieval architecture—so different from the world-bearing Atlantes and basket-bearing Caryatides of Greece—or the

¹ He is called *Steinmetz*, a word that might perhaps be used for *Steinhauer* or *Steinschnitzer*. For 'freemason' used in the sense of 'carver of freestone' see Vol. I, p. 233.

SCULPTURE

animals and human beings subjected to Purgatorial torment by early Lombard and Pisan sculptors of portals and pulpits.¹

After Krafft stone-sculpture and wood-carving in Nürnberg gave place to bronze-casting, in which art the Vischer family became pre-eminent. But before treating this subject I must add a few words about some other parts of Germany. Toward the end of the fifteenth century Würzburg for a time took the lead in sculpture. This was mainly due to Til Riemenschneider (1468–1531), an immigrant from Saxony, who not only was elected Bürgermeister of Würzburg (which dignity as well as much property he seems to have lost by taking part against the Bishop during the Peasants' War), but became famous for his wood-carvings, the chief of which are several monuments and a *Madonna and Child* in the Münster, an *Adam and Eve* for the portal of the Marienkapelle, a high-relief of the *Last Supper* which forms the centre of an altar reredos at Rothenburg, and the monument (made in 1513) to Heinrich II and Queen Kunigunde in the Dom at Bamberg. Smaller works are to be found in German museums (see, for example, Fig. 293); and in our Kensington Museum there is a carving representing a man and his wife at their devotions.

Here we should note a Tirolean carver and painter, Michael Pacher, whose *chef-d'œuvre* is the altar reredos in the church at St Wolfgang (Tirol). The centre, a richly elaborate high-relief, shows a *Coronation of the Virgin*—a wonderful piece of painted and gilded wood-carving, not devoid of picturesque beauty. The paintings that decorate the wings are also by him. They present scenes from the life of St Wolfgang (see p. 436 and Fig. 318).

In Southern Rhineland Strassburg was during this period the centre of stone-carving activity, the products of which were multitudinous architectural statues, *Calvaries*, *Olivets*, *Entombments*, Stations of the Cross, etc. A typical specimen of this artistically almost worthless output is the group of figures, made by Jacob von Landshut (c. 1500),

¹ See Dante's *Purgatory*, x, 130 sq., which I wish I could quote. The only animals able to feel fairly comfortable under such conditions are perhaps tortoises—as Raphael, or whoever else it was, realized when he designed his Fontana delle Tartarughe at Rome. They are also used to support the obelisk in front of S. Maria Novella at Florence.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

that is to be seen at the Laurentius portal of the cathedral. We hear of several other Rhineland sculptors, such as Wydyz, and Nicolaus of Hagenau, and Lorenz of Mainz. In the cemetery of the Dom of Frankfurt is a *Calvarienberg*; another in the St Peter's cemetery; another at Hattenheim; another at Mainz. In the Münster of Freiburg im Breisgau there is richly carved woodwork of this period (c. 1500) by unknown artists—several *Adorations of the Magi*, etc. (Holbein's picture of the *Adoration*, painted in 1520, is also there.)

Also in Northern Rhineland, Westphalia, and other regions of North Germany there was during the Late Gothic era, amidst a great deal of primitive and grotesque stone-carving, a small amount of work that seems to claim notice as showing some artistic characteristics. Among these Late Gothic Northern sculptors we hear especially of the two whom I mentioned before (p. 382), namely a Meister Brüggemann and a Meister Bertram.

We now pass on to the Renaissance and *barock* sculpture of Germany. The first artists on the list are various members of that Vischer family already mentioned as renowned for bronze-casting. By far the most important of these was the elder Peter Vischer (1455-1529), two of whose five sons, Peter and Hans, were his fellow-workers. Peter died before his father. Hans kept up the celebrated foundry at Nürnberg with fair success until, about 1540, he seems somewhat suddenly to have lost favour and ceased working.

We have already noted bronze fonts and monumental effigies and slabs, etc., in early Gothic times in Germany, as well as in France and Flanders. The art of bronzen sculpture was, as all know, brought to high proficiency by the Greeks, many of the so-called Greek statues that we possess being only Roman-Greek copies in marble of bronze originals. Bronze-casting was also of course known to the Romans, and doubtless introduced by them into distant provinces. In Italy bronze reliefs (on church doors and monuments, etc.) were fairly common in the Middle Ages, and became, after the celebrated Florentine Baptistry doors of Andrea Pisano and Ghiberti, things of beauty; and when Donatello made his *David* and *Judith*, and then (1453) the splendid

SCULPTURE

bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, the art of casting bronze statuary received an immense impulse. A little later we have the *David* and then the *Colleoni* of Verrocchio (helped perhaps by Leonardo da Vinci). Now Ghiberti's two famous bronze doors were completed in 1452, three years before the birth of Peter Vischer; and Donatello's magnificent equestrian statue at Padua was finished in 1453, two years before Peter saw the light. That he himself ever visited Italy is more than doubtful, but his son Peter was there, about the year 1505, 'for the sake of art' (*Kunst halb*, as an old writer expresses it), and this son most probably had a considerable share in the Renaissance parts of the Sebaldusgrab—the work that occupied his father from 1508 to 1519—as well as in the purely Renaissance statues of King Arthur and Theoderic which his father cast in 1516 for the magnificent tomb of the Emperor Maximilian I at Innsbruck. As, therefore, we chose (Vol. I, p. 380) 1425 to mark the beginning, at least for sculpture, of what we call the Italian Renaissance because that year came between the making of Ghiberti's first Baptistry door and that of the second—so wonderfully diverse in style—perhaps we may regard 1516 as the first year of the German Renaissance, although in architecture there followed a long transition period.

The masterpiece produced by the Vischer foundry was unquestionably the tomb, or shrine, of St Sebald (Fig. 292). It is a bronze architectural structure, profusely adorned with sculptures. Within it is the silver sarcophagus, on the basement of which are reliefs showing miracles performed by the saint—one being the making of a blazing fire by means of icicles instead of dry wood. On consoles stand half-life-size statues of the Apostles, some of them dignified, and above them smaller figures of prophets. These are the only Biblical decorations, unless we may consider the three dome-like superstructures, strange but not unpicturesque combinations of various styles—round arches and flying buttresses and Renaissance richness of decoration—to represent the city of New Jerusalem, which is sometimes depicted somewhat thus in old mosaics. The lower part of the shrine, which lies in semi-obscurity when the great candles, uplifted

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

on their bronzen stands, illuminate the sarcophagus and the celestial domes, swarms with highly fantastic, symbolical, mythological, and other imaginary forms—a *Klassische Walpurgisnacht* of Northern *Spuk*—a veritable *Götterdämmerung*—a weird welter of human creatures and pagan divinities (powers of darkness, as in Dante's *Inferno*) and mermaids and dolphins and centaurs and snails and mice and such small deer; and aloof from the orgy, dreamily dozing, with head and crown awry, and a thyrsus-like sceptre in the feeble grasp of the hand that once wielded the thunderbolt, squats in wretched and obscene nudity the Pheidian Zeus, at his side a goose-like parody of the Pindaric eagle. It reminds one of the Second Part of *Faust*, its counterpart in German literature. A figure of very different character to be found amidst the strange medley of these Sebaldusgrab sculptures is that of Vischer himself—a sturdy, businesslike man, girt with his leathern apron and holding hammer and chisel ready for work.

The oft-admired bronze statue of King Arthur (Fig. 294), which, as well as that of Theoderic, the famous Ostrogoth king, was Peter Vischer's contribution (1513–16) to the huge cenotaph of Maximilian, has a certain dignity of presence, rather stiff and self-assertive, reminding one more of the Prussian swashbuckler of our own days than of the noble-hearted lord of Guinevere or of that statue by Donatello of St George which, I think, must have suggested the attitude. Its main merit is the rare skill shown in the casting of the all-enveloping armour, the decoration of which rivals the work of Italian craftsmen of the High Renaissance and in its exuberant richness reminds one of Spanish *plateresque* ornamentation.

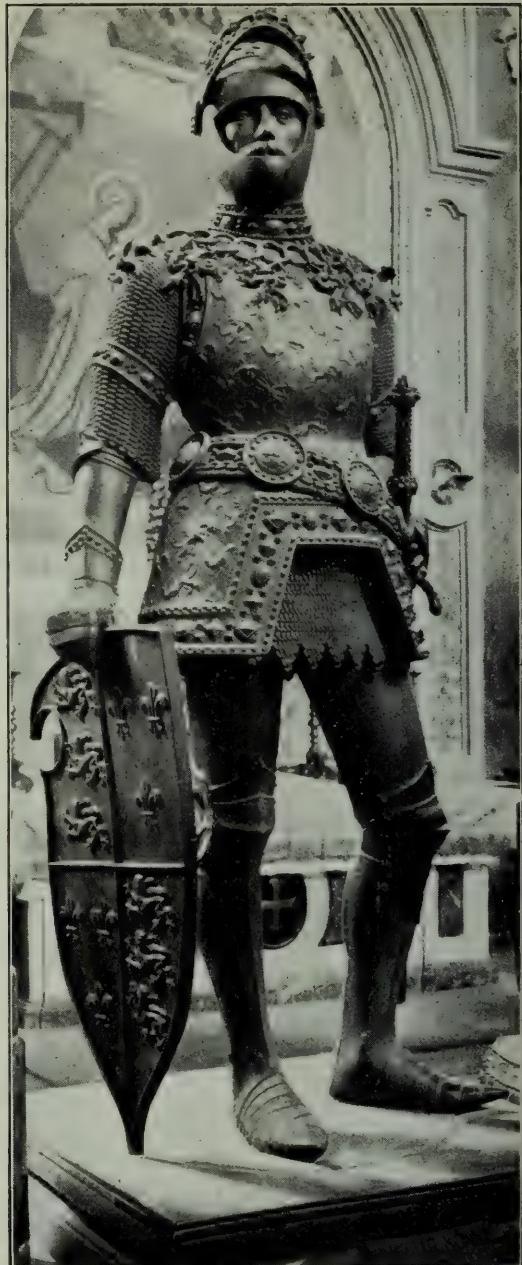
Kaiser Maximilian I—whose marriage in early life with Mary of Burgundy, so tragically killed while hunting near Bruges, we noted on a former occasion—some nine years before his own death conceived the idea of immortalizing his fame by erecting a vast monument in the Hofkirche (Court Church) at Innsbruck. It was designed in accordance with the researches of the *savant* Peutinger. The Emperor was to be represented kneeling on a marble sarcophagus, surrounded by forty great bronze statues of his ancestors (some



292. ST SEBALD'S SHRINE
In St Sebald's church, Nürnberg. By Peter Vischer



293. ST ELISABETH
By Riemenschneider. See p. 399
Nürnberg, Germanic Museum



294. KING ARTHUR
By Peter Vischer
Innsbruck

SCULPTURE

of them somewhat fictitious) and other relatives, and by figures symbolic of the virtues. It took seventy-six years (1508–84) to furnish the monument with twenty-eight statues, and it has never been completed.¹ Maximilian lies buried at Neustadt, near Vienna.

Other works of Peter Vischer are numerous engraved memorial plates, monumental reliefs, and tombs—some of considerable size and magnificence, such as that of Archbishop Ernst at Magdeburg (1495). Until some years after 1500 he followed the general type of the Gothic tomb. Specimens of his earlier style may be seen at Bamberg, Erfurt, Meissen, Berlin, Posen, and even at Cracow, where is his fine bronze relief, on the tomb of Cardinal Friedrich, of the royal family of the Jagellons. In this relief (1510) we have an early example of what Vischer introduced into his later monumental work, namely sacred scenes. Here the Cardinal is kneeling before the Virgin and Child; in the Margareta Tucher bronze at Regensburg (Ratisbon) we have a parting between Christ and his Mother; in the somewhat later memorial tablet of the Eisen family in the (now Protestant) Egidienkirche at Nürnberg there is a *Pietà* in the Italian manner, the work of the two Peter Vischers (1522). The framework of Vischer's monumental reliefs, moreover, as early as about 1500 begins to lose its primitive Gothic character and to introduce *putti* and *amoretti* in the Italian manner, and the backgrounds begin to show Renaissance architectural features, as was the case, some fifty years earlier, with Ghiberti's famous second bronze door of the Florentine Baptistery.

But the important point for us here lies in the fact that, whereas Brunelleschi's architecture preceded by some thirty years Ghiberti's sculpture, Vischer's sculpture preceded by no less a period that general *débâcle* which took place when

¹ The idea was, I believe, suggested to Maximilian by the vast monument ordered by Pope Julius II, who in 1505 set Michelangelo to work on what proved for the great sculptor 'the tragedy of his life.' Doubt has been expressed (e.g., in *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 27, 1923) whether the statue called *King Arthur* was originally meant to represent Arthur or Theoderic. Until the supporters of this doubt prove that the escutcheon is a later addition, it must remain incredible that Vischer would have given *fleurs de lis* and English lions as armorial bearings to the Ostrogoth monarch. All the huge figures except these two are utterly worthless as works of art, and many of them are almost grotesque.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

the new Classic Italian style at length, fairly late in the sixteenth century, broke the obstinate defence of its Northern rival. The reasons and phases of this long and obstinate resistance will be noted in the next section.

Peter Vischer the Younger died in 1527 and his father in 1529. The second son, Hans, before he ceased work from want of public favour, produced some fairly successful monuments, the last of which seems to have been that of the Bishop of Lindenau, at Merseburg, in 1540. We also owe to him the not ungraceful figure of the youthful archer-god that surmounts the Apollo fountain in Nürnberg (1534). Such fountains were now in vogue. A Nürnberg bronze-caster, Labenwolf, in 1549 made the one with sea-horses which stands in the old court of the Rathaus, and in 1557 the well-known *Gänsemännchen*—a man carrying a goose under each arm—and also the wooden model for the *Bagpipe-player*, which was not cast in bronze until 1870.

To another Nürnberg artist, Wurzlbauer, we owe the bronze Tugendbrunnen (Fountain of Virtue, made in 1557). Its pyramidal form, with figures of six of the virtues below, the seventh (Justice) at the summit, and between them a circle of children blowing trumpets, is attractive; but there may be some of us who do not quite accept the praise lavished by an eminent German writer on the beautiful effect produced by ‘the cross fire of threadlike jets of water spurted forth by the trumpets of the boys and the breasts of the female figures.’ Still more unattractive ‘jets’ may be found in other German fountains. The Perseusbrunnen (c. 1580), in the Grotto-court of the former Residenz at Munich, shows a Perseus somewhat like the famous Perseus made in 1553 by Benvenuto Cellini at Florence—by which indeed it may have been suggested. Cellini’s anatomical realism is disagreeable enough; but who except a German sculptor would have used the dissevered and uplifted head and the decapitated body of the Medusa as the *spouts of a fountain?* (See Fig. 296.) Other notable German fountains, besides the Beautiful Fountain of Nürnberg, which has been noted already, are the Gerechtigkeitsbrunnen, or Fountain of Justice, at Frankfurt am Main (the original bronze



295. DER SCHÖNE BRUNNEN,
NÜRNBERG

See p. 396 and n

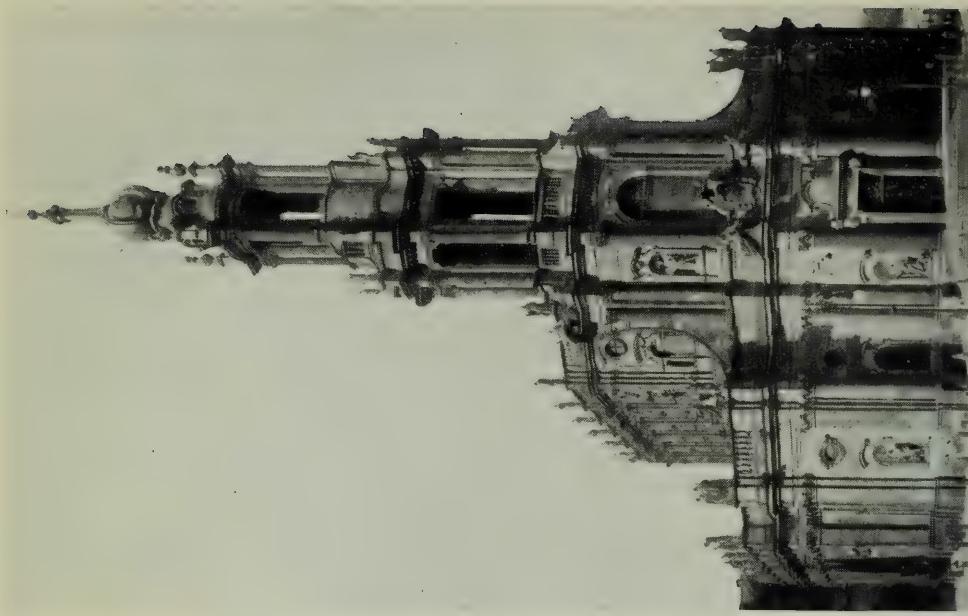


296. DER PERSEUSBRUNNEN,
MUNICH

404



297. DER GROSSE KURFÜRST
By Schläuter. See p. 409
Berlin
Photo N.P.G.



298. DIE HOFKIRCHE, DRESDEN
See pp. 408, 426
Berlin
Photo N.P.G.

SCULPTURE

figure made in 1611); the Marktbrunnen at Mainz—one of the finest specimens of early German imitation of High Renaissance work (*c.* 1525); a two-columned Renaissance fountain-superstructure of beautiful proportions and admirable (perhaps Italian) workmanship at Colmar; the curious so-called Fräuleinbrunnen, at Bietigheim, showing a crowned, semi-nude, female—perhaps an Undine (Naiad)—perched upon a column; many a so-called Ritterbrunnen, where some local magnate stands on the top of a sculptured column; the Löwenbrunnen in Dinkelsbühl, where a squatting lion holds a similar position; the Herculesbrunnen and the Merkurbrunnen in Augsburg (both *c.* 1600), where the columns are surmounted respectively by a Hercules slaying a Hydra and an ungracefully emphatic Mercury; the S. Georgsbrunnen in Rothenburg (1608), where instead of Hercules and the Hydra one has St George and the Dragon; and so on. In connexion with the last should be mentioned a much older S. Georgsbrunnen. It is in the court of the great Hradschin at Prag (Prague). The large bronze group dates, it is said, from 1373, and seems a wonderful production for that age in a country such as Bohemia; but we have already noted (in Vol. I) the equally wonderful existence of a most vigorous school of painting in Bohemia during the reign of the Emperor Charles IV (*d.* 1378), who was a great admirer of Italian art. The casting of the group is claimed, somewhat hesitatingly, for an otherwise unknown German ‘Meister Nicolaus’; but anyhow the design must, I think, be of Italian origin.

We have now surveyed, as far as our limits permit, the origins and development of German plastic art down to the political disorders consequent on the Reformation—disorders which, after the death of the great Emperor Charles V, in spite of the ‘Religious Peace’ of Augsburg, rapidly grew more and more serious until the outbreak of the terrible war that for thirty years (1618–48) devastated and desolated Germany.¹

¹ It may be helpful to note here the following dates: Peter Vischer, 1455–1529; Albrecht Dürer, 1471–1528; Luther, 1483–1546; Holbein the Younger, 1497–1543; Charles V, *b.* 1500, *d.* 1558; Diet of Worms, 1521; the Augsburger Religionsfriede, 1555; the founding of the Protestant Union and the Catholic League, 1608 and 1609.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

For a considerable period before this great war broke out things had been in a very disturbed state. Charles and Francis I of France were constantly renewing their quarrels. The peasants had risen, and Germany was for a time threatened with a disastrous revolution ; Austria was invaded by the Turks, and in 1529 Vienna was besieged by them ; every year the antagonism between the adherents of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation increased in bitterness ; the princes of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League for some years were in open rebellion against the Empire ; and the Council of Trent and the fanaticism of the newly founded Jesuit Order intensified mutual embitterment. It is not surprising that in the latter half of the sixteenth century the artistic products of Germany were few ; and it is still less surprising that during, and for a very considerable time after, the Thirty Years War such arts as painting and sculpture were scarcely practised at all. What German sculpture exists dating from the seventeenth or even from the eighteenth century—roughly speaking, the centuries of Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, and of Frederick the Great of Prussia—seldom affords anything that without the utmost stretch of impartiality, or even indulgence, one could call a work of art.

But before passing on to the degraded sculpture of the eighteenth century we should at least cast a grateful glance toward the city of Munich. I have already mentioned it in connexion with the Perseusbrunnen. The maker of this fountain was a Münchener, Maix by name. He was one of a group of artists, affected by Italian (and Flemish) influences, who made Munich for a part of the seventeenth century almost as famous a home of sculpture (especially the modelling and casting of bronze statues and reliefs) as had been Nürnberg. The somewhat short-lived fame of these artists in bronze was mainly due to Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria (1596–1651), who acquired the high title of Imperial Elector (*Kurfürst*, or *Wähler*) and deserved well of his country by enlarging and fortifying his city and attracting artists to his court. One of the works on which (in 1622) he employed sculptors and bronze-casters was the great monument in the Frauenkirche to that adventurous old Holy Roman Emperor, Ludwig

SCULPTURE

the Bavarian.¹ The marble tomb was made by Peter Witte (called Candido by his Italian friends), a sculptor-architect who had studied under Vasari at Florence, and he may have also helped in producing the four large bronze figures (portraits of former Bavarian Dukes) which, like those at Innsbruck, surround the tomb. Other artists who worked for Maximilian at Munich were, firstly, the unknown but gifted and imaginative (Italian ?) sculptor who made the bronze figures for the Mariensäule, a column of red marble erected in 1638 to commemorate the victory of Maximilian's Bavarians over the Protestant Bohemians at the first important battle of the Thirty Years War, fought on the White Hill, near Prag. On the summit of the column is the Virgin, and on the pediment are four youthful 'genii,' who are vanquishing various monsters symbolic of war, famine, plague, and heresy. Then we have Hubert Gerard (a Fleming ?), who made the model from which a very vigorous *St Michael and the Dragon* was cast later to adorn the Michaeliskirche near Munich ; also Hans Krumper, who made the *Bavaria* for the fountain in the Court Garden ; also Adrian de Bries, the maker of the above-mentioned figure of Mercury and the group of Hercules and the Hydra for fountains in Augsburg. He worked moreover at Prag, where he was court-sculptor to the art-loving Kaiser Rudolf II. The fine Neptunbrunnen at Danzig is a creation of his, and other works by him are to be seen in Breslau and Brunswick. Thus we may trace the art of the Renaissance spreading from Southern to Northern and Eastern Germany, and when we come to architecture we shall note more plainly how the new military power of Brandenburg and Prussia formed a new centre of attraction for debased barocco and rococo art.

* * * * *

Those arch-autocrats Louis XIV and Frederick the Great, who—not to mention French revolutionaries and Bonaparte—were the great disturbers of the peace of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while

¹ In *Italy from Dante to Tasso* (p. 22 sq.) I have described his 'descent' on Rome (in 1328) and his ridiculous coronation by a Colonna and then by an anti-pope of his own creation.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

obstructing, each in his own way, the progress of true art, favoured such ‘monarchical’ sculpture as conduced to their own glorification; and their patronage of servile artists and their influence on servile municipalities and on petty rulers caused to be erected innumerable worthless statues, many of which were eliminated from French cities by revolutionary iconoclasm, whereas those that for centuries disfigured the streets, the squares, the public gardens, and the bridges of the Fatherland have been vastly supplemented in later days by more ambitious but equally worthless effigies of great Germans and huge *Germanias*.

But besides such statues there is in Germany and Austria a very large amount of eighteenth-century sculpture of a different character, especially where, either in cities or in the open country, princes and plutocrats had palaces erected and great gardens and parks laid out and adorned in a poor imitation of the late barocco style of Bernini’s followers, and in the still later and more fantastic and degraded style of French rococo. Most of the designing, as well as the execution, of these multitudinous decorative sculptures, mythological and symbolical, was the work of Italians, doubtless often highly trained and skilful craftsmen, but very seldom artists. In Dresden we have Antonio Corradini’s *Time unveiling Truth*, a wonderfully executed, but hideously extravagant, Berninesque group made for the Great Garden, which he and his fellow-countryman, Pietro Balestra, were employed to decorate. A little later (c. 1738) came to Dresden another Italian, Pietro Mattielli, who had previously worked at Vienna, where he helped to produce the great marble group in the fountain-basin of the Schönbrunn Palace —a work almost as ambitious as Bernini’s group in the Roman Piazza Navona, but entirely lacking in such touches of genius as Bernini’s creations always possess. To Mattielli are attributed most of the decorative sculptures of the Dresden Hofkirche (Fig. 298) and an Amphitrite fountain-figure for the famous Brühl’sche Terrasse.¹

¹ In connexion with eighteenth-century Dresden sculpture should be noted Böttcher’s invention (1709) of Meissen porcelain and the beginning (by the artist Joachim Kändler) of the vast output of the charming little ‘pastoral’ and *galant* figures and groups which are so universally admired and so largely imitated.

SCULPTURE

At Würzburg we find a Dutchman, Jacob van de Auvera, who with his two sons produced during the first half of the eighteenth century a great amount of decorative architectural sculpture, as well as fountain-figures, pulpits, tombs, etc. Later a German, Johannes Peter Wagner (*d.* 1809), worked as sculptor in this city, and is said to have carved about a hundred altars. Also the Royal Hofgarten at Veitshöchheim, near Würzburg, was adorned by this rather commonplace but humorous stone-carver with a number of sculptures—including the rearing horse balanced on his hind-legs on the top of a rocky islet in the ornamental lake.

The only other sculptures of Germany's *barock* and *rococo* era that I can mention are the many severely 'Catholic' statues to be seen in Prag,¹ amongst which are notable those of S. Nepomuk and other celebrities on the bridge over the Moldau (these statues are mainly by a father and son named Brokoff), and the really fine equestrian Berlin statue (*c.* 1700) of the Great Elector of Brandenburg (Fig. 297), the work of Schlüter, whom we shall meet later as an architect.

¹ Before the Thirty Years War Bohemia was strongly Calvinistic, but was, like Flanders, forcibly brought back to the old fold.

CHAPTER II

ARCHITECTURE (c. 1550-c. 1800)

IN the first volume of this book, where the Romanesque and Gothic eras were considered, we noted that the 'Pointed Style' began in France as early as 1120 and that by 1200 it had reached a fully developed and most beautiful type, characterized by ogival vaulting and the lancet window. We noted also that fine French Gothic cathedrals, such as those of Chartres, Reims, and Amiens, were in existence before Germany began to make use of the new style,¹ and that the old, massive, Romanesque methods of construction were preferred by German builders long after the 'triumph of the void' had been realized not only in France, but in England and in Spain.

Moreover, in the Preliminary and Chapter I of this Part it has been pointed out that when Gothic had once struck root in Germany it established itself so ubiquitously and firmly as to offer a very obstinate resistance to the introduction of the new Classic style which had originated in Italy before the middle of the Quattrocento and had by the end of that century spread through France—'not only through the centralized part of the kingdom, but even in those provinces which were still but insecurely attached to it' (Hourticq). It was not till nearly a hundred years later, about the middle of the sixteenth century, or, we might even say, toward the beginning of the seventeenth century, that German architecture began to adopt at all generally the constructive principles of the Renaissance.

And here it is important to note again the fact which has been stated in the preceding chapter, that although German

¹ The Liebfrauenkirche at Trier and Cologne Cathedral (founded 1248) were the first great Gothic buildings begun in Germany. Though inspired by the earlier French cathedrals, they are works of genuinely German architecture. For early German cathedrals see Vol. I, Figs. 181, 199, and 237.

ARCHITECTURE

architects so long ignored the new style, German sculptors—and the same may be said of the engravers and the painters—were even in the first decades of the sixteenth century inspired by Renaissance influences; and these artists by means of their monumental sculptures and their pictures contributed largely toward the change, so long delayed; for architects began to be impressed with the beauty of Renaissance ornamentation, and to use it. Consequently, as Gothic architecture was unfavourable to such ornamentation, the new Classic style was gradually introduced.¹

And when at last Renaissance architecture began to prevail in Germany it was of diverse types—a fact explainable by the diversity of sources whence it was derived and the various phases through which the style had already passed. Moreover, not long after its first general introduction its acclimatization and development suffered a very serious setback; for in 1618 broke out the Thirty Years War, which was followed by the French devastations of the Rhine Palatinate, claimed by Louis XIV, and by the invasion of Austria by the Turks; and during this long period much was destroyed and the building of great public and private edifices was almost at a standstill, and but little of artistic importance was produced in Germany. All was for a time terror, chaos, and confusion. And when tranquillity returned and both of the bitter adversaries in the great war began to rebuild their homes and to erect new fanes to suit their diverse forms of religion—with an enthusiasm like that which filled Christendom after the passing of the dreaded end of the first millennium—it was inevitable that very different types of the new architecture should arise.

As might have been expected, Southern Germany and Austria were strongly affected by the art of their co-religionists near their borders, the Lombards and the Venetians, and even by the art of Tuscany and Rome. By Italian architects and by Germans who had studied in Italy buildings were erected of undeniable dignity and beauty,

¹ Compare the influence of the *plateresque* in Spanish architecture (pp. 148-149, 153). As for these German sculptors and painters, Peter Vischer lived only till 1529 and Albrecht Dürer till 1528; and Holbein's famous *Madonna* was painted about 1525.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

showing sometimes the exquisite proportions and the admirable self-restraint in the use of decoration which were marked characteristics of the best Italian architecture from the days of Brunelleschi to those of Scamozzi.

In its north-western regions, on the other hand, Germany was largely influenced, especially in the seventeenth century, by Flemish Renaissance architects,¹ while in central and north-eastern parts, especially during the following (eighteenth) century, after the rise of Prussia under the periwigged Frederick the Great—whose *penchant* for Louis Quinze art and literature is well known—some of the worst forms of French rococo found, side by side with the earlier and nobler *Barockstil*, a congenial soil, and in certain cities, such as Dresden (the *Heimat des Rokoko*), flourished luxuriantly, both as an external and as an internal decoration, or disfigurement.²

And this French rococo had in parts of Germany, especially in the south and in Saxony—where the rulers were Catholic although the people were Protestant—a powerful abettor in the Jesuitic style of church architecture and adornment. This style, which really deserves the ignominy attaching to the word rococo more than anything devised by Parisian builders and decorators, first attracted attention in Rome after the completion of Vignola's church, Il Gesù—about 1568—and, having become popularized later by the pretentious works of Maderna and Fontana, spread like the plague through all Catholic Christendom and followed Jesuit missionaries into *partes infidelium* in every quarter of the world. And in those parts of Germany where the Roman Church had retained, or regained, its supremacy the gorgeous gilt and stucco internal ornamentation of such churches was rivalled by that of many a princely palace.

A few of the marked characteristics of these diverse types of German architecture during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries should now be pointed out. There will then be little necessary but to give a list

¹ An early example is the Emden Rathaus (Fig. 304), built by an Antwerp architect about ten years after Cornelis Floris had built the fine Hôtel de Ville at Antwerp (Fig. 232).

² For the terms barocco (*baroque*, *Barock*) and rococo see note on p. 14.

ARCHITECTURE

of the more important buildings in what Germans call their Renaissance, *barock*, and *rokoko* styles.

Firstly, seeing that German sculptors and engravers and painters influenced architectural ornamentation long before the structural principles of the new Classic style were generally adopted, we have a transitional phase of quaint, hybrid buildings in which Gothic, or quasi-Gothic, forms are combined with more or less rich Renaissance decoration—a state of things reminding one of the *plateresque* phase in Spanish architecture.

Secondly, we may note the fact—closely associated with this craving for rich decoration such as was not favoured by Gothic structural forms—that when Renaissance architecture began to win general acceptance in Germany some of its types showed a plentiful lack of that exquisite symmetry and harmony and subordination of parts to the whole, and of decoration to constructive form, which are the main characteristics of the best Italian Renaissance buildings. Not seldom we find an otherwise almost unadorned edifice with a great amount of rich decoration lavished on some prominent part, such as a projecting bow-window or ornamental ‘gablet’ or a porch—an arrangement that ruins all chance of a *bel ensemble* and gives the impression of a vulgar desire to attract notice to mere ornament,¹ the function of which in architecture should be to enhance the beauty of the whole. There are, however, not a few cases where highly ornamental Renaissance adjuncts to older buildings merit admiration if they can be regarded as independent entities. (See, for instance, the Lübeck Rathaus, Fig. 303.)

Thirdly, the diversity of German Renaissance and *barock* styles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was due not only to the diverse sources (Italian, French, and Flemish) from which they were derived, but also to the facts that at first there was much direct imitation—especially in the

¹ Examples of this are to be seen in the Rathäuser of Halberstadt, Lemgo, Breslau, and many other cities. The German Renaissance *Staffelgiebel* (ornamental gables, such as are to be seen on the Bremen Rathaus), built in stages or with ‘corbie-steps,’ are often as repulsively false and inartistic as the sham façades, overtopping the main building, that one sees in some Italian Romanesque churches (e.g., S. Michele at Lucca). For fine photographs of German Renaissance civic edifices, and much else, I would refer the reader to the well-known German series of *Blue Books* (*Die Blauen Bücher*).

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

south—of Italian architecture, and that for this work Italian builders were largely employed. Moreover, during, and even before, the long and desolating wars of the seventeenth century many Germans, glad to escape across the Alps, studied art in Italy, and each of these on his return was naturally desirous of initiating in his Fatherland an independent native style founded on the principles which had proved so successful in ‘Wälschland.’ And so in various parts of Germany different varieties—if not species—of the acclimatized *architettura barocca* arose, and *deutscher Barock* proved to be of a very heterogeneous nature—all the more heterogeneous by reason of French and Flemish influences added to those of Italy.

Still another cause of diversity in style was the fact that rich and princely persons of Southern Germany who had the means to travel and to bring home art treasures from Italy were prone to indulge their tastes also by bringing home, or inviting, Italian architects to build them villas or palaces, whereas the ordinary burgher and the municipalities, especially in the old and conservative ‘free cities’ (*Reichsstädte*), were content with the old architecture which was good enough for their ancestors. A striking example of such early imitation of Italian barocco is afforded by the very richly adorned and heavily vaulted library (or bath-room) of the Fuggerhaus at Augsburg, constructed by an Italian architect for a rich merchant-prince, Hans Fugger, about 1570.

To sum up the result of all these various causes, we may affirm that *deutscher Barock* (the style that prevailed through the whole of Germany during the seventeenth century and half of the eighteenth, and went on flourishing later in some parts of the country while in other parts luxuriated the exotic weed *Rokoko*) when at its best is generally almost pure imitation of foreign work, and when at its worst is an eyesore, showing a total absence of beauty in proportion, of harmony of parts to each other and to the whole, and of rightly used ornament—all of which characteristics are unfailingly present, and more or less conspicuous, in good Italian, French, and Flemish Renaissance architecture.

Even in many a much-admired and magnificent German

ARCHITECTURE

Renaissance building the apparent lack of any cosmic unity—the chaos, or at the best the fortuitous concurrence, of pretentious decorations subordinated to no such form as is always present, though at times as a veiled presence,¹ in every great work of art—may well remind one of many musical products of modern Germany.

The character of German architectural stone-carving during these two centuries—especially in regions where there was a lack of good freestone and an abundance of timber—was largely due to the influence of that wood-carving which, as we have seen, was used so profusely in the fabrication of great altar reredoses. Edifices with wooden façades, or external timbers and panellings, often richly carved, are still fairly common, though many were burnt down by the French after the Thirty Years War, and many others have disappeared. In such *Holzschnitzerei* German decorative incontinence found too free indulgence, so that, although many of these old timber and half-timber houses are quaint and some of them really attractive on account of their harmonious proportions (Fig. 300), the effect is not seldom spoilt by the obtrusive and importunate carved-wood ornamentation. And when this kind of thing is perpetuated in stone-work, and one sees plinths and shafts of columns and pilasters, and architraves, and friezes, and every other available surface sprawled over with meaningless figures of men and beasts, natural and monstrous, amidst scrolls and garlands and every kind of *Schnörkelei*, the impression left by such phantasmagoria of trivialities and nightmare monstrosities is painful.

The successive phases of German architecture during the three centuries or so which are under consideration in this volume may be therefore roughly outlined as follows :

(a) Gothic, gradually overcome by Renaissance influences, c. 1520–50 ; (b) German Renaissance architecture, at first imitative, then assimilative, develops, though much

¹ By 'form' I here mean no mere material shape, architectural or other, but that formative, or 'informing,' *idea*—that *forma formans*—which manifests itself in the natural world and in all true art. (Once more I might refer to the 'form within the rough Alpine marble' which the sculptor has to reveal and liberate.) Poets speak also of the human soul as 'form.' See Dante, *Purg.* ix, 58; *Par.* iv, 54; *Inf.* xxv, 101; *et al.*

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

retarded by war, various native types, among them a massive 'castle' style with a few Classical features, c. 1550-1650; (c) the *Barockstil*, formed from these various types, becomes fairly prevalent, c. 1650-1750; (d) parts of Germany invaded by the French rococo style.

During the first and second of these phases were built most of the still existing parts of numberless castles and of many fine town halls (*Rathäuser*) and private houses.¹ Germany is a land of castles. Some of these huge, moated fortresses, dating originally from early Gothic days, lie in total ruin. Others, rebuilt and often enlarged in the Renaissance era, are still standing, and crown many a Rhine-land and Danubian hill, or frown above Northern rivers and estuaries. A good specimen of an ancient fortress picturesquely patched up with early and late additions almost exclusively in Gothic style is Schloss Eltz, on the river Mosel (Fig. 299). It was first built about 1150, and is said to have been continuously inhabited by members of the Eltz family. Recently a fire destroyed the interior.

German castles of early date, however picturesque they may be as ruins or reconstructions in various styles, cannot compete as great works of artistic architecture with old French *châteaux*. They were usually huge amorphous piles erected in the 'castle' style—which also in France and Italy was so different from the ecclesiastical Gothic. They had vast blank walls pierced with square loopholes and a few square windows, and were furnished with massive, round, pointed towers.²

The following are a few of the finest examples, besides Schloss Eltz, of castles (some of them, gutted by the French, now ruins) most of which, originally early Gothic, have been largely reconstructed in a later Gothic 'castle' style, or in a transition style which begins to introduce features of the new Renaissance palatial architecture.

Firstly we have some well-known Rhine castles : Stolzenfels, c. 1250, gutted by French in 1689, restored by Prussian Crown Prince, 1823 ; Rheinfels, 1245,

¹ Few churches were built between the Gothic era and the end of the Thirty Years War. Later both Catholics and Protestants showed much zeal in this form of architecture.

² Machicolated ramparts are found mostly in castles near the Italian frontier, such as the mighty Runkelstein, near Bozen (now Italian).



299. SCHLOSS ELTZ
Before the fire. See also p. 378



300. HAUS KAMMERZELL, STRASSBURG
See p. 419. Photo N.P.G.



301. HEIDELBERG CASTLE
From within the court. See p. 418
Photo H.B.C.

ARCHITECTURE

ruin—belonged to ex-Kaiser; Schönburg, c. 1250?—a ruin; Fürstenberg, twelfth century?—gutted by French in 1689; Stahleck, twelfth century, ruin—gutted by French in 1689; Reichenberg, 1284, fine ruin, three miles from Rhine; Rheinstein, twelfth century?—restored by Prince Frederick of Prussia, 1825. Then we have: Limburg, on Lahn, founded about 1235 (adjunct of much older basilican church). Burg Runkel, on Lahn, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Marburg, Hessen, thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Lahneck, on Lahn and Rhine, fourteenth century and earlier; destroyed by French in 1689; restored thirty years ago. Hanstein, near Witzenhausen, mostly ruin, early fourteenth century. Greifenstein, in the Westerwald (a grand ruin), thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Rudelsburg, on Saale, thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Gallab, an ‘Ordens-schloss,’ on Dremens, West Prussia; a great ruin, mainly brick, c. 1350. Schloss of Karl IV, Tangermünde, harbour-fort (brick), fourteenth century. Marienwerder, a vast edifice (brick) between Berlin and Danzig, early fourteenth century. Diez, on Lahn, fifteenth century. Parsberg, Upper Palatinate, Bavaria, middle fifteenth century. The enormous fortress, Marienberg, Würzburg, late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Albrechtsburg, Meissen, Saxony, 1471–85. Ortenburg, Bautzen, 1480–85. Altenburg, ducal castle, fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Moritzburg, near Magdeburg, about 1500. Hartenfels at Torgau, sixteenth century. Falkenstein, East Harz Mountains, sixteenth century. Ronneburg, Upper Hessen, sixteenth century. Hellenstein, Würtemberg, 1537. Royal Schloss, Dresden, 1548 onward. Lauenstein (Thüringen), huge ancient ruin, but mostly from c. 1550. Wertheim on Main, gutted in Thirty Years War. The vast Schloss Bernberg, on Saale, late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Schloss Friedland, Wallenstein’s castle in Bohemia. Dürrenheim, in the Eifel, middle sixteenth century. Merseburg, castle of Herzog Georg of Saxony, 1605. Schloss Nossen, Saxony, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt, vast episcopal palace, rebuilt in seventeenth century. Schwarzenberg, Scheinfeld, seventeenth century. To these may be added perhaps the mighty pile (about 100 yards square, with massive towers nearly 200 feet high) of the Royal Palace at Aschaffenburg, on the Main above Frankfurt—built in 1605–14, and for two centuries a palace of the archiepiscopal Electors (*Kurfürsten*) of Mainz. Like some of the later castles given in my list, it is an immense block structurally showing no definite style, but enlivened by decorative Renaissance adjuncts, such as window and door pediments, staged gables, and columned portals.

We now pass on to edifices wholly, or almost wholly, of Renaissance style of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, which in connexion with our present subject may be called the ‘palatial’ rather than the ‘castle’ style, for even before the Thirty Years War the building of strongholds began to decrease, and palaces, often set in the midst of splendid parks and gardens, began to be erected. The most interesting representative of such earlier palace-castles is what yet

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

exists of the celebrated Heidelberger Schloss. Here the sole still conspicuous relic of the old Gothic fortifications, which in 1689 the French did their best to annihilate by explosives, is the massive round tower at the south-east angle (*Der Gesprengte Turm*), only a part of which was blown down. The rest of the castle consists principally of the east rectangular block, erected by the Elector Palatine Otto Heinrich in 1556, and the larger, but less decorated, north side of the quadrangle, looking toward the Neckar, which was built by his successors early in the seventeenth century. The other two sides are occupied by the remains of the ancient Gothic residence of the old Counts Palatine (*Pfalzgrafen*).

The façade of Otto Heinrich's palace that looks on the central court (to the right as one enters) supplies a very good illustration of that kind of German Renaissance decoration which I described as a phantasmagoria of trivialities and nightmare monstrosities. Classic pilasters, Caryatides, bits of heavy friezes, allegorical and mythological figures, busts and medallions of celebrities ancient and modern, armorial bearings, monstrous creatures—all are jumbled together in chaotic medley. The northern edifice, built mainly by the Electors Frederick IV and V, shows a less ambitious *barock* style, with false gables, but scarcely any further decoration.¹

Besides the Heidelberg Schloss, the following are some of the chief specimens of German Renaissance palatial castles built during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first two or three decades of the seventeenth century—a period including the early phase of the great war. To give the names even of only the well-authenticated architects of the innumerable buildings mentioned in this chapter is for me impossible; but here and there I shall name some of the foremost master-builders, native and foreign.

The Dresden Schloss has been already cited. Of the earlier Renaissance additions there are intact still some interesting relics (gates, court, etc.), but

¹ Frederick V, called contemptuously *der Winter-König*, is interesting as the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of our James I. After the outbreak of the Thirty Years War he was chosen by the Calvinists of Bohemia as king, but after a few months the Bohemians were utterly routed on the White Hill (November 1620), and Frederick fled to Holland. Later he was deprived also of his electorship.



302. RATHAUS, BRUNSWICK
See p. 419

303. RATHAUS, LÜBECK
See p. 419





304. RATHAUS, EMDEN
Photo Kunstantalt Stengel and Co., G.M.B.H., Dresden



305. RATHAUS, ROTENBURG

ARCHITECTURE

by far the finest, a handsome portal to the former chapel, has been removed to the Jüdenhof. It should, perhaps, not be cited as German architecture, for it is evidently Italian work, worthy of Sansovino himself. (It was built in 1555, two years after the completion of the Libreria Vecchia and fifteen after the building of Sansovino's famous Loggetta.) **Schloss Hartenfels** at Torgau (already mentioned) has a fine projecting bow-windowed *Treppenhaus*, erected about 1550 by the Saxon Elector Johann Friedrich. At Prag, a great centre of Austrian *Barock*, especially favoured by Kaiser Rudolph II, the *Lustschloss Stern* (c. 1560) is one of the earliest and finest of its class. **Offenbach on Main** has a palace showing fine columned arcades (1573). The ducal residences at **Munich** and **Stuttgart** should also be cited (1600).

In connexion with these magnificent palaces may be mentioned the often very attractive, quaint, and picturesque, and sometimes ambitious, but comparatively small, homes and meeting-places of the burghers. The most interesting of those that belong to the Renaissance and *barock* eras are the timber or half-timber houses and smaller town halls. The illustration that I give (Fig. 300) shows the very richly carved and moulded exterior of an old house in Strassburg dating from 1589 (the lower part is still older). It is a good specimen of ornamental German *Fachwerkhäuser* (half-timber houses). There exist, besides many others, fine examples in Hildesheim—e.g., the Knochenhauer house and one in the Osterstrasse; and at Brunswick there are the Demmer House (1536) and what is now the Court Brewery. These richly carven sixteenth-century timber and half-timber houses are usually reminiscent of the Gothic era in their steep roofs and other features, while their profuse ornamentation testifies to the new Southern influence, which, as we have seen, showed itself in decoration long before it had changed the structural principles of German architecture.

Also in connexion with the palatial buildings of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries must be mentioned some of the very numerous interesting, and sometimes architecturally fine, larger town halls (*Rathäuser*). The six illustrations that I give show very well different types of such buildings completed at various dates from the fifteenth to nearly the eighteenth century. The **Brunswick Rathaus** (Fig. 302), consisting of two wings set at a right angle, was founded as early as 1250, and was finished by about 1470. It is therefore wholly Gothic, and shows fine open Gothic tracery in the arcaded galleries, the columns of which are decorated with statues of old Saxon princes. Then we have the **Rathaus of Lübeck** (Fig. 303), consisting of a large Gothic brick structure (c. 1450), with huge gables and curious brick spires, to which is adjoined a Renaissance building, with decorative gables and pediments and a round-arched arcade, dating from about 1590. Then comes the projecting frontage of **Cologne Rathaus** (Fig. 306), a finely proportioned and tastefully decorated Renaissance addition (c. 1570) to an older building. Next we have the **Emden Rathaus** (Fig. 304), built, in 1574–76, by an Antwerp architect, Steenwinkel, who was, I should say, certainly inspired by the fine Antwerp *Hôtel de Ville*, erected some ten years earlier by Cornelis Floris. This Emden Rathaus has liberated itself from a heavy portico of the seventeenth century, whereas our next illustration (Fig. 305) shows **Rothenburg Rathaus**, where the

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

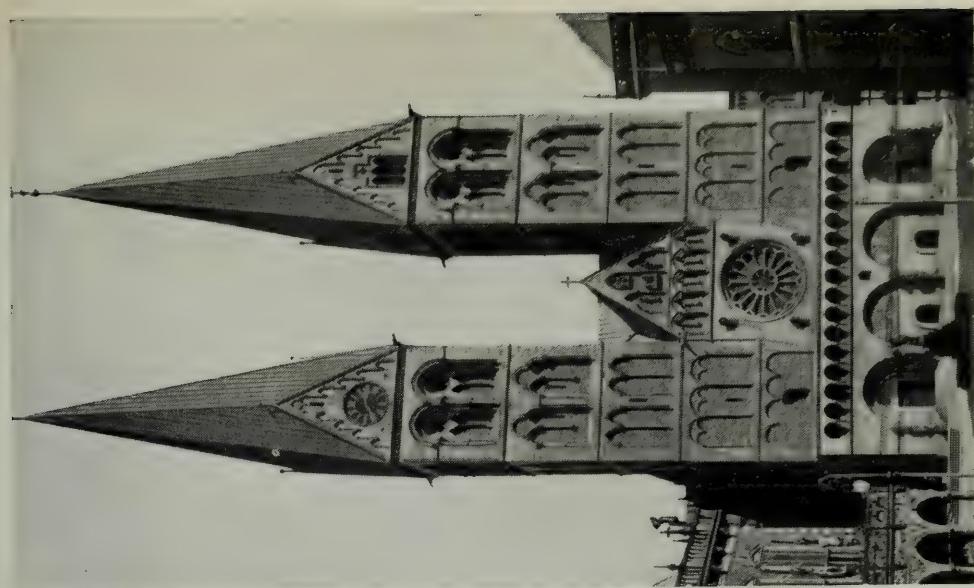
plain Gothic edifice in the background is attached to a fine structure which—except for its steep roof, showing many dormer windows—is built in a simple and pleasing Renaissance style and is decidedly encumbered and spoilt by just such a massive *rustica* portico as at Emden has fortunately been removed. The sixth illustration shows a part of the rather attractive barocco **Rathaus of Bremen**, built on the site of an older town hall in 1608–13. (The Bremen Cathedral that occupies most of the picture was built mainly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on the foundations of a very ancient basilican church.)

It would be an objectless and almost endless task to give a full list of the multitudinous German *Rathäuser* dating from Gothic times down to our own days—which have witnessed the erection of many gigantic edifices of this nature, such as the New Rathaus at Leipzig and still huger *öffentliche Gebäude* in Berlin and Vienna and other cities. I shall therefore add, not in strict sequence, the names of only a few more of those public buildings which are interesting specimens of half-timber (*Fachwerk*) architecture or of the formerly despised, but nowadays overprized, *Barockstil*.

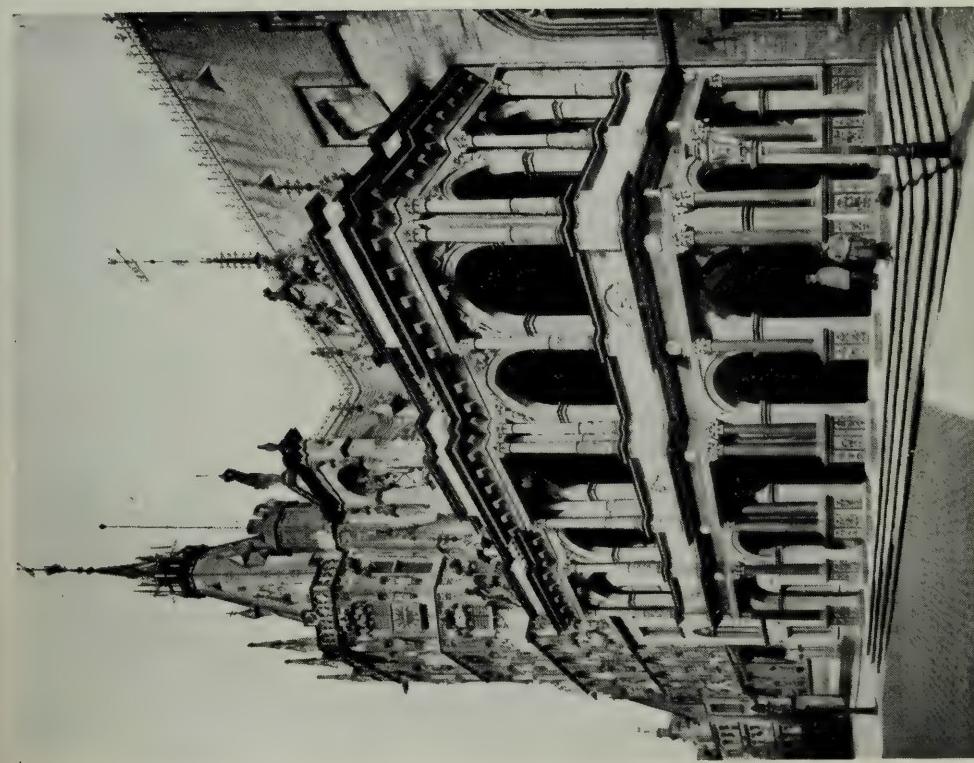
The **Römer** at Frankfurt (c. 1600). **Kaufhaus**, Freiburg im Breisgau (c. 1525). **Rathaus**, Molsheim, Alsace (c. 1560). The **Rathäuser** in Heilbronn (c. 1580), in Ulm (c. 1360–1540), in Lindau (Gothic-Renaissance, down to 1578), in Augsburg (1620), in Michelstadt, Odenwald (half-timber, restored 1748), in Schweinfurt (1570), in Alsfeld, Hessen (half-timber, 1516), in Marburg, on Lahn (c. 1520), in Leipzig (the old Rathaus, of about 1556, rebuilt in original style), in Breslau (very fine Late Gothic bow-window projections, with rich Renaissance decoration, c. 1500), in Duderstadt, Hanover (half-timber, with fine balustraded flight of steps, c. 1600–70), in Halberstadt (originally Gothic, with fine bow-window projections of about 1540 and 1660), in Wernigerode (half-timber, façade of about 1500), in Goslar (c. 1500), in Lemgo (old, with Renaissance bow-window projections of about 1590 and 1660), in Paderborn (very attractive type of simple *Barock*, with steep roof and high ‘corbie-step’ gables, c. 1612–15), and in Wesel (old, but with fine Early Renaissance façade of about 1500). The **Gewerbehaus** in Bremen (1620); the **Stadtweinhaus** in Münster (1615, near to the quaint old North German Gothic Rathaus of 1335). And, though not quite in place here, I cannot but mention the very noble, massive Gothic **Rathaus of Thorn** (c. 1400 onward), and the very striking, though bizarre, Northern Gothic brick **Rathaus of Stralsund**, and the less bizarre, but very pretentious, **Rathaus of Tangermünde**, also mainly of brick, with an overtopping façade decorated with huge rose-windows, dating from about 1440.

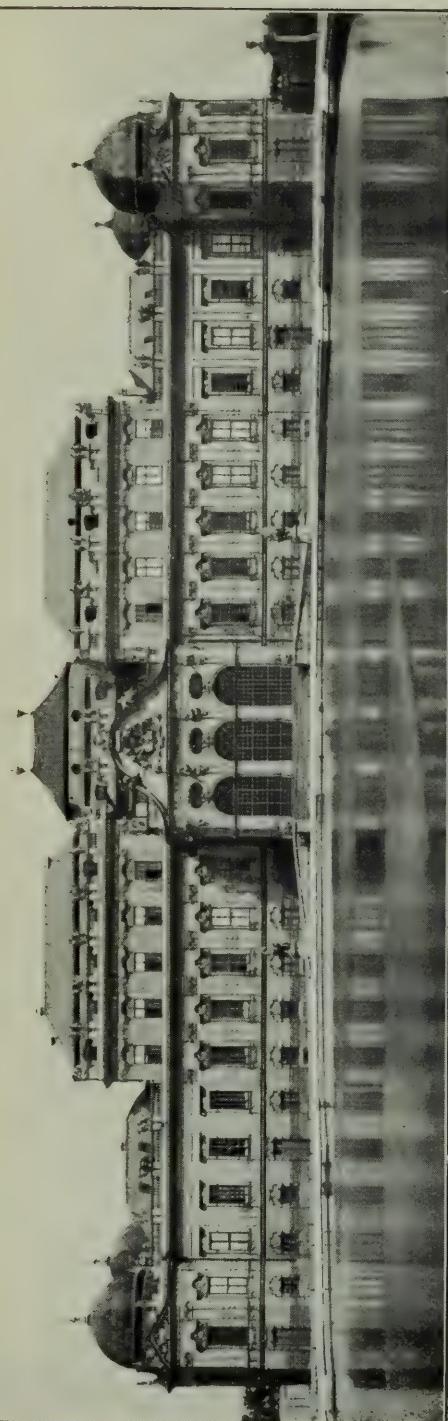
Having given a list of about forty castles dating, at least partially, from Gothic times, and having described what is held to be the finest specimen of early German

307. DOM AND PART OF RATHAUS, BREMEN
Photo N.P.G.

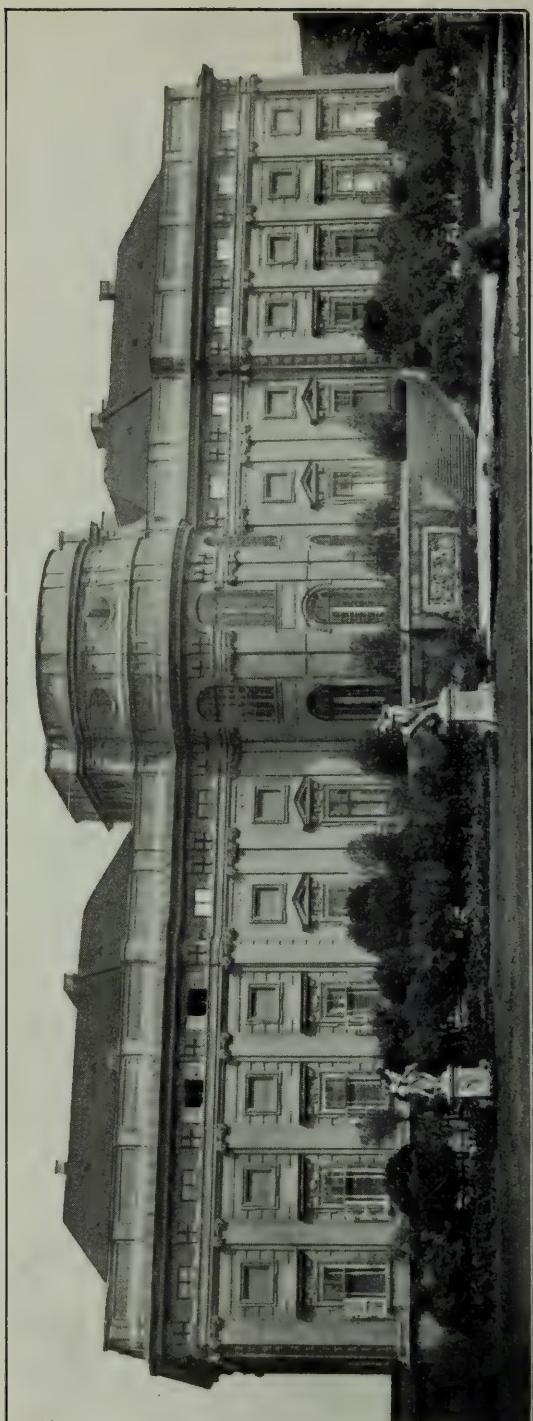


306. RATHAUS, COLOGNE
Photo N.P.G.





308. BELVEDERE, VIENNA



309. PALAIS SCHWARZENBERG, VIENNA

ARCHITECTURE

Renaissance palaces—namely the Schloss of Heidelberg—and having mentioned many other such palatial castles of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as well as a considerable number of civic edifices and some private houses built during this era of German Renaissance and earlier *barock* architecture, I must now note some of the multitudinous important buildings erected between the end of the great war of the seventeenth century and the Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century—the era of later German *Barock* and of *Rokoko*.

After the fierce struggle of thirty years between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism there remained for a long time a great gulf fixed between the feelings, religious, political, literary, and artistic, of what we may, not quite accurately, call the north and the south of Central Europe. The Evangelicals of North Germany turned for sympathy, at least in matters artistic, to Calvinistic Holland, and through Holland they became influenced by the civic architecture of Flanders.¹ But in regions still faithful to the Papacy, or (as Bohemia) forcibly brought back to allegiance, or ruled (as was Protestant Saxony) by a Catholic dynasty, Italianized church and palace architecture prevailed—hatred against France on account of its devastations of the Rhineland shutting out until later all French artistic influence. Then, in the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great's military supremacy and his French proclivities (not to mention other causes) opened the flood-gates in northern and eastern regions to a deluge of French rococo, which swamped Prussia and Saxony, and penetrated elsewhere.

A striking feature in the ever more and more magnificent German *Lustschlösser*—‘pleasure castles’ surrounded by parks and gardens and terraces and lakes and fountains and statues—was their vast and profusely decorated *Treppenhäuser*, namely entrance-halls (semi-detached or in the main building) with splendid marble staircases and with walls and ceilings richly ornamented by panelling and stucco

¹ Flemish church architecture was at this time dominated by Jesuitic influence, which was, naturally, an abomination to the Lutheran and Calvinist alike. The church architecture of Lutheran Germany during this era was somewhat of the same nature as that of Holland, and offers little for a student of art.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

and gilt and paint, outrivalling even the splendours of the banquet-halls and the ground-floor *Gartensäle*, or *Erdgeschosse-salle terrene*, as fashionable owners preferred to call them—whose windows opened out on to the garden terraces. Germany and Austria¹ in the eighteenth century, with their Sans-soucis and their Schönbrunns, vied with the Villas d'Este and Aldobrandini and with the palaces and parks and cascades of Caserta, Versailles, and Saint-Cloud.

The following are a few of the palaces and great churches built in Germany and Austria during the last period of German architecture that comes within the scope of this volume, namely that which extends from about 1650 to about the beginning of last century.

For the sake of simplification these very numerous buildings and builders are not given in one long list, chronologically arranged, but are grouped under the names of various parts of Germany—and for artistic purposes we may perhaps consider both Austria and Bohemia as such. Those who desire a fuller list I would refer to Springer's great *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Band IV. One should here premise that toward the end of the eighteenth century *Barock* and *Rokoko* yielded place, in a rather uncouth fashion, to the new Classicism, and that later Germany, with very little of that Promethean art of creation which we noted in the case of Italy, tried to combine Classicism with the mediævalism of the Romantics and with Gothic, and even with Egyptian and Assyrian and other architectural features, producing, besides many undeniably imposing and practically admirable buildings, many a wondrous medley and many a colossal monstrosity of no definable or permanent type.

(1) Austria. Here the first *barock* architects were mostly Italians. The *Salzburg Cathedral*, a very spacious and dignified edifice (completed in 1634), is an early specimen, built by Sandino Solari, presumably one of the Solari of Milan (see Vol. I, pp. 375 and n., 387; Vol. II, p. 36). Then, from 1662 to 1688, after building the cathedral of *Passau* and churches at Regensburg, an Italian

¹ When Austria had begun to recover from the effects of the Thirty Years War she suffered great devastation and a serious setback in artistic development by reason of the various Turkish invasions. It was not until 1683 that the Christian armies under the command of the heroic Polish king, Sobiesky, so totally routed the infidels, at that time besieging Vienna, that they troubled Austria no more.

ARCHITECTURE

named Lurago and his son erected churches and monasteries in Prag. Also various Carloni built and rebuilt churches and other religious edifices in Vienna and the surrounding country, devastated by the Turks. (Austria and South Germany possess many *Stifter* and *Stiftskirchen*—i.e., ‘foundations’ and collegiate churches belonging to religious orders—some of enormous size.) One of the Carloni rebuilt Lurago’s cathedral at Passau. But ere long several architects of Germanic origin who had studied in Italy came to the fore. One of these, **Fischer von Erlach** (1650–1737), built in Vienna, in Classical High Renaissance style, with barocco adjuncts, the imposing church of S. Carlo Borromeo (the Karlskirche. See Fig. 310). Churches of this massive, domed type, reminding one of many early barocco Roman churches, and of S. Maria della Salute at Venice, continued to be built contemporaneously with churches of a far later and lighter barocco style. (These two types are well exemplified by Figs. 312, 298.) But the Viennese Karlskirche is, with its Pantheon-like portico and its imitations of Trajan’s Column, far more Classical than the Dresden Frauenkirche, or any such German church.) Besides the Karlskirche, Fischer von Erlach built in Vienna the noble Palace Schwarzenberg (Fig. 309) and the palace of Prince Eugen, and designed the Hofburg, the Imperial Library, and other public buildings, and the magnificent suburban palace and park of Schönbrunn. Another very gifted architect, of German parentage, but born in Genoa, was **Lucas von Hildebrandt** (1666–1745). He too worked much in Vienna. His *chef-d’œuvre* is the celebrated Belvedere—the summer-palace of Prince Eugen; our illustration (Fig. 308) gives the inner and lower façade and shows how skilfully the apparent height of the building is increased by its reflexion in water. Hildebrandt designed many other fine edifices, of which the Palace Daun-Kinsky in Vienna and Schloss Mirabell in Salzburg are two well-known examples. **Jacob Prandauer**, another Austrian architect of the same period, but employing a far more advanced (and degraded) *barock* style, designed the enormous **Stift Melk**, on the Danube—an agglomeration of palatial edifices clustered round a mighty, domed, bulbous-towered, and interiorly terribly over-ornamented church. At Prag the two **Dieutzenhofers**, father and son, built churches (from c. 1680 to 1750) in an ugly Germanized barocco-roccoco style (e.g., the Nicolaikirche), although Italian architects during the same period were erecting some very fine edifices in the same city, of which the gate and court of the Hradschin, by Scamozzi—perhaps a descendant of the great Venetian—and the almost Palladian façade of the Palace Czernin, begun in 1669 by Caratti, are striking examples.

(2) **Bavaria.** Here foreign architects, first Italian and then French, appropriated the patronage of the Electoral court till late in the eighteenth century. The Kurfürstin Adelaide, who was brought up in Turin, and was apparently devoted to late Italian barocco, caused the great Theatinerkirche in Munich to be erected by Barelli of Bologna. This church was completed by the Italian-Swiss Zuccali and the Walloon Cuvillés (1698–1768), who had studied French rococo in Paris—and the result is known to all who have not only gazed at its great ungainly towers, struggling up through enormous volutes to their cupolas, but have entered the church itself. The monstrous parasitic growths of rococo stucco ornamentation visible here and elsewhere

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

in or near Munich (Schleissheim, the New Electoral Palace, Nymphenburg, Pagodenburg, Amalienburg, the Residenztheater, etc.) are mainly due to Zuccali, Cuvillés, and a certain Joseph Ebner whom the Kurfürst Max Emanuel (himself a resident for years as an exile in Paris) had caused to be trained under Parisian rococo architects. But none of these equalled in extravagant rococo decoration the stuccoist and the painter, Cosmas and Egidio Asam—as witness the S. Nepomuk church in Munich.

Besides these foreigners there worked as successful church-builders in Bavaria various native architects, of whom Dominicus Zimmermann and Michael Fischer (*d.* 1766) were the chief. On Fischer's tombstone, in the Frauenkirche at Munich, he is accredited with the building of thirty-two churches and twenty-three monasteries.

(3) In South-west Germany several enormous religious buildings (*Stiftskirchen*, *Klosterkirchen*, etc.) were erected, not long after the great war, on the German and on the Swiss side of the frontier; and some of the *Barock* master-builders seem to have been of Swiss origin. Franz Beer (*d.* 1726) designed the vast monastic edifices of Weissenau, Salem, and Weingarten; Kaspar Moosbrugger was the architect of the famous Swiss Einsiedeln buildings; Peter Thumb built the great Klosterkirche at S. Gallen. Farther west, in the Rhineland, as was natural, French influence was strong, and we find not only much extravagant rococo ornamentation, but also striking specimens of French audacity, sometimes successful, in designing great buildings and laying out grounds, and even towns, on large lines. A pupil of Blondel, Louis de la Guêpière, for example, was the completer of the New Schloss at Stuttgart and the 'Solitude' near that city. Apparently inspired by French creations of similar audacity was the fan-shaped plan of Karlsruhe (dating from *c.* 1715), as also the many-squared chessboard plan of Mannheim and that of the great garden of Schwetzingen Schloss (near Heidelberg), which extends over 117 acres of ground laid out in geometrical patterns and diversified with lakes, artificial ruins, and various buildings, including a mosque with minarets.

(4) Of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture in Middle Rhineland (and Franconia) and North-west Germany a few fine examples must suffice, among which the Residenz at Würzburg and the Schloss at Münster, Westphalia (Fig. 314), deserve mention. Würzburg, Bamberg, Mainz, Speyer, and Trier were, until later annexed by various states, ruled by prince-bishops. (So many of these bishoprics were held by members of the aristocratic Schönborn family that this part of Germany was popularly called 'Schönborn Land.') Of the many great palaces and other buildings erected for these Schönborn prelates the Episcopal (later, and till lately, the Royal) Palace at Würzburg, begun in 1720, is the grandest, rivalling Versailles and far outrivalling Hampton Court. Its architect was Johann Balthasar Neumann, an officer in Prince Eugen's army, familiar with Parisian and Viennese architecture, and one of Germany's most gifted master-builders, as is proved not only by this vast and nobly proportioned Residenz (nigh 300 yards long), but by other splendid buildings—a 'Staircase-house' (*Treppenhaus*) of the Residenz at Bruchsal, erected for the Schönborn Prince-Bishop of Speyer, and another at Brühl (near Cologne), renowned for its

ARCHITECTURE

magnificence, and the Sommerschloss at Werneck. The Würzburg Residenz also is famed for its great and richly ornamented *Treppenhaus*; and as the decorations of this palace were not fully completed until 1820 they show various phases of *barock*, *rokoko*, and 'Empire' ornamentation.

About a hundred miles due north of Würzburg lies Cassel, once the chief town of the Electorate of Hessen. Here both rulers and people have been Protestant since the Reformation, and the vast Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, so well known as the place of confinement of Napoleon III after Sedan, was built, about 1790, by a Huguenot architect, du Ry, whose father had built the smaller Schloss Wilhelmstal (1753) and whose grandfather had considerably 'Frenchified' the great park at Wilhelmshöhe, laid out originally (c. 1700) by a Roman artist on the model of the vast grounds of Hadrian's Villa at Frascati.

In Cologne, as we have seen, there is an admirable specimen of early German Renaissance architecture, namely a part of the Rathaus (Fig. 306), but this city, which in Gothic days was a centre of German architecture and painting, seems to have become so preoccupied with its civil and religious feuds and so engrossed in trade that it reacted very feebly to such influences as those which produced the art of Dürer and Holbein and the best works of German architects during the Renaissance and *barock* eras. The once exceedingly powerful archiepiscopal electors had long ago (c. 1300) been ousted by the guilds, and though they retained nominally the allegiance of the citizens, both religious and political, and led the feud that ended, shortly before the great war, in the complete expulsion of the Protestants from the city, they themselves built their palaces elsewhere. Early in the eighteenth century the Kurfürst (Elector) of Cologne, Joseph Clemens, a zealous builder, had Residenzen erected at Bonn and Brühl, and shortly afterward the Prince-Bishop of Münster (in Westphalia, not far from the Dutch frontier) employed a native of that region, Conrad Schlaun, to build him an episcopal Residenz in that town. (In the Reformation period Münster had been dominated by the savage sect of Anabaptists, but after the Thirty Years War had been reconquered by the Catholics. By the way, it was not in the Schloss but in a hall of the much older Rathaus that the Peace of Westphalia was signed. See Ter Borch's picture, Fig. 280.) This Schloss is somewhat similar externally to the far larger and more splendidly decorated Würzburg Residenz, but the architecture is much less vigorous and less finely proportioned. However, it is a very respectable example of a North-western German palatial building of the eighteenth century, and has a quiet dignity that puts to shame many a flaunting rococo and pseudo-Classic structure of Saxony and Prussia.

(5) The north of Germany, which in earlier days could boast of many great and some really impressive stone and brick buildings (churches, city gates, fortresses, etc.), produced very little of artistic importance after the great war which divided the German race into two fiercely antagonistic religious sects. In the Evangelical north there were now no princely prelates nor wealthy orders. Those by whom, and for whom, churches were built repudiated all connexion between religion and art. The rise of Prussia to an arrogant supremacy suppressed to a large extent the architectural

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

ambitions of smaller rulers. The formerly wealthy Hanseatic cities (at the head of which stood Lübeck) had by now lost much of their trade, and what great buildings were erected by them were guild houses, town halls, and other municipal edifices—not palaces, nor fine churches. And, lastly, in many regions of North Germany the lack of building-stone, necessitating the use of brick, proved even more unfavourable for the production of fine Renaissance and *barock* architecture than it had been in the case of Gothic buildings.

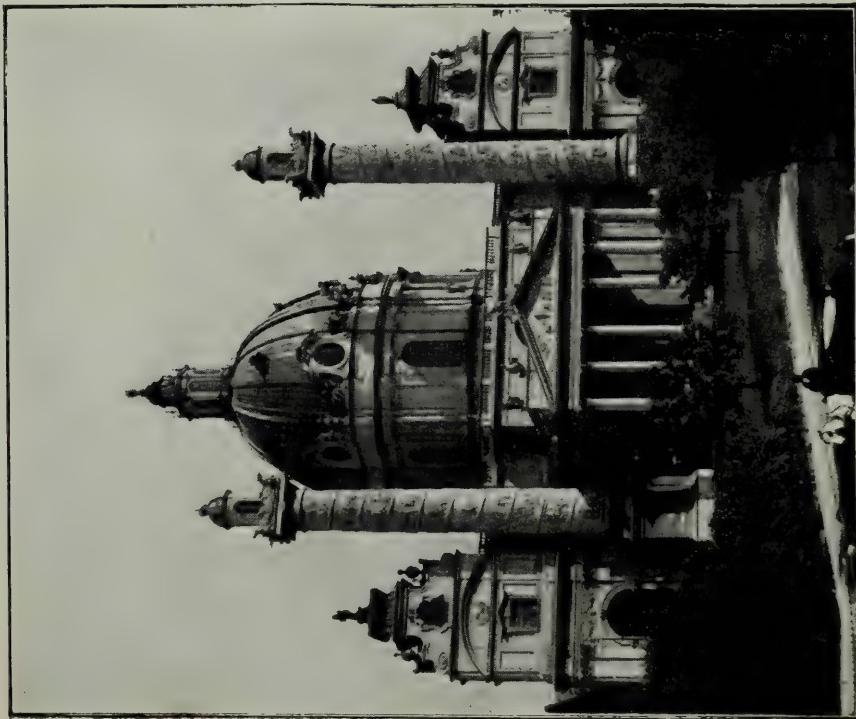
(6) In Saxony the state of things after the end of the seventeenth century became unique. Though the people were Protestant, their rulers were Catholic, and were no petty lords, but Electors of the Empire with royal title. The elder branch of the ancient Wettin Dukes of Saxony, resident at Wittenberg—to which branch the Elector who befriended Luther belonged—had been forced to resign the electoral dignity to the younger branch after the failure of the Schmalkaldic rebellion (1547). To this younger branch, resident at Meissen and Dresden, belonged August II, called ‘the Strong,’ who was made king of Poland in 1697, and thereupon, with all his family, abandoned Protestantism. Ever since the days of August the Strong Dresden has been a centre of art, famed as a ‘home of rococo’ as well as for its porcelain and its picture-gallery and its music. It was not until 1809 that the Saxon Electors regained, as kings of Saxony, the royal title, which had been lost after the victories of Frederick of Prussia—and which has been lost again after the defeat of Wilhelm of Prussia in our days.

Besides Dresden there is no Saxon city that need claim our attention for its architecture, and the only really important Dresden churches and palaces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are the Palais im Grossen Garten, the Zwinger, the Hofkirche (Roman Catholic Court Church), and the Frauenkirche, which is the chief Protestant church and dominates the city with its great dome. Of these the earliest was the well-designed and not undignified palace in the (now) public park that goes by the name of Der Grosse Garten. This palace (now a museum) was built about 1679 by an Italianized architect, Starke, in late Italian Renaissance style. It reminds one of certain Genoese palaces. The Zwinger (which name means a strongly walled enclosure for confining wild animals or for other purposes—a keep) was built between 1711 and 1722, by the architect Daniel Poppelmann, for August II (the Strong). It is a court of irregular oblong form contained by low gallery-like buildings that connect six pavilions. The pavilions show florid rococo architecture (see Fig. 311), but the rest is in a more subdued style and is a fine example of good German *Barock*. The north side was left open, the intention having been to erect a great portal and a flight of steps leading up to two great palaces on the bank of the Elbe; but this plan was never carried out, and in the nineteenth century (1847–54) the great rectangular block of building was erected by the architect Semper whither in 1855 the famous collection of paintings, first housed, by August III, in the Johanneum, was transferred. The Hofkirche (Fig. 298) is not ungraceful. It was built between 1738 and 1751—some forty or fifty years after August II went over to the Church of Rome. The architect was an Italian, Chiaveri. Its interior offers a monstrously developed specimen of Jesuitic gilt and stucco ornamentation. The style of the Frauenkirche will be recognized from the illustration

311. ZWINGER PAVILION, DRESDEN
Photo Kröner, Leipzig

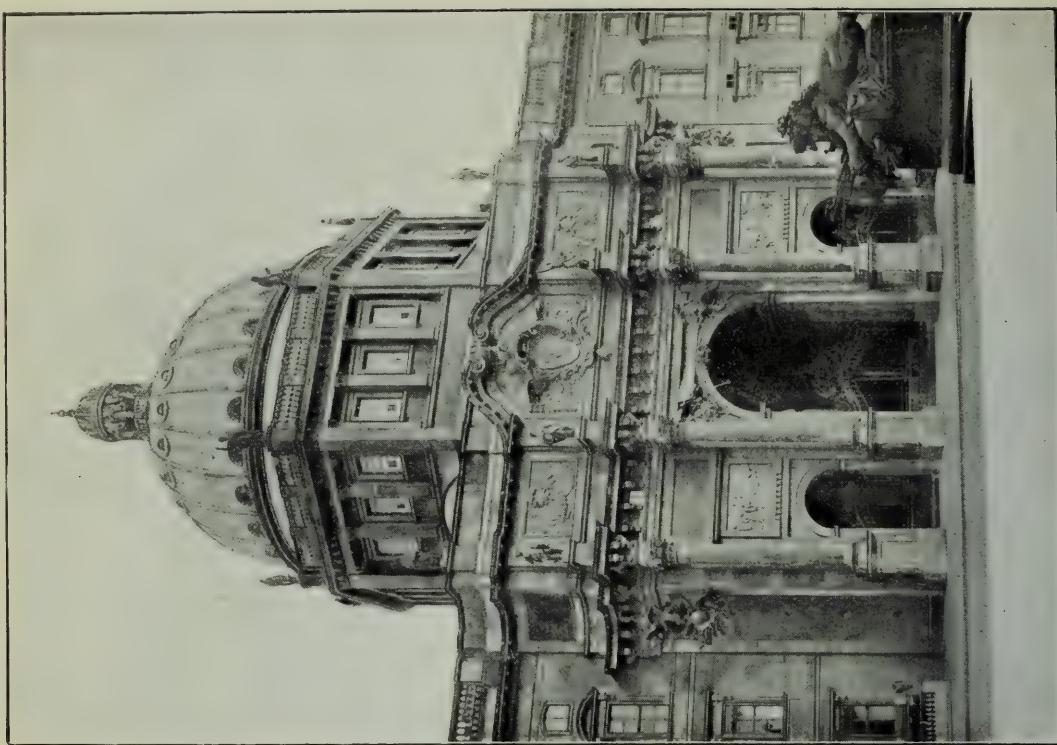


310. KARLSKIRCHE, VIENNA
Photo Kröner, Leipzig



313. WEST PORTAL OF SCHLOSS, BERLIN

See p. 428



312. FRAUENKIRCHE, DRESDEN

See pp. 426-427



ARCHITECTURE

(Fig. 312) as somewhat similar to that of various other German imitations (see Fig. 310) of the heavy, domed, High Renaissance type of architecture frequent in Italy. It was built by Georg Bähr between 1726 and 1743. Besides these four buildings there is the 'Japanese Palace,' a fairly good *barock* structure, built, in 1715, on the site of a former palace and acquired by August II for his art collections and valuable library (dating from about 1570). Also may be mentioned the Johanneum, built originally in 1570 and rebuilt in 1745 in *barock* style to hold the great picture-collection of August III. It is still used as a historical museum and contains a splendid collection of over 15,000 specimens of ancient and modern porcelain, Oriental and European. Also one should name the famous Brühl'sche Terrasse, built by Count Brühl, minister of August III, a fine late *barock* and *rococo* structure which once offered a beautiful view of the Elbe. Lastly, there is the biggest church in Dresden, the Kreuzkirche, built by Schmid, a follower of Bähr, in 1769.

(7) Lastly, in connexion with the rise and expansion of Prussia during the eighteenth century there are some ambitiously big, if not otherwise important, buildings to be mentioned. These are almost exclusively palaces, for not one of the numerous religious edifices of Berlin has any claim to admiration or respect from an artistic point of view, except perhaps the old Franciscan Klosterkirche of about 1350 and a Jewish synagogue of about 1865.

Berlin, which after the bloody Thirty Years War counted only about 6000 inhabitants, owes its greatness to the Hohenzollern Electors of Brandenburg and Kings of (or, more properly, *in*) Prussia. These Hohenzollern rulers were originally simple Swabian Counts who by serving various Kaisers gained a footing on the ladder of fame and—to make use of Schiller's words—*der Ehre höchste Staffeln rasch erstiegen*, until from the giddy height of Empire, grasping at *Weltmacht*, the last of the dynasty fell like Lucifer. In the fourteenth century the title of Reichsfürst was granted to one of them by Kaiser Karl IV, and some fifty years later Friedrich von Hohenzollern was made by Kaiser Sigismund a governor of the Marken, in North-east Germany, and at the famous Council of Constance, in 1417, was given the high title of Kurfürst (Elector) of Brandenburg. The electoral Residenz was at Brandenburg, but Kurfürst Friedrich II built (*c.* 1450) a stronghold, a *feste Burg*, on the Spree, adjoining the town of Berlin, and this was strengthened by his successors. Of them the most famous was Friedrich Wilhelm, called 'the Great Elector' (1640–88). To him Berlin owes the laying out of its Neustadt and of a fourfold 'Lindenallee,' afterward the celebrated Berlin street, and various buildings, the work of Dutch architects. The population increased to 20,000, many of whom were French Huguenot refugees. But it was the Great Elector's son, Friedrich, who raised Berlin to the dignity of a royal Residenzstadt, an occurrence that took place in 1701, when he assumed the title of King in Prussia. King Friedrich I combined the four quarters of Berlin and added to the town the new Friedrichstadt. He founded academies, and encouraged art and learning. Before the year 1710 the population had exceeded 60,000. The chief buildings that he erected were works of two famous architects, Andreas Schlüter (1664–1714) and Eosander von Goethe (died in Dresden, 1729). Two years before transferring his residence, as

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

newly crowned king, to Berlin Friedrich had employed Schlüter to plan the reconstruction of the Schloss. Schlüter's vast design was never wholly carried out, but a very considerable edifice was in course of time erected. He himself built the south front—which, as completed by Böhme, is a simple and dignified Renaissance structure, with Palladian columns at the main entrances—and the inner court, which also is a strongly designed, simple Renaissance building, with square windows, two series of classical columns, and a row of statues. While engaged in this work Schlüter, who was certainly no less gifted as sculptor than as architect, made the bronze equestrian statue of the Great Elector which is indubitably one of the finest products of German sculpture (see p. 409, and Fig. 297). He also built, besides various private houses, the central part of the royal residence at Charlottenburg, and a considerable part of the Zeughaus (Arsenal), which was, before its late restoration, perhaps a building more interesting than any other in Berlin except the Schloss. But in 1706 a tower of the Berlin Schloss (the Münzturm), which Schlüter intended erecting to the height of about 300 feet, collapsed, whereupon he lost favour with the King, and his place was taken by his rival, Eosander. The work of this architect was more pretentious and decorated. He built the west front of the Schloss. Its great portal (as will be seen from the illustration, Fig. 313) is in design similar to that of the famous Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum; but the classic lines of the structure are attractively combined with less severe Renaissance contours and ornament. (The cumbrous dome is an addition by Stüler, erected in 1845-52.) Eosander built also a small Schloss, Monbijou, which later was enlarged for Queen Sophie Dorothea. He took up Schlüter's work at the Charlottenburg palace, which he furnished with a large and fine cupola. King Friedrich Wilhelm, the son of Friedrich I, was a stiff and stern military personage. During his reign little was built except churches and houses of a baldly unadorned, generally Dutch, character. His successor, Friedrich II (Frederick the Great), was not only a great soldier but an enthusiast for such art as he was capable of admiring—which was, as far as architecture was concerned, that of the French rococo and Neo-Classical schools prevalent during the reigns of Louis Quinze and Louis Seize.

Frederick found an architect, Knobelsdorff by name (1699-1753), a native of Silesia, willing to conform to his masterful wishes and able to carry out his ambitious designs. This man had already distinguished himself by various buildings (*e.g.*, the Schloßchen in Rheinsberg), and when given the great task of erecting a vast theatre (the present Opera House) acquitted himself with such success in raising within three years a fine Classical edifice such as Paris had years later in its Panthéon and Odéon that the King, who by that time had selected the Residenzschloss at Potsdam for his special place of abode, entrusted to him (in 1745) the carrying out of designs made by himself for a one-storied *château*, to which he gave the name 'Sans-souci.' About the same time Knobelsdorff did some fine work in adding a Classic columned front to the Schloss of Charlottenburg and in decorating the interior in a light and graceful rococo style. It was the combination of Classic exteriors with internal rococo decoration of this kind which may be regarded as the most attractive characteristic of Knobelsdorff's architecture.

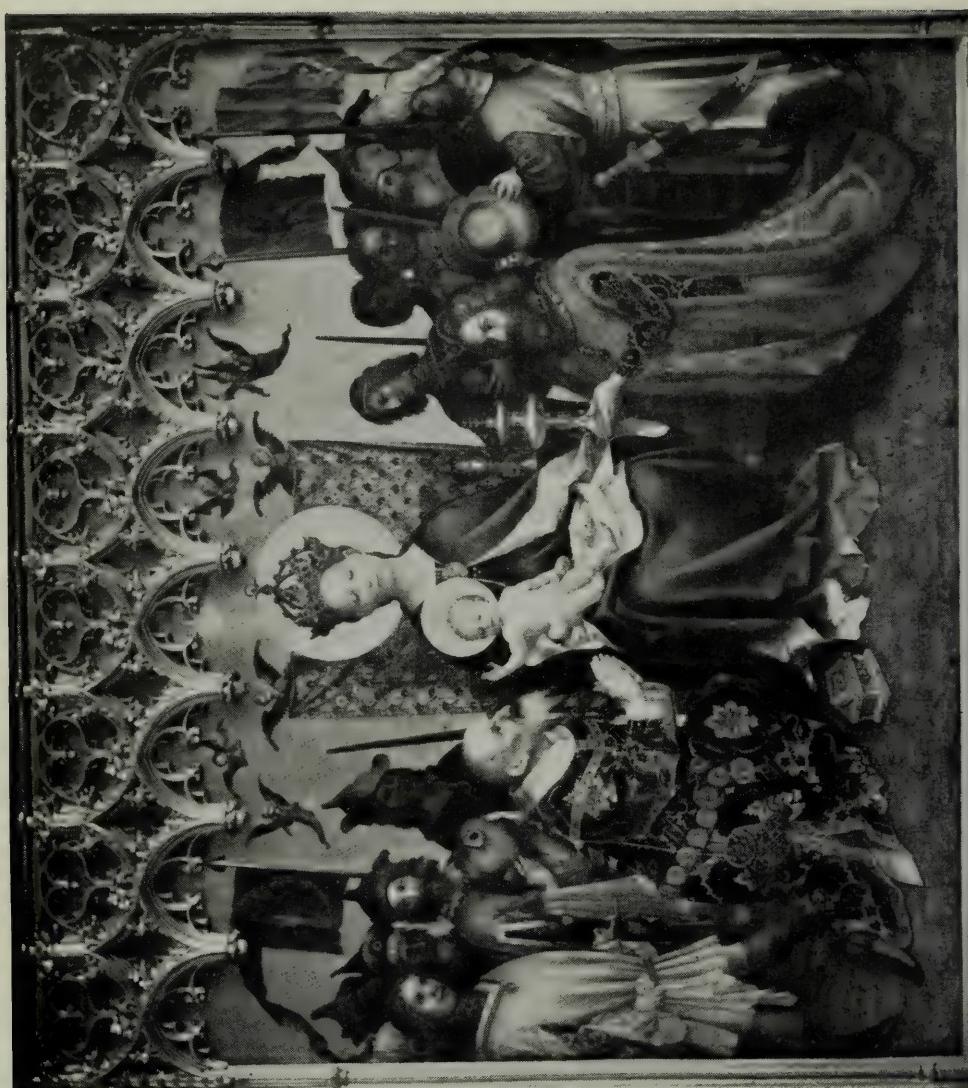


314. SCHLOSS, MÜNSTER



315. DIE COMMUNS, NEUES PALAIS, POTSDAM

Photos Kröner, Leipzig



316. DAS DOMBILD

Cologne
Photoglob, Zürich

ARCHITECTURE

For some time after this architect's death (in 1753) Frederick was too fully occupied with the Seven Years War to attend much to architecture, but he employed Jan Bouman, of Dutch origin, who built (1754–64) the palace of Prince Henry, the King's brother. This edifice, the style of which is a somewhat dull *Barock*, is now the main University building. Then, considerably later, came into favour a Rhineland architect, Gontard by name (1738–1802), who seems to have made a special study of architecture in which great colonnades and domes play a conspicuous part. One of his first successes was the erection (1777) of colonnaded approaches for two bridges—the Königsbrücke and the Mohrenbrücke. Later successes (between 1780 and 1785) were two domed towers (loosely connected with two insignificant churches of the early eighteenth century) which are believed by Berliners to make their Gendarmenmarkt resemble the Roman Piazza del Popolo. Now some twenty years before this, in 1763, immediately after the Seven Years War, Frederick, whose architectural ideas seem to have become more expanded and more defined in the course of his campaigns, had caused to be built in Potsdam, mainly perhaps after his own designs, a New Palace—a large edifice of *barock* type, with quasi-Classical features. Behind this palace Gontard was commissioned, about the year 1780, to erect a group of colonnaded edifices (see Fig. 315) far too magnificent, one might think, to be used as *Communs*, viz., as outbuildings for domestics, or as barracks for troops. But Frederick, who is said to have derived many of his ideas on the subject of architecture from the study of Italian and French engravings, was enamoured of grandiosity. On one occasion, however, he had the good taste to take a great fancy to something really fine, namely a design by Fischer von Erlach for the façade of the Winter Riding School in the Viennese Hofburg. This design he entrusted to an architect named Unger to be used in the construction (1774–80) of the Royal Library—which, in spite of the nickname *Die Büchercommode* given it by architectural faddists of the nineteenth century, is now rightly regarded as perhaps the best specimen of German Renaissance work in Berlin.

CHAPTER III

PAINTING (c. 1400–c. 1820)

See Vol. I, pp. 317–318, 322, and Vol. II, pp. 385–386.

IN any account of old buildings it is illuminating and interesting to have, when possible, a historical background. In my accounts of the architecture of many peoples, ancient and medieval, I have attempted to supply such backgrounds, and in some cases have felt it advisable to insert a considerable amount of detail in order to show more distinctly the origins and different characters of the various styles and the phases of development through which they passed; and when it became necessary to treat separately the architecture of several great modern European nations the task of depicting in as few words as possible their political histories was not easy. Germany—with which country was included Austria—offered in this respect special difficulties.

But of the innumerable paintings that have been produced by these nations by far the most, and the most valuable, may be fully appreciated without any aid from political facts; and with the exception of Holbein there is no important German artist the knowledge of whose relations with historical personages helps one to understand and enjoy his works as such knowledge helps one in the case of Raphael, or in the case of Velasquez, or Rubens.

For these reasons, and also because great German painters are few in number, we shall not need to occupy ourselves very long with our present subject.

On former occasions the origins of German painting were noted and various works of early German painters were mentioned, some of them dating from the fourteenth century. The two centres of this early pictorial art, it will be remembered, were Prag and Cologne. The Prag school, although it comprised some skilful German and Bohemian artists,

PAINTING

was doubtless to a considerable extent composed of Italian fresco-painters whom the Emperor Charles IV had invited to his court; but the Cologne school seems to have owed little or nothing directly to Italian influence. It developed a genuinely German variety of style, although the original seed from which this Northern art of painting sprang may have been wafted southward from Flanders.¹ After mentioning the somewhat mysterious Meister Wilhelm of Cologne and Meister Wilhelm of Herle, who are generally supposed to have lived and worked before the end of the fourteenth century, I noted the fact that some of the best works often attributed to these two Wilhelms (who very possibly were identical) seem to point to the existence of a really gifted artist who was at his prime about twenty years after the beginning of the fifteenth century; but what his name may have been if he was not one, or both, of these Wilhelms is a puzzle that will probably never be solved. And yet a puzzle apparently not less insoluble seems to have found its solution. There is in the chapel of St Agnes in Cologne Cathedral a fine triptych that evidently dates from about 1400, or somewhat later. When shut it shows an *Annunciation*. The inner panel presents an *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 316), and on the opened wings appear S. Gereon with his knights and St Ursula with her virgins. The figures of the central painting stand out from a gold background, and the green foreground is variegated with flowers. This large and splendid work was long believed to have been painted by that Meister Wilhelm of Cologne of whom the old Limburg chronicler wrote so admiringly. But in Albrecht Dürer's diary there is an entry stating that when he was at Cologne he paid two 'white pfennigs' to have opened 'the picture which Meister Steffen painted'; and a Herr Merlo, while investigating old documents, came upon notices of a painter named Stephan Lochner (or Lothner), who was born at Constanz, but seems to have made Cologne

¹ The wafting may have been originally northward, from Cologne to Flanders, for there seem to be extant numerous primitive pictures by Cologne painters evidently older than anything by the Van Eycks. But there were certainly Flemish fresco-painters and artists at the courts of the Counts of Flanders and Dukes of Burgundy before 1400, although but little trace of their work remains.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

his home, for he possessed a house there in the year 1442 and was a member of the Stadtrat in 1448 as representative of the painters' Guild of St Luke, and died at Cologne in 1451. The *Dombild* is therefore now regarded as a work of this Stephan Lochner, and to him are attributed other paintings.

In Southern Rhineland too we find traces of remarkable proficiency at this epoch. Interesting paintings of perhaps still earlier date than that of the *Dombild* form the wings of an altar-piece at Tiefenbronn, near Pforzheim. They are by Lucas Moser, who gives his name and the date of his work (1431). The pictures show episodes from the life of Mary and her brother Lazarus, whom, according to the legend, she accompanied to the south of France after the Crucifixion (see Vol. I, pp. 248 n., 264 n.). This is probably the earliest known German painting in which a number of scenes connected with the same subject are combined into a single work of art. The conception and treatment of the various episodes are unmistakably Flemish, reminding one strongly of Memling's work¹ in his *Reliquary of St Ursula* (Vol. I, Fig. 248). A contemporary of Moser's was another German artist of Southern Rhineland, Conrad Witz, who was born, like Lochner, at Constanz, about 1400. In 1434 he was living in Basel, and from about 1444 to 1447 he worked in Geneva, where probably he died. Among his early paintings are a *Crucifixion* with a Lake of Constanz landscape (Berlin), and a picture representing the Holy Family seated, like any ordinary burgher family, within the Basel Münster (Naples). Somewhat later is his beautifully coloured picture (in Strassburg Cathedral) of the Magdalene and St Catharine, clothed in voluminous robes, sitting in the cloister arcade of the same cathedral. Our illustration shows a part of a great altar reredos (dated 1444 and signed Conradus Sapientis) painted by him probably for a church in Geneva. Besides this picture of *The Magi* (Fig. 317) the remains of the reredos, preserved in the Geneva Museum, show a *Pêche Miraculeuse*, in which the scenery is evidently copied from that of Lake Léman.

¹ So strongly that one is half inclined to believe in some connexion between the two artists and is reminded of the theory that Memling was a native of a village not far from Mainz.



317. THE MAGI

By Conrad Witz

Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire



318. ST WOLFGANG HEALS A SICK MAN

By Pacher. See pp. 399, 436

Photo Hanfstaengl



319. DIE MADONNA IM ROSENHAG

By Schongauer. *Colmar*
Photo Hanfstaengl

PAINTING

Another notable South Rhineland artist of somewhat the same epoch is Martin Schongauer, who was born at Colmar in 1445 and died at Breisach in 1491. His fame rests mainly on his large and wonderfully painted picture called *Die Madonna im Rosenhag*.¹ In it one finds with difficulty traces of the influence of Van der Weyden, whose pupil some believe Schongauer to have been. The very beautiful drawing of the golden crown and of the trellis, with its multitudinous leaves and flowers and its birds in relief against a golden ground, seems to make it likely that he was trained by his father, who was a goldsmith, in the art of design, and this is confirmed by the fact that as an engraver he was perhaps more famous than as a painter. In the British Museum is a valuable collection of his engravings. So admired were his female faces and figures that he went by the name of 'der hübsche Martin,' or 'le beau Martin,' and even 'il bel Martino,' although the beauty that he depicts strikes one as often of a rather solid and stolid Northern type. In some of his numerous *Madonna* pictures, however, especially in one at Vienna, both Mother and Child are very gracious and lovable creations.

During the fifteenth century—indeed, by the middle of the century—the medieval pathos, fantasy, and idealism, and the Gothic stiffness and angularity, which characterized the Cologne school began to yield in Upper Rhineland and elsewhere in Southern Germany (as we have already seen in the case of Witz) to a tendency toward introducing scenes and figures of ordinary human life, as well as ordinary landscape, into religious paintings. Thus various schools of painting arose. These preserved their own characteristics to some extent, but were strongly affected by several foreign influences. Italian Quattrocento painting seems to have exercised in Germany as little influence as Quattrocento architecture, but German pictorial art felt a very close affinity to the art of Flanders, and ere long Roger van der Weyden and others of the Flemish school were largely accepted as models for imitation.

¹ There is a fine picture of the same nature in the Cologne Museum which is attributed to Stephan Lochner. A well-known *Madonna del Roseto* is that by Luini (Brera, Milan), given in Fig. 35.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

We have thus in the first half of this century several classes of German painters. Firstly, there was a very small number of artists, mostly unknown by name, who continued the old-fashioned Cologne style. Then we have, both at Cologne and in more southern regions, the followers of Van der Weyden and other Flemish painters. Thirdly, there were a few, in the south of Germany as well as in the extreme north (where old Gothic methods were still in vogue), who remained almost entirely unaffected by alien influences. Moreover, we have to divide German painters of this century into two large classes—the class of those who devoted themselves solely to pictorial art and the much larger class of those who (as has been explained in the chapter on German sculpture) combined the professions of painter and sculptor in order to meet the enormous demand for *Altäre*—viz., great reredoses that were erected over high altars in churches, and consisted of a central structure adorned with multitudinous figures, single or grouped, in carved, and often painted, woodwork or stonework, flanked by spacious wooden wings that were decorated with pictures.

The purveyors of such *Altäre* were not likely to be very highly inspired artists, and neither they nor any other of these fifteenth-century known and unknown German painters produced much of intrinsic value. I therefore prefer to treat the subject briefly, so as to give more space to what is of greater importance artistically. In the following list the painters are classed geographically, not chronologically :

(1) **Cologne.** After Lochner much Flemish influence; perhaps also resident Flemish artists. The unknown painter of reredos wings (c. 1460) showing scenes from the legendary life of St George (Cologne Museum) was a very skilful designer and colourist; indubitably a follower of Van der Weyden. Also a series of pictures in glorification of the Virgin (chief panel in the museum) by another unknown Cologne painter shows strong Flemish influence. He is said to have introduced into his work (c. 1470) the scenery of the Meuse and also that of Geneva (imitated from Witz?), as well as views of Cologne and reminiscences of Lochner's *Dombild*. Also the artist known as the 'Master of the *Life of the Virgin*' (Munich) was a follower of the Flemish school, if not himself a Fleming resident at Cologne. Numerous extant reredos paintings are ascribed to him. A later, very prolific, and very talented, unknown painter from the Upper Rhine was called 'Meister Christophorus,' and also the 'Bartholomäusmeister' (from his chief work, a St Bartholomew's altar at Cologne). He seems to have combined the Gothic and Flemish and early

PAINTING

Cologne styles. Paintings by him—some of which show an astonishing, almost Rubens-like, vigour—are to be found in Munich, Cologne, and Paris; and in England exists a fine work of his—a *Crucifixion*—and in the National Gallery are five saints from a series of seven painted by him as decoration of a reredos. His main work was done at Cologne from about 1500 onward.

(2) In Westphalia Netherland influence was naturally very strong. One large work in eight compartments is well worthy of mention. It is by an unknown painter who is called the 'Master of the *Lippberg Passion*' (Lippberg, or Lyversberg, being the name of the former owner of the picture). This work is perhaps the earliest so-called German painting that shows a successful attempt to present as an artistic entirety a scene filled with a large number of persons. In this respect, and also in respect of its general design, the chief panel has a remarkable resemblance to the Crucifixion scene painted, possibly earlier but more probably somewhat later, by an early Dutch artist who has in recent times received the appellation of the 'Master of Delft' (see p. 353 n. and Fig. 271). The *Lippberg Passion* is in a church of the valiant little town of Soest, some 30 miles south of Münster.

(3) A very prolific painter whom we have already noted (pp. 395–396) as a popular carver of wooden figures for reredoses, and whose workshop supplied the needs of many a church in Franconia and Swabia, was Friedrich Herlin (c. 1435–99), a native of Rothenburg. He worked during most of his life at Nördlingen. Something has been said in a former chapter about the chief of his numerous and sometimes vast *Altäre*. As a painter he belongs to the class of astonishingly clever imitators. Until about 1472 he was an admirer of Roger van der Weyden, whose 'Bladelin' altar-piece (now in Berlin) he is said to have accepted as his one perfect model. Later, however, he transferred his worship to Roger's pupil, Memling. The central picture of his great *Familienaltar*—now in the Nördlingen Rathaus—a picture in which he probably gives us portraits of himself and his wife and children, might very easily at first sight be mistaken for a 'Memling,' the attitudes, features, expressions, and vestures of the persons, both human and angelic, as well as the grouping, the architectural background, and the rich embroidery of the marble throne, all being imitated minutely from Memling's work in his *Marriage of St Catharine* and others of his paintings.

(4) Of the remaining very numerous more or less skilful fifteenth-century craftsmen who in Germany, especially in South and Central Germany, devoted their talents to the production of paintings, as well as carvings, for reredoses, or to the fabrication of other decorative church furniture, it will suffice to say something about three, namely Pleydenwurff, Wohlgemut, and Pacher.¹ To Hans Pleydenwurff may be ascribed the honour of having been one of the very few German painters of the fifteenth century who remained almost wholly unaffected by foreign influence. He is

¹ One should perhaps also name Hans Schühlein, or Schülin, of Ulm (fl. c. 1470), and his son-in-law, Bartholomäus Zeitblom, of Nördlingen, who worked (c. 1485–1518) and died in Ulm. He was a pupil of Herlin's and a *collaborateur* of Schülin's, and his paintings show a familiarity with Schongauer's work. Paintings by him are to be seen especially at Augsburg, Munich, and Stuttgart.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

notable as the first head of that school of painting at Nürnberg which produced the master of Albrecht Dürer, and Albrecht Dürer himself, thus proving itself to be—as did somewhat later the school of Augsburg—one of the exceedingly rare stocks of genuine and veritably great German pictorial art. Pleydenwurff, who was a contemporary of Peter Vischer and Adam Kraftt, the famous Nürnberg sculptors, died in 1472, and was succeeded by Michael Wohlgemut (1473–1519), known as a painter more by reason of the reverence paid to him by his pupil, Albrecht Dürer, than on account of the admiration bestowed by posterity on his extant work, which consists of a few sacred pictures painted for reredoses. Pacher we have noted in a former chapter as a Tyrolean wood-sculptor. He belonged to a Pustertal family in which the craft of the crucifix-carver (the *Herrgottscznitzer*) and the carver of Biblical persons and scenes for the decoration of *Altäre* seems to have been hereditary. He also developed considerable skill as a painter. His masterpiece in painting is held to be the pictorial decoration of the wings of the great altar reredos in the town of St Wolfgang. Inside there are four pictures on gold ground showing scenes from the life of the Virgin, and eight showing scenes from the life of Christ; outside are depicted four miracles performed by St Wolfgang. Another similar but probably larger reredos was made by Pacher for the Brixen Cathedral. Here too he depicted miraculous occurrences in the life of St Wolfgang. Four of these panels are preserved at Munich. In the case of one of these occurrences—the discomfiture of the devil—the painter is given an opportunity of displaying his gift for vivid presentation of the horrors of Northern *Spuk*—a gift granted lavishly to Germanic fantasy, and not denied to German genius, such as that of Dürer and Goethe. Pacher's fiend is the grisliest demon imaginable. Nevertheless, the picture fails to horrify; it merely disgusts. I have therefore preferred to give a less repellent specimen of St Wolfgang's miracles (Fig. 318). It belongs to the same series as the *Discomfiture of the Fiend*, and was painted probably in 1490.

We have now arrived at the year (1490) in which Albrecht Dürer, nineteen years old, left the studio of Wohlgemut, where he had served his apprenticeship, and set forth on his travels, which during four *Wanderjahre* took him first perhaps to Colmar, the home of Schongauer (who died in 1491), and then to Basel, and then, probably, across the Alps—for it seems certain that he visited Venice before he returned to Nürnberg in 1494.

But this is anticipating events. We must revert to the years shortly before Dürer was born. It was probably between 1465 and 1470 that the birth took place of Hans Holbein the Elder, father of the famous painter and himself a far better artist than was once believed. Augsburg, then a 'free city' of the Empire, was famed for its wealthy Oriental traders and bankers, such as the Fugger family, who patronized

PAINTING

art. Kaiser Maximilian too, whose splendid monument at Innsbruck Peter Vischer helped to adorn, and the famous Kaiser Charles V took great interest in the city, the merchant-princes of which supplied them with vast sums of money and gave their daughters as brides to many a noble of the Empire. The Holbeins were a fairly prosperous burgher family. The father of Hans the Elder was in the leather trade, and he himself in earlier life evidently prospered, for he bought a house and was a town-councillor. But success abandoned him, and he accepted a commission given him by the nuns of St Catharine's Convent to paint certain pictures of Roman basilican churches, a visit to which pictures was sometimes, with papal sanction, regarded as a substitute for a pilgrimage to Rome. Apparently the financial result of this commission proved satisfactory, for about this time (1494-96) he seems to have taken to art as a means of livelihood; but things again went badly, and although he painted a considerable number of reredos pictures he became ever poorer, and finally, in 1516, left Augsburg and went to Alsace, where he died. The chief of his extant works, besides the basilica pictures,¹ are portions of a *Marienaltar* painted for the great Benedictine monastery of Weingarten (Augsburg Dom); the wings of a reredos in St Catharine's Convent (Augsburg), which show a group of the Madonna, the Child, and St Anne, as well as a harrowing *Martyrdom of St Peter*; and the reredos of a St Sebastian altar (now in the Munich Pinakothek), on the wings of which are depicted two very beautiful forms—those of St Elisabeth and St Barbara, given in our illustrations. This painting, probably one of the last executed by him in his native city, dates from 1515 or 1516. It shows Italian inspiration,² and there are but few Italian

¹ In the Augsburg Gallery there are pictures by the elder Holbein of S. Maria Maggiore and of S. Paolo fuori (within which St Paul's decapitation is gruesomely depicted). There are similar, later, pictures by Burgkmair of St Peter's, of the Lateran, and of S. Croce. Facts and dates connected with the two Holbeins are still uncertain, despite the researches of Woltmann, Springer, Seemann, and others. Some details have been discovered by means of portraits (at Berlin and Augsburg), named and dated and very beautifully drawn, supposed to be the work of the elder Holbein. Moreover, dates and attributions of work have been rectified by the detection of forged inscriptions on paintings.

² The difference between this late work of his and some of his earlier 'pot-boiler' productions, in which he seems to have been inspired only by the scenes and personages of miracle-plays, might make one believe in an *italienische Reise* not less effective than that of Goethe.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

painters besides Raphael and Palma Vecchio who have given us more unforgettable visions of gracious and dignified womanhood.

Of Burgkmair's life little is known; but the date of his birth (1473) seems more certain than that of his friend Holbein, who was probably his senior by several years. In his early years he may possibly have studied under Schongauer in Alsace, and in any case he evidently felt admiration for his work, seeing that there exists in the Pinakothek at Munich a copy by him of one of Schongauer's portraits.¹ A comparison of Burgkmair's woodcuts—even the hundred cuts of the much-admired *Triumph of Kaiser Maximilian*—with the wonderfully beautiful drawings of the elder Holbein shows still more plainly than a comparison of their paintings that in spite of all his cleverness and technical skill Burgkmair stands as artist on a far lower level. He possessed none of the qualities that appeal to us so strongly in Holbein's work. With rare exceptions (and some of these are pictures in which landscape prevails) his paintings are oppressively heavy and frigid. In one of them he has left us most unattractive likenesses of himself and his wife. This picture (which is at Vienna) reveals in a curious fashion that, in spite of his admiration for Schongauer, there was in his nature that tendency toward gruesomeness which is found so often in German art and literature. A hand-mirror that is held by his wife and is supposed to reflect both their faces shows the reflexion of two death's-heads.² In later years Burgkmair, like the elder Holbein, came under Italian influences, and some of his paintings of this period, such as a *Madonna im Rosenbag* (Munich) and an *Adoration of the Magi*, show that he finally

¹ On the back of the portrait there is an old statement that it was painted by 'Burgkmair, pupil of Schongauer, in the year 1483.' But this must be wrong if in 1483 Burgkmair was only ten years old.

² It is much easier to feel than to describe and explain the essential difference between such a *memento mori* and that given by the painter of *The Triumph of Death* in the Pisan Campo Santo, where the contents of three open coffins horrify a company of gallants and dames. Possibly the cause of that *Spuk* (as I have already several times called it) which is so often found in older German paintings has affinity to that *δεισιδαιμονία*, or superstitious dread of the supernatural, which in ancient Cretan art produced grotesque, weird, and morbid manifestations repellent to the artistic instincts of the Greeks. No Italian *Last Judgment*, nor the most gruesome scene of Dante's *Inferno*, inspires one with the *disgust* that is caused by Holbein's *Dance of Death* or this painting by Burgkmair.

322. CHRISTINA OF MILAN
By Hans Holbein the Younger
See p. 449 and n.
London, National Gallery 438



320. ST BARBARA
By Hans Holbein the Elder
Munich, Pinakothek
Photo Hanfstaengl
321. ST ELISABETH
By Hans Holbein the Elder
Munich, Pinakothek
Photo Hanfstaengl





323. ALBRECHT DÜRER

His second portrait of himself. See p. 441

Madrid, Prado

Photo Anderson



324. ALBRECHT DÜRER

His third portrait of himself. See p. 441

Munich, Pinakothek

Photo Hanstaengl

PAINTING

learnt to acknowledge the rights of graciousness and beauty in the realm of art.

We have now reached a standpoint from which we may gain an unobstructed view of the greatest of German painters, Albrecht Dürer. First let us take a general survey of his personality and artistic gifts; then we will consider briefly some of his most important works.

There were in Dürer's nature two very diverse tendencies. He was strongly attracted by that *Urkraft*—that rude, sometimes brutally overbearing, and always self-assertive ‘elemental force’—which so often shows itself masterfully in German character and in German art. It is this *urdeutsche Characteristik* of Dürer's painting that is especially admired by German critics; and the work that they select as his masterpiece is, as one might expect, his *Four Apostles*—described in a recent popular German monograph on Dürer as ‘the finest tribute of art to the Reformation . . . bringing vividly before us, especially in the persons of St Paul and St John, all that was grand in the reformers' courageous and zealous search for truth.’ *De gustibus non est disputandum*. But I must venture to confess that I am one of those to whom this group of Apostles is the least attractive of all Dürer's works; indeed, for me it is perhaps one of the most unattractive pictures that I know.

The other tendency in Dürer's nature—a tendency developed into an overmastering passion by his visit to Italy—was a yearning for beauty and graciousness, and for the power, never fully attained by him, of satisfying this yearning by the act of artistic creation. It is true that in some of the paintings in which he endeavours to realize his visions of beauty he has succeeded as none but an amazingly skilful artist could ever succeed, but, like some gifted Northern poet attempting to express his emotions in the music of the *lingua di sì*, he failed to produce anything but marvellous imitations—such as we have in his *Magi* and his still more wonderful *Vision* (or *Adoration*) of the *Trinity* (Fig. 325). Yes—wonderful. But in these and similar works of his is too apparent a vain endeavour to effect a miracle—to combine what is naturally diverse into a living

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

entirety without the agency of creative power. *Fehlt leider nur das geistige Band.*

His friend Melanchthon spoke of him as a man whose least merit was his art. However that may have been, I think it may be said that he was not greatest as a painter. His etchings on copper, his designs for woodcuts, and his other drawings show a mastery in design and execution more marvellous than anything in his paintings. They show also a minute knowledge of the structure of organic and inorganic natural objects which is as astounding as that possessed by Leonardo da Vinci. It is, indeed, not surprising to learn that he devoted himself zealously to the study of anatomy and botany and other such scientific subjects.¹ He seems, moreover, to have preferred the society of learned persons, such as Pirkheimer, the famous humanist, avoiding the company and the workshops of the ordinary German painters of the day, whose sole interest lay in such hack-work as the fabrication of carved and painted reredoses.

Albrecht was the second of eighteen children, and was born in 1471 at Nürnberg. He was the son of a goldsmith (perhaps of Hungarian origin), who, recognizing the boy's gifts, let him enter the studio of Wohlgemut.² Under this artist, as we have already seen, he worked for some years before he set out, in 1490, on his *Wanderschaft*, which probably included a first visit to Italy. During his absence from home, it seems likely, a *Braut* was chosen for him—perhaps with his willing consent, seeing that he is said to have sent her, as a present from Venice, his own portrait painted on parchment, the earliest of his three well-known *autoritratti*. On his return to Nürnberg he married the young woman; but the marriage seems to have brought him little satisfaction. A year later, and again in 1506, he seems to have revisited

¹ His *Four Books on the Proportions of the Human Body*, published after his death, shows with what zeal and ability he endeavoured to establish some such Canon as that which Polycleitus is said to have formulated in his lost work. Like Leonardo da Vinci, Dürer held Nature to be the artist's one true teacher. *Wahrhaftig steckt die Kunst in der Natur*, he writes. *Wer sie heraus kann reissen, der hat sie*—words that remind one of Michelangelo's *viva figura* hidden within the rough mountain block of marble.

² Some affirm that he was first sent (c. 1484) to Colmar, to serve an apprenticeship under Schongauer. But this seems questionable. His oil-portrait of his father now in the Uffizi may have been painted before leaving Wohlgemut's studio. Others are at Munich and in our National Gallery.

PAINTING

Venice, and possibly reached Rome. Letters of his to Pirkheimer describe how he was welcomed and honoured by great Italian artists, Giovanni Bellini among them.¹

In 1509, having bought a house at Nürnberg, he settled there, and during the next nineteen years devoted himself mainly to his work as artist. In 1520, the year before the Diet of Worms, he paid a visit to the Netherlands, where he was received with honour in many towns and at the court of the regent, Margaret of Austria. He was also appointed court-painter by the young Emperor, Charles V. In 1528 he died at Nürnberg.

The following are some of the chief of Dürer's numerous works :

The first of the three portraits of himself has been mentioned. The second was first painted perhaps in 1496. (The Madrid picture, with the date 1498, given in Fig. 323, is possibly a replica by Dürer's hand, acquired later by Charles V.) The third, given in Fig. 324, is in the Munich Pinakothek. The inscription it bears is 'anno XXVIII'—that is, 1498–99. This third portrait, if not tampered with by restorers, seems to prove some very great change of character in a few years. Otherwise it is hardly credible that by his twenty-eighth year he should have become so changed externally from the self-assured and happy-looking man of the Madrid portrait.

Of his paintings of sacred subjects, mostly in the Italian style, the best known are a *Crucifixion* (Madrid and Dresden); an *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi), which might at first sight be taken for a 'Ghirlandaio' but for the Virgin of marked Germanic type; a *Nativity* (Munich)—a strange mixture of Italian pre-Raphaelitism and German ungainliness and grotesqueness; the *Madonna with the Siskin* (Berlin), in motive strongly reminiscent of Giovanni Bellini, but painfully unlike in faces and figures; the above-mentioned *Four Apostles* (Munich)—popularly held to signify four religious temperaments, or four of the reformers. This picture consists of two high, oblong paintings that look like wings of an unfinished triptych (as do also his *Adam and Eve* at Madrid). It was one of his last works and was given by him to the Town Council of Nürnberg. If the figures symbolize leading reformers it is clear that toward the end of his life Dürer joined the Protestants. A very different spirit is shown by his earlier religious paintings. Of these perhaps the finest, though comparatively small² and disappointing in colour, is the above-mentioned *Adoration of the Trinity* (Fig. 325), also called the

¹ Some years later (1515) Raphael sent him a sketch in red chalk drawn by himself. It exists still (at Vicuna), and bears an inscription by Dürer stating from whom he received it.

² Some writers speak of this picture as a 'vast work'! Of the original beautiful shrine-like frame a design by Dürer is in the Germanic Museum at Nürnberg.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

All Saints' Picture (Allerheiligenbild). Although very different in size and some other respects, this painting, filled with wonderfully designed and arranged figures, reminds one somewhat of Raphael's so-called *Disputa*, the upper part showing a vision of the Trinity and companies of sainted men and women, while below is an adoring multitude, to the left the Pope and famous men and women of the Church Militant, to the right the Emperor (Maximilian) with distinguished men and women of the State. Beneath these again is a peaceful scene of hills and lakes, and standing aside is depicted Dürer himself, gazing at the view and resting his hand on a large tablet on which is inscribed the date 1511.

Dürer's copperplate etchings, the importance of which I have already intimated, are very numerous. They show a mastery in design and a certainty of hand, if not a beauty in line, unequalled by any Italian artist in such work, and a power scarcely inferior to Rembrandt's of producing wondrous effects of light and colour. Nothing could be more beautiful than his delineation of plants and flowers; and if his forms of both human beings and animals, and still more his conceptions of beauty and nobility as manifested in the human face, often fail to win our admiration entirely, he does certainly now and then attain something very like sublimity. There is, I think, nothing in all art that is nobler than his knight riding steadily onward, undaunted by Death and the devil—seemingly, indeed, unconscious of their presence, though fully conscious of it in his soul. This is perhaps the best known of Dürer's almost countless etchings. Copies of it exist in various museums. (See Fig. 326.) Notable also are *Melancholia*, *The Vision of St Hubert*, and *St Jerome in his Study*. Besides these are many etched portraits. Among his numerous and fine drawings for woodcuts is a series of fifteen (dating from 1498) illustrating the Apocalypse. In many others he treats Madonna subjects. Moreover, together with Cranach, he decorated with elaborate, mainly grotesque and humorous, drawings the margins of Kaiser Maximilian's Prayer Book (printed on parchment by Schönsperger of Augsburg). These drawings were to be used for woodcuts, but this was never done. Half of this Prayer Book still exists at Munich, and the other half at Besançon.

As was the case with other, and still greater, artists, Dürer left behind him no notable successors. The only German painters of the late fifteenth and of the sixteenth centuries whom, considering the limitations of my choice, I shall be able to add to my list can scarcely be said to have belonged to his school, although they may have been inspired to some extent by his work. They are Grünewald, the two Cranachs, and Hans Holbein the Younger.

The personality of Matthias Grünewald is rather indistinct. He is known to have lived beyond the year 1529, and he was born possibly about 1483, possibly twenty years earlier, perhaps at Mainz or Frankfurt, in which towns, as well as in Aschaffenburg and in the Alsatian towns of Colmar and

326. THE KNIGHT, DEATH, AND THE DEVIL

By Albrecht Dürer

Photo Hanfstaengl

442

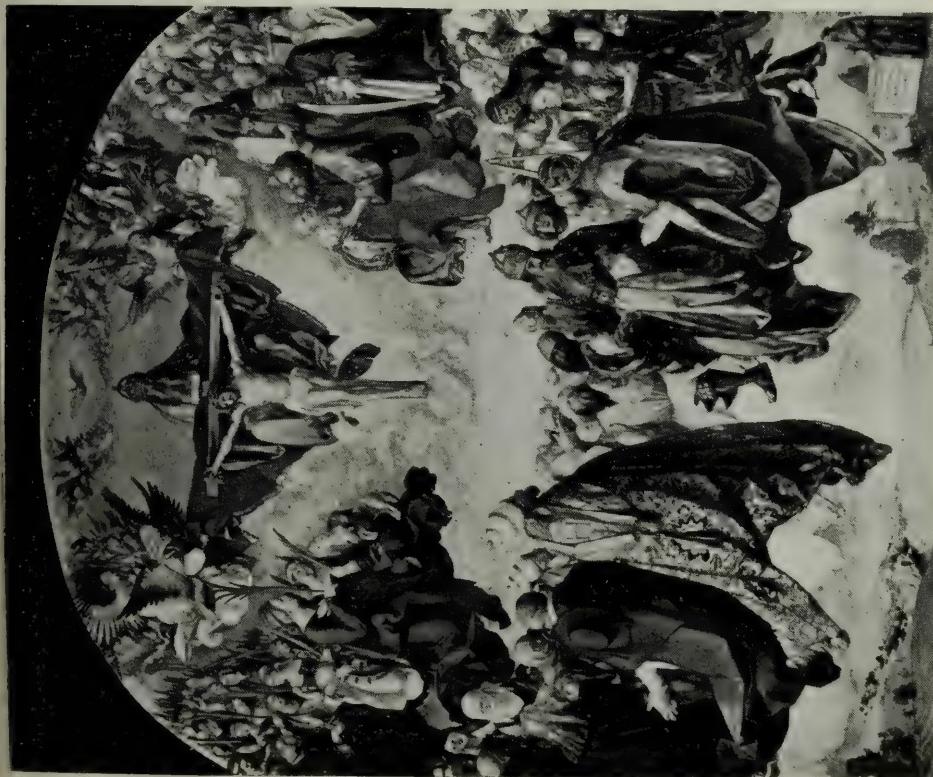


325. ADORATION OF THE TRINITY

By Albrecht Dürer

Vienna

Photo Hanfstaengl





328. VIRGIN AND CHILD

By Cranach. A 'Maria Hilf' picture

Innsbruck, Pfarrkirche

Photoglob, Zürich

443



327. ADAM AND EVE

By Lucas Cranach

Munich

PAINTING

Isenheim, between the Rhine and the Vosges, he seems to have worked, mainly at producing paintings (sometimes also painted carvings) for altar reredoses. These were not such as were turned out by the ordinary hack-painters. To judge from the few well-authenticated specimens that exist he was unquestionably not merely a clever craftsman, but an artist dowered with poetic imagination and with the power of poetic expression. A fine example of his work (*c.* 1509-11) is a series of paintings, now in the Colmar Museum, that once formed the wings of a reredos in the chapel of the now ruined Antonite monastery at Isenheim. It presents various scenes from the legendary history of St Anthony and St Erasmus, as well as an *Annunciation*, a *Virgin and Child listening to Angelic Musicians*, a *Crucifixion*, and a *Resurrection*—paintings that show a beauty and an imaginative power very rare indeed in German art. Another, most interesting, example is his *Madonna of Stuppach*, so called from the town of Stuppach, north of Heilbronn. Here is to be seen the chief panel of a reredos that he made for the ‘Snow Chapel’ of a church in Aschaffenburg. The Madonna of this picture is one of the most dignified creations of German art. The wings of this reredos (one of which is in Freiburg Cathedral) tell the story of the fall of snow that decided the site of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (*p. 177 n.*). The most celebrated of Grünewald’s works was a reredos made by him for his patron, Cardinal Albrecht. During the Thirty Years War it was carried off from the Mainz Cathedral by the Swedes, and perished in a shipwreck on its way to Sweden.

Hitherto Rhineland, Nürnberg, and Augsburg have occupied our attention as homes of post-Gothic German painting. We must now glance for a short time northward and consider the so-called Saxon school—a school that may be said to have begun and ended with Lucas Cranach the Elder; for his son, though he survived him for a considerable time, produced only imitations of his work (many of their pictures, indeed, have remained undistinguishable), having been for about forty years so drilled by his masterful and hidebound parent that he had lost all chance of developing originality.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Lucas Müller, called Cranach after his native town, Kronach (in Upper Franconia), was born (1472) one year after Albrecht Dürer, and outlived him many years, dying in 1553 at the age of eighty-one. His wanderings in early manhood brought him to Munich and Vienna (1502); in 1505 he obtained the post of official painter at the court of the Saxon Elector at Wittenberg,¹ and for the next half-century he dominated the art marts of Northern Germany, especially after the Reformation, when he—friend of Luther and popular Bürgermeister of Wittenberg—enjoyed immense favour as a ‘religious painter,’ being regarded by the Protestants of Saxony and the adjacent regions with an almost reverential admiration, which has lasted until quite modern days.

From its lofty outlook art criticism regards with disdain such popular estimates, and it must, I think, be allowed that, whatever other influence, for good or bad, Cranach’s paintings exercised, they show no sign whatever of any of that creative and revealing power which, however indescribable and undefinable it may be, we feel to be present in all great works of art. Unquestionably he possessed wondrous technical skill, as a glance at even a reproduced photograph of his *Adam and Eve* (Fig. 327) must convince us. And he had apparently great advantages—a very long life, very easy circumstances, and entire freedom from critics and rivals in the land of his adoption. But both his character and his art seem to have suffered from this state of things. In most of his paintings there is a masterful self-assurance and a disdainful ignoring of all such dignity and grace and beauty as Dürer yearned to attain. It is as if some lake-dweller, or *Urmensch* of the Hercynian forest, had in wondrous wise acquired exquisite pictorial craftsmanship and a knowledge of the facts and legends of the Olympian and Christian creeds without developing the slightest sense of realities lying behind the veil of the visible. How banal

¹ For the Wittenberg branch of the Saxon (Wettin) Electors see p. 426. Stories of Cranach’s having gone with Friedrich to Palestine (c. 1494) and having later shared the five years’ captivity of Johann Friedrich after the defeat of the Schmalkaldic Leaguers by Charles V are now generally discredited. He seems to have left Wittenberg after the disgrace of his patron and to have died at Weimar.



329. TRIPTYCH BY LUCAS CRANACH

Reproduced from the official photograph, copyright of His Majesty the King
On loan in the National Gallery



330. THE MADONNA OF THE MEYER FAMILY

By Holbein. *Dresden*

Photo Hanfstaengl

PAINTING

a realism repels us in this painter's representation of *Christ and the Adulteress*—both in the Munich and in the Budapest version! With what ludicrous impudence does the painter present to us (solemnly, as if a great work of art) his Karlsruhe parody of the Judgment of Paris—the goddesses like silly, simpering, naked barmaids and the young Trojan prince like a theatrical ‘super’ overloaded with medieval plate-armour!

And what are we to say of his exquisitely finished, ungainly, Venuses and Eves—sometimes stark-naked except for a necklace¹ or a fashionable broad-brimmed red velvet hat? A few of his works—dating from the pre-Protestant period of his life and executed, doubtless, according to traditional conceptions—prove that Cranach was able to turn out to order very creditable specimens of such religious pictures as were in demand for reredos wings and altarpieces. A *Crucifixion* (1503) in the gallery at Schleissheim, near Munich, is one of the best of his works of this nature and shows some real dignity and pathos; and a *Madonna and Child*, an oft-repeated work, originally painted in 1509 for the Breslau Cathedral, is not unattractive. The triptych (Fig. 329), belonging to our King, which dates from about 1517—the year of Luther's theses—is one of the largest and most important products of the earlier period of Cranach's life, before he became a Protestant, and before the applause of an ignorant public developed his delusion that he was a great creative artist and that every fantastical picture he painted was a masterpiece. Some of his earlier portraits, such as the well-known *Hans Scheurl of Nürnberg* (at Brussels), are very clever; but he seldom succeeded in seizing and presenting character. Among his many likenesses (pictures, etchings, and woodcuts) of the reformers and of humanists and other celebrities at the Wittenberg court and elsewhere there are very few that give us any insight into personality.

Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543) has been already mentioned in connexion with his father, whose misfortunes in later life doubtless made the youth's home-life rather dismal. Just about the same time (c. 1515) when the father gave up his home in Augsburg and went off to Alsace, where

¹ See, for instance, *Charity*, No. 2925 in our National Gallery.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

he shortly afterward died, the son betook himself to Basel. Here he put his hand to odd jobs—decorating houses and furniture and book-covers, etc., and painting signboards.¹ He soon won favour. The publisher Kloben introduced him to Erasmus of Rotterdam, who had lately settled at Basel, and ere long the young artist had furnished the famous writer's *Praise of Folly* with very clever, humorous, marginal illustrations. About 1516 he made his first serious attempts at portraiture. In the Basel Museum there is an interesting series of his earlier works in this line. One of the first was a portrait of the Basel Bürgermeister Meyer with his wife, both of whom we know so well from Holbein's masterpiece. A portrait of the publisher Boniface Amerbach shows us that by about 1519 he already possessed, though not in full development, the main accomplishments which make him, anyhow in regard to technique, one of the greatest of portrait-painters—an unerring hand, a wondrous facility in intimating character with a few masterly touches, and rare skill in producing rich and harmonious effects in colour.²

In the same year Holbein painted a large and ambitiously conceived sacred picture (now at Lisbon). Perhaps his father had designed, or even begun to paint, this picture, which, to judge from a coloured reproduction, I should say resembles his work both in the splendid High Renaissance architecture of the background and in the attractive female figures and faces. It represents the Fountain of Life, at the side of which the enthroned Virgin and Child are surrounded by a large group of richly dressed women. If it were proved to be wholly the work of the younger Holbein we should have to conclude that, great as he was as portrait-painter, he had no gift for dramatic composition; but this seems disproved by his drawings, especially by his sketches for the frescos (that no longer exist) with

¹ In the Berlin Cabinet of Etchings there is a very vigorous and clever coloured drawing by Holbein for the façade decoration of a house in Basel. It shows a rich Renaissance structure adorned with a frieze-like row of numerous dancers, whence it gets its name, viz., *Das Haus zum Tanz*. Some of the products of his potboiling activities are to be seen in the Basel Museum.

² On turning to Sir Walter Armstrong's notice of Holbein in his *Art in Great Britain and Ireland* I find my estimate there confirmed. 'No painter had a finer sense of design or of colour pattern. His genius is like the daylight coming through a stained-glass window: it reconciles tints apparently the most irreconcilable.'

PAINTING

which, at the request of the Municipal Council, he adorned the great hall of the newly built Basel Rathaus. In these frescos he depicted some of the great acts of justice related by history. The sketches (to be seen in the Basel Museum) make one regret keenly the disappearance of the frescos. The scene in which Samuel rejects Saul must have been very impressive. There exist also at Basel drawings, and eight paintings, in which Holbein shows very great artistic gifts in his conception and presentation of scenes from Christ's Passion. His *Christ before the High Priest*, although without the demonic power shown by Rembrandt in his *Ecce Homo*, is certainly a work of genius.¹

Among his numerous drawings for etchings and woodcuts are those representing the Dance of Death (published first as a series of forty cuts at Lyon in 1538). The subject was one often regarded in those days as suitable for the decoration of German and Swiss cemeteries and churches, and Holbein doubtless found it profitable to meet the demand. More satisfactory work was fortunately also forthcoming. During the few years preceding his first visit to England he painted two pictures (both said to have been portraits of a Basel lady, Patricia or Dorothea Offenburger), one of which represented Venus as a symbol of True Love, while the other—a fine picture—showed the notorious Corinthian courtesan, Lais, as a symbol of False Love.

Another work—perhaps the last—of this period was the celebrated picture into which are introduced, as supplicants, Holbein's friends, Bürgermeister Meyer and his wife, with other members of the family, while the Madonna—if one may accept a not unlikely interpretation of the scene—holds in her arms their sickly infant, having placed the Holy Child on the ground. The original of this fine painting is at Darmstadt. At Dresden is a replica. In this, by slightly elevating the architectural background, Holbein has added apparent height and considerable grace to the Virgin's figure and has diminished the disagreeable impression of squatness produced by the kneeling figures in the Darmstadt version.

¹ The skill with which Holbein reproduces in black and white the effects of torchlight seems at times to anticipate Rembrandt—by about a century.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

Here perhaps we may note, with some perplexity, that according to many writers this *Meyer Madonna* was a first-fruit of Holbein's conversion to Protestantism, while such an authority as Springer stoutly asserts that the painter 'remained to the end a true son of the old Church.' And even if Holbein's intimacy with both Erasmus and More (men of very diverse views, though themselves good friends) need not give us pause, his *Madonnas* seem scarcely quite in keeping with such satirical woodcuts as his *Sale of Indulgences*. But evidently he was a time-server. He seems, for instance, to have kept on good terms with the heretical and fiery tyrant by whom were sent to the block not only his friend Thomas More, but also Thomas Cromwell, the ill-fated adviser of the marriage with Anne of Cleves, while he—the painter of the too seductive portrait of that uncomely dame—escaped.

In 1526 Holbein reached London, where, on the recommendation of Erasmus, he was kindly received by More.¹ But the warning given by More to Erasmus ('Thy painter is a wonderful artist, but I fear he will not find England as fruitful as he hopes') seems to have proved well founded, and by 1528 we find him back in Basel—just at the time when Zwinglian and iconoclastic troubles were at their worst. He obtained the commission to paint some great Biblical pictures (allusive of the suppressed disturbances) as a decoration for the Rathaus. But ere long, in 1532, he was back in London. This time he was more fortunate. He became court-painter, and for eight years after the execution of his friend Thomas More he continued to supply English patrons and the members of the German colony with portraits. In 1543 he died—of the plague.

According to German writers Holbein, 'bought with English gold,' traitorously deserted the Fatherland, and

¹ As for Holbein's relations with More and his portraits of More (including the interesting drawing in the Basel Museum, where the Chancellor is pictured in the midst of his family), perhaps I may be pardoned if, for the sake of brevity, I refer readers to my edition of More's *Utopia* (Macmillan). What seems to be the only authentic portrait of More by Holbein was at one time (as I was told years ago by its owner, Mr Huth) in the possession of Henry VIII, and was thrown out of a window by Anne Boleyn. Among the eighty-seven Holbein drawings at Windsor there is the preliminary chalk study for this portrait, and from it was painted by an unknown artist the portrait in our National Gallery.

PAINTING

not only thus helped to bring about that collapse of German pictorial art which lasted for two centuries or more, but also ruined himself as a great painter by becoming a mere purveyor of portraits to an insolent and semi-barbarous aristocracy utterly ignorant of art. Woltmann, regarded in Germany as the highest authority on the subject, not only ignores entirely all possibility of the German painter's having learnt anything of value from the English miniaturists, but asserts that 'in England Holbein seems to have stood quite alone. . . . His artistic style here found no imitators.' Doubtless this is, as Sir Walter Armstrong says, 'too sweeping a statement.' Holbein had imitators, indeed many imitators, though none of much note. But I confess that I agree with the German writer in doubting that he learnt anything of value in the art of portraiture from the English miniaturists, seeing that, as Sir Walter Armstrong himself allows, the traditions of English miniature-painting had by this time so faded away that they 'retained only just enough vitality to afford a hint to the Augsburg master'—who 'was not slow in showing the native limners what their art could do.' And I most fully agree with Sir Walter when he speaks of the delight and admiration which such a picture as Holbein's *Christina, Duchess of Milan* (Fig. 322), must have excited in those who had never seen any portraits except such as had already been produced in England by native or foreign painters. I should imagine that the sensations excited were very like those experienced by the Parisians when—some few years earlier—they first saw Titian's portrait of their King Francis.¹

Some of Holbein's finest portraits, besides those already mentioned, are several of Erasmus (the best in the Louvre); *Archbishop Warham* (Louvre); *Jörg Gyze or Ghisze*, a member of the German colony in London (Berlin); *Jane Seymour* (Vienna); *Sir George Cornwall*, or *The Man with the Pink* (Frankfurt am Main); *The Ambassadors* (National Gallery);

¹ In 1538 Holbein was sent to Brussels to paint this Christina (widow of Francesco Sforza), whom Henry wished to marry after the death of Jane Seymour. The lady, however, did not feel willing to accept the proposal. Her portrait by Holbein, long in the possession of the Dukes of Norfolk, was bought by means of the National Art-Collections Fund, and thus saved from being carried off to America.

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

The Duke of Norfolk (Windsor); the possible *Thomas Morrett*, King Henry's jeweller (Dresden); and *Henry VIII* (now in the Villa Borghese, Rome). To celebrate the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn Holbein was commissioned by the 'Easterlings of the Steelyard' to decorate their Banquet-hall with pictures in *tempera*. These paintings probably perished in the Great Fire (1666). Also his famous portraits of Henry VII and Henry VIII with their wives perished in a fire—that which destroyed Whitehall.

'In 1528 Dürer dies; soon afterwards Grünewald; then Holbein goes to England and is lost; the glory of German painting is at an end.' Such is the wail of the writer of a large and well-known *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. And what he says is true. For more than two centuries and a half after Holbein had been 'bought with English gold'—that is, during all the years when Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Velasquez, Murillo, Poussin, Claude; the later Venetians from Titian to Tiepolo, and the English painters Gainsborough and Reynolds, and even Turner, were producing splendid works of art—not one single picture of any great artistic value was painted in Germany. My account of German art is therefore practically finished; but perhaps I should mention a few other painters, of whom one at least—a woman—has given us some attractive portraits, especially one of herself.

During the latter half of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth centuries the annals of German painting are a perfect blank, except for some dull copyists of Italian masters. Such names as Goltzius, Rottenhammer, Von Sandrart, Dietrich (of whose works the Dresden Gallery possesses over fifty and our National Gallery one—*The Itinerant Musicians*), and Elzheimer (some of whose clever landscape-pieces are in England) are of interest to those alone who prize pictures for reasons unconnected with their artistic value.

At last, in the eighteenth century, two distinct movements made themselves perceptible. Two irrigating streams, so to speak, began to spread their waters across the surface of this arid waste, one somewhat feeble, but springing from a perennial source, the other for a time strong and turbulent



331. HENRY VIII

By Holbein

Rome, Villa Borghese

Photo Brogi

450



332. THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS
By Raphael Mengs. Munich

Photo Hanfstaengl

PAINTING

and bringing with it much *débris*, but coming from no true springhead and destined soon to cease.

The irrepressible yearning for what is natural, and the boundless delight given when ‘one touch of nature makes the whole world kin,’ caused once more the ever-recurring appearance—as a protest against pedantry and artificiality—of a small band of artists who, as Chardin and his followers had done, betook themselves to depicting the persons and homes and occupations of simple people—of ordinary human beings—and, by way of contrast, to exhibiting with more or less satire or good-natured humour the rococo absurdities and the *Zopftum* of Frenchified Berlin and North German high life. The chief representative of this school is Daniel Chodowiecki of Danzig (1721–1801). He was not much of a painter, but his engravings show a Hogarth-like power in characterization. His work is, however, very different from that of Hogarth. There is no tragic exposure of vice and misery. He seems to depict simple and honest folk just out of love for such people, and when he exhibits some fashionable or pedantic folly he does so with mock solemnity and sly humour, and lets the thing tell its own story. Those who know the history of German literature will feel that they have been given a sufficiently full and exact description of Chodowiecki’s work when they are told that, besides illustrating Gellert’s *Fables* and the *Luise* of Voss, he found congenial and very successful employment in the illustration (c. 1765) of Lessing’s *Minna von Barnhelm*.

In somewhat loose connexion with this return to nature—this reaction against *Zopftum* and *Rokoko* and *Sturm und Drang* ecstasies and other absurdities in literature and art and social life—a reaction in which Lessing led the way with his *Sarah* and *Minna*—we may perhaps here mention the unquestionably clever, but mechanically drilled and prosaic, Swiss portrait-painter Graff (1736–1813), who made his home in Dresden. Besides his admirable portrait of Frederick the Great (Fig. 333), and a still better one of himself, there are many others in existence. ‘Almost all literary Germany sat to him,’ we are told.

The other movement was that of German Classicism, often before mentioned. It was of a nature totally different

GERMANY (c. 1500-c. 1820)

from that of the Italian Renaissance and also from that of the occasional spates that we have noted in the perennial and genuine French love for ancient art. It was merely an overflow of the pool of antiquarianism. Winckelmann's writings, Pompeian excavations, discoveries of statues and 'Etruscan' vases, and the complete misunderstanding by Lessing of the essential difference between painting and sculpture had effects in Germany still more disastrous than those which analogous causes produced in the case of the French Davidians.

Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-79) is the earliest and chief representative of this German school. He was of Jewish Bohemian parentage. His father (a miniature-painter) obtained leave for the child to imbibe infantine enthusiasm for big and dramatic paintings in the then almost inaccessible Dresden Picture-gallery. At the age of thirteen he was taken to Rome and was trained as artist; and ere long the Saxon Elector (and King of Poland), August III, gave him the title and pay of court-painter, allowing him to continue his studies. Mengs joined the Church of Rome to please his patron and his wife—a *contadina* who had sat as his model. He spent most of the last twenty years of his life in Rome and at Madrid. In Madrid he was largely employed by Charles III, painting great frescos and altar-pieces, such as *The Apotheosis of Trajan* (a ceiling-decoration in the Royal Palace) and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (in the museum). At Rome his *Parnassus* (a ceiling-decoration in the Villa Albani) won great admiration, but surely every one who has any true appreciation of what is beautiful and grand in Greek sculpture and Greek literature, although he may feel admiration for Raphael's *Parnassus*, and may even see something fine in some of the works of the French Davidian school, must turn away with mingled disgust and amusement from the sight of this once highly extolled masterpiece of eighteenth-century German Classicism. *The Judgment of Paris* (Fig. 332) is a somewhat similar specimen of the work of Mengs. Like the *Parnassus*, it offers what one might justly describe as a number of more or less undraped wax figures arranged 'artistically' by a professional photographer. It must, however, be allowed that many of his portraits,

PAINTING

especially his pastels (Dresden) and the well-known portrait of himself (Munich), are fine performances.

Slightly connected with this Classical school—very slightly—merely by a thread of friendly feeling—was Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807). She was born in an Austrian country town of the Bregenzer Wald, not far from the Swiss frontier. In early life she was taken by her father to Milan, and later resided at Rome, where she developed her gift for painting, especially for portraiture, so successfully that, aided by her very intelligent and charming personality, she became an object of admiration in the literary and artistic and aristocratic circles of many European cities. For fifteen years she lived in London, where, as is well known, she became an intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Her life, otherwise so full of radiance, seems to have been for a time darkened by her unwise marriage with an adventurer who called himself Count Horn. In 1782 she returned to Rome, and for the last twenty-five years of her life devoted herself to her art. Of her many paintings, historical, mythological, and other, none have retained their former reputation except a few portraits, e.g., several attractive ones of herself (see Fig. 334) and her very popular *Vestal Virgin*—which is also a portrait.

To follow farther the course of German painting until the early decades of the nineteenth century would bring us only to the wondrous and unedifying spectacle of a great European people—or, rather, its aesthetic representatives—bowing submissively to the self-constituted authority of such an arrant impostor as Carstens—accepting as unquestionable his impudent *dicta* on the subject of art, classic and other, and regarding his ill-drawn and ludicrous productions as probably excelling the masterpieces of Parrhasius and Apelles. Then we should have to sit in judgment, or in reverent admiration, before the grandiose frescos of Greek and Nibelungen and Biblical heroes depicted by Peter von Cornelius, and gaze in consternation at his *Riders of the Apocalypse* and his *History of Man from the Creation to the Day of Judgment*. . . . And, see, here comes Overbeck with his Nazarenes! *Machen wir uns aus dem Staub!*



334. ANGELICA KAUFFMANN

By Herself

Photo Hanfstaengl



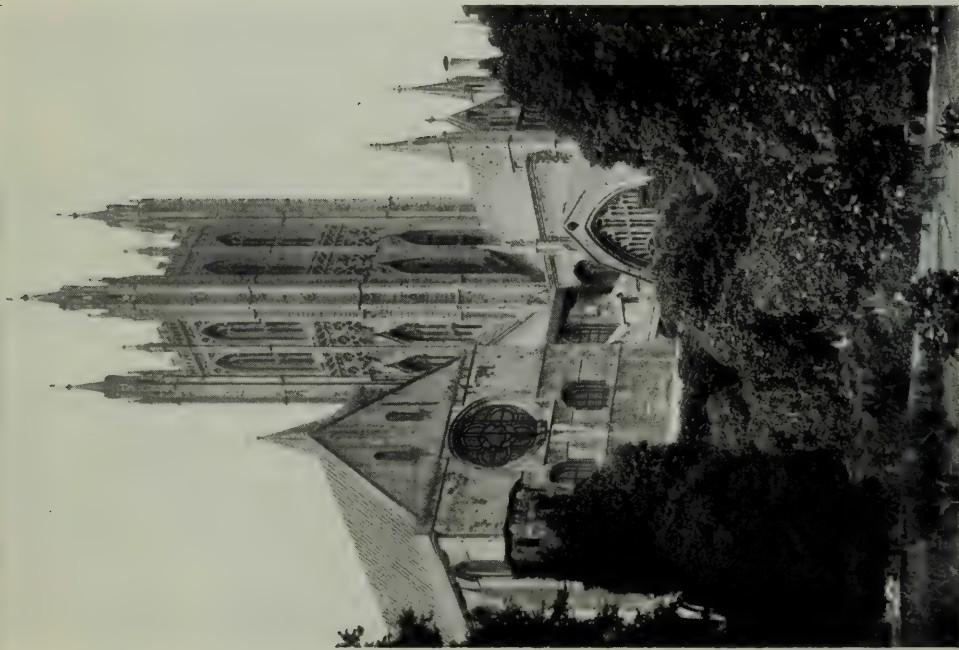
333. FREDERICK THE GREAT

By Graff

Dresden

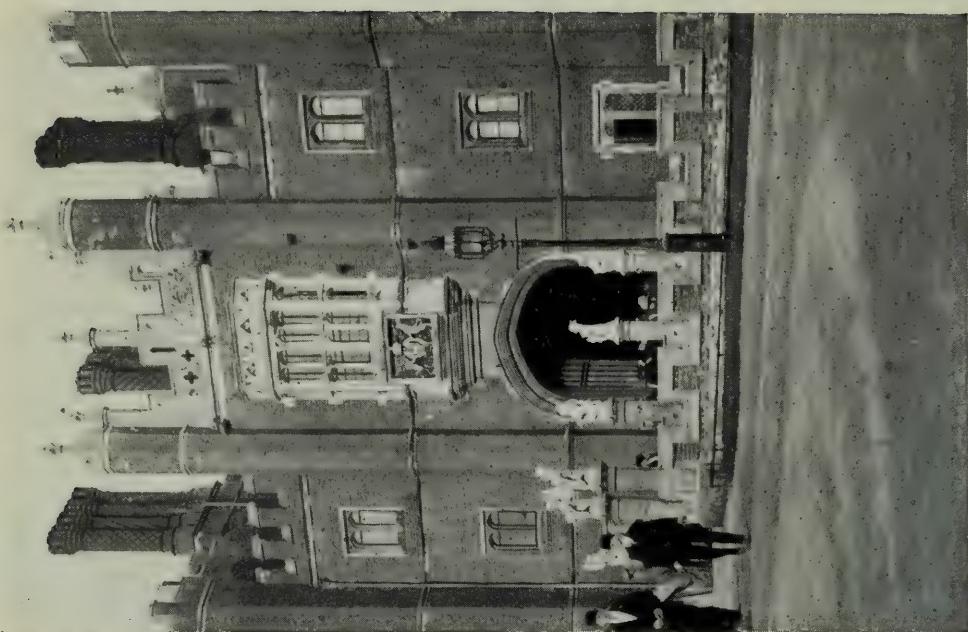
Photo Hanfstaengl

335. ANGEL TOWER, CANTERBURY
Photo Mansell



336. HAMPTON COURT—TUDOR BRIDGE
Photo Underwood

455



PART VII

ENGLAND

BY STEWART DICK

CHAPTER I

ARCHITECTURE

WITH the close of the Gothic period one phase of European civilization comes to an end ; a new one opens with the Renaissance. This is true of the whole field of art ; and in architecture, the mother of arts, it finds its first demonstration.

In Italy the change is rapid, the distinction sharp and clean cut. But Italy had never quite lost touch with the old classic art ; the Gothic movement invaded the country from the North, never to be very firmly rooted there. When the Renaissance in its turn spreads northward to the real homes of Gothic art, it finds the old style more tenacious of life than in the South, and in England the change is a gradual one. The transition stage spreads out over a period of more than a century. Through a medley of changing fashions we pass gradually from Perpendicular Gothic to Tudor, Elizabethan, Jacobean, and finally to the pure Renaissance of Inigo Jones and Wren.

The movement begins late. During the fifteenth century, when the Renaissance in Italy was in full activity, England remained faithful to her old traditions, producing during that period a great series of buildings in the latest and characteristically English phase of Gothic—the Perpendicular style (see Vol. I, p. 286 *sq.*).

The new movement, we might say, begins with the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, and it is significant to note that Pietro Torrigiani—the Florentine sculptor and fellow-student of Michelangelo—arrived in London about 1510.

ENGLAND

But, even so, many of the most characteristic examples of Perpendicular work were carried on well into Henry VIII's reign. Magdalen Tower, Oxford, is a little earlier (1492-1505); but the Angel Tower of Canterbury dates from 1490 to 1525, Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, from 1503 to 1520, and the vaulting of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, from 1508 to 1515.

Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster stands out as the first English building in which we have the introduction of Renaissance work. The vaulting and the metal screen surrounding the tomb are essentially English, but the tomb itself is by Torrigiani. In so far as it represents recumbent figures on an altar-tomb this monument resembles the old Gothic work, but in spirit and treatment it is entirely different. More detailed reference will be made to it in the following chapter on sculpture.

The first work on a large scale in which we have Renaissance detail is seen when in 1515 Wolsey obtains a ninety-nine years' lease of Hampton Court and sets himself to transform it. The fabric appears to have been built by Englishmen, but Italian workmen were employed in the decorative details—the terra-cotta busts of emperors over the entrance being by a certain Giovanni da Maiano. Another important work dating from the reign of Henry VIII was the royal palace of Nonesuch, near Cheam, which was destroyed in the seventeenth century. In the building of this period the main characteristic is the Renaissance decoration applied to an English structure. It would seem that the Italian workman came merely as a decorator—a carver of plain surfaces left for him—when this was finished packing up his bag of tools and passing on to another job.

In the reign of Elizabeth we have a great increase of building activity. The old tyranny of Henry VIII had been removed; with the discovery and exploitation of the New World wealth was pouring into the country, and noblemen vied with each other in the erection of stately mansions. There was a change, too, in the conditions of life. The medieval stage, when the nobleman's seat was in the first place a fortress, had passed away. Englishmen, too, had travelled abroad and seen the higher standard of comfort



337. LONGLEAT HOUSE

Photo Mansell



338. RETCHFORD HALL

Photo Underwood



339. THE PALACE, STIRLING CASTLE
Photo Mansell



340. BANQUETING-HALL, WHITEHALL
By Inigo Jones
Photo Underwood

ARCHITECTURE

which obtained in Italy, and so the Elizabethan mansion represents a new stage in the social evolution of the country.

But this building activity was not confined to the nobility. Gentlemen were building new manors, farmers new farmhouses, labourers new cottages. Writing in 1577, William Harrison, rector of a little Essex village, says : ‘Never so much oke hath been spent in a hundred years before as in ten years of our time, for everie man almost is a builder, and he that hath bought any small parcel of ground, be it ever so little, will not be quiet till he have pulled downe the old house, if anie were there standing, and set up a new after his own device.’

Indeed, nearly all the old half-timbered houses and cottages we see to-day were built within the hundred years from 1550 to 1650, and the busiest time of all seems to have been from 1575 to 1625.

In the less pretentious houses the old traditional styles of English building were followed, the bulk being of the homely half-timbered type—a framework of timber filled in with lath and plaster, or sometimes brickwork—and the village carpenter was a sound and competent craftsman, though, as Harrison remarks, of a ‘lingering humour.’

When we come to the great houses of the nobility we have a mingling of styles. Sometimes we have a definite authorship attached by tradition to a building. Longleat, Wiltshire, built in 1567–80, is said to have been designed by an Italian, John of Padua, though an Englishman, John Shute, and even a Robert Smithson, who was clerk of the works during the operations, are also credited with the undertaking.

Indeed, the architect as we know him to-day, the originator and controller of the whole scheme, hardly existed. The patron himself usually furnished the ideas, and the plans were drawn up according to his requirements. The builder was more than a mere mechanic, and though the main lines of the building might be decided on beforehand, it took actual shape under his hands. Foreign workmen too were largely employed. In place of the Italians of the reign of Henry VIII we have Flemings and Germans, and they were responsible for much of the ornamentation.

But though we may seek in vain for coherent design

ENGLAND

in the great Elizabethan houses, they are wonderfully picturesque, seeming in a particularly English way to follow the bent and whim of the owner. Of these some of the chief are Longleat, Montacute, Wollaton House, Audley End, Knole, Kirkby Hall, and Hatfield. Among half-timbered houses two of the most beautiful and elaborate specimens are Moreton Old Hall and Speke Hall, Lancashire.

It was not until the appearance of Inigo Jones in the beginning of the seventeenth century that Renaissance architecture in England took definite shape. In the words of Blomfield, ‘Henceforward clear thought and imagination under rigid restraint were to supersede the poetry of mediaeval fancy.’

He was born in London in 1573, but little is known of the first thirty years of his life, except that he appears to have travelled extensively abroad, especially in Italy. He comes first into prominence as the designer of scenery and costumes for the court masques, written by Ben Jonson and others, that were produced on so lavish a scale in the early years of the seventeenth century, and from 1605 to 1612 he is employed entirely in this work.

In 1613–14 he again visited Italy, among other things collecting works of art for the Earl of Arundel, but his real pre-occupation was the study of architecture. In 1615 he received the State appointment of Surveyor-General of the Works, and in 1617 he began the Queen’s House at Greenwich.

In 1619 he was ordered to prepare designs for a new royal palace at Whitehall, and the same year he began the rebuilding of the Banqueting-hall, which had just been burnt down. It was completed by March 1622, and though representing only a small and subsidiary part of his great design, it still stands as the most important example we have of his work; to quote Blomfield again, it is ‘the most accomplished piece of proportion in England and not inferior to the finest work of Palladio and the great Italian masters.’ Of the complete design two sets of plans exist, the one for a block of buildings 630 × 460 feet, the other doubling the dimensions—1280 × 950 feet. It appears that the second and more grandiose scheme was drawn up for Charles I after he succeeded to the throne. Unfortunately, the money lavished so profusely on the

ARCHITECTURE

confused productions of Elizabethan times was not forthcoming in this case ; the King became more and more involved in his political troubles, and the great design never reached fruition. Yet even as a mere design—and we must remember that both Inigo Jones' and Wren's completed work is much better than their drawings—they trusted evidently to a great extent to personal supervision in the carrying out of the actual work—the palace at Whitehall stands out as a most stupendous achievement. In a style as yet unpractised in this country, in which he himself had hitherto carried out no work on a large scale—almost, one might say, as his initial effort—he produces this vast scheme for a palace larger than any in the world, at once magnificent in the unity of the whole, varied in the treatment of the individual parts, and, as we see in the one fragment carried to completion, exquisite in detail.

The disturbances of the Civil War interfered with Jones' activities, and his loyalty to the royal house caused him to be fined twice, so that other examples of his works are not numerous. At Greenwich Hospital he is responsible for the Queen's House, and for King Charles's block, completed from his designs by Webb, while of his town houses the best examples are to be found in Lindsay's House and others in Lincoln's Inn Fields. An interesting example of his style as applied to an ecclesiastical building is to be found in the church of St Paul's, Covent Garden, burnt down in 1795, but re-erected in the same style, while the double cube room at Wilton House, with its wall-panelling designed to receive Van Dyck's pictures, is a magnificent example of his interior decoration.

No great figure arises between the death of Inigo Jones in 1652 and the coming of Sir Christopher Wren. John Webb indeed, Jones' pupil and assistant, carried out a great deal of work, following closely in his master's footsteps, but with little originality or distinction. One of the best examples of his work is Thorpe Hall, near Peterborough.

Christopher Wren was born in 1632 ; his father was rector of East Knoyle, near Salisbury, and afterward Dean of Windsor, his uncle Bishop of Ely. A Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, at the age of twenty-one, at twenty-five

ENGLAND

he was appointed Gresham Professor of Astronomy. In these early days his chief preoccupation seemed to be the application of science to the practical problems of life—a combination of mathematical knowledge with mechanical ingenuity which served him well in later life.

It was not until the year 1661, when he was twenty-nine years of age, that he was made Assistant Surveyor-General of Works, and turned his attention to architecture. Among his first works were the chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford.

In 1665 he spent six months in Paris, where Bernini and other Italians were working at the time, devoting himself to the study of architecture. It is said with some truth that 'he went to Paris an astronomer and returned an architect.'

The calamitous fire which devastated London in 1666 afforded Wren his great opportunity. It is characteristic of the man how he rose to the occasion. He began by producing a great scheme for the entire rebuilding of the city, sweeping away its medley of tortuous medieval streets and substituting a logical arrangement of wide thoroughfares leading up to open spaces, with St Paul's Cathedral and the Royal Exchange as his central points. Unfortunately, vested interests were too strong to allow of its being carried out, but he did rebuild St Paul's Cathedral, and also erected no fewer than fifty-four city churches. In this power of taking a large view, of keeping before his mind a great scheme in which the individual parts each take their due place, he proves himself the true successor of Inigo Jones.

Of these city churches three stand out among the others: St Stephen's, Walbrook, for the beauty of its interior, where in a small compass we get a hint of the dignity and spaciousness afterward realized in St Paul's; Bow Church, Cheapside; and St Bride's, Fleet Street. The steeple is the main feature in the last two, where the problem of adapting Classical detail to what is really a Gothic conception—the spire—is solved with conspicuous success.

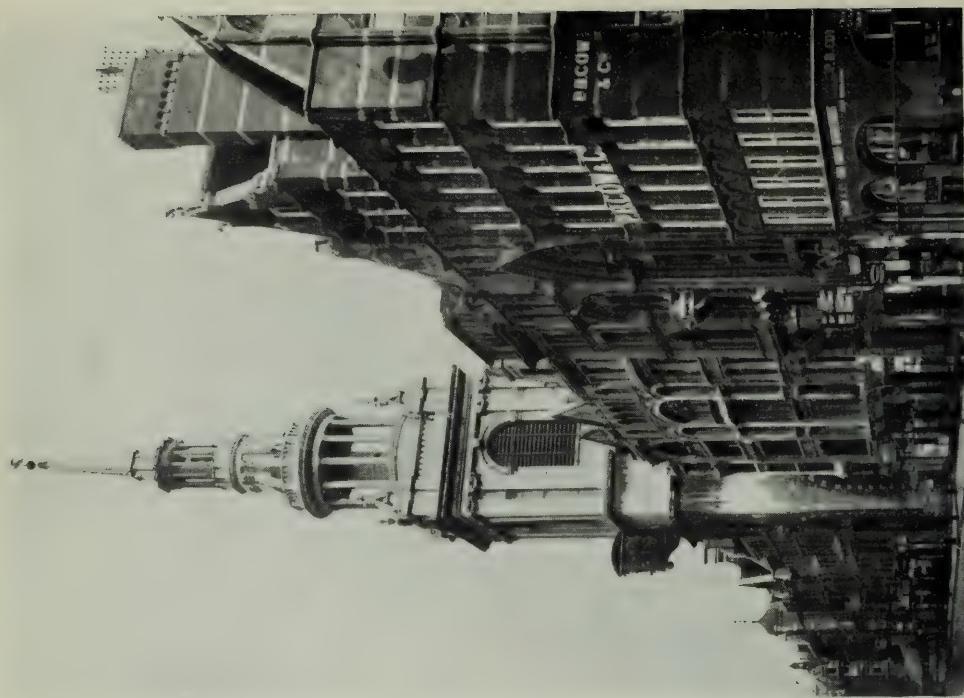
But the great triumph of Wren's life is St Paul's Cathedral, not even excepting St Peter's the greatest church produced in the Renaissance style, and, unlike St Peter's, entirely emanating from one man's brain. Here the oppor-



341. ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

By Sir Christopher Wren

Photo Mansell



342. St Stephen's, Walbrook—INTERIOR
By Sir Christopher Wren
Photo Underwood



ARCHITECTURE

tunity denied to Inigo Jones is afforded to his successor, and he has created an edifice which in a unique way has become the focus of the life of the Empire. Westminster Abbey still has its own more emotional atmosphere, and for certain intimate and personal functions can never be superseded, but St Paul's has become identified with the larger manifestations of national life, to which its stately and grandiose proportions afford a fitting setting.

Begun in 1675, it was completed in 1710. Several designs were prepared by Wren. The first, said to have been his own favourite, a square 300 feet by 300 feet, surmounted by a great central dome, was rejected. The second, accepted by the warrant of May 14, 1675, while in general plan resembling the church as finally built, had a curious feature in a central dome surmounted by a lofty steeple something like that of St Bride's. The church as we know it evidently took shape largely during the actual building. It avoids the multiplicity of parts which marred the earlier designs, and is distinguished by its magnificent sanity and clarity.

After St Paul's Wren's most important work is the rebuilding of the eastern part of Hampton Court. Here the combination of red brick with white stone dressings is used with great beauty and dignity.

At Greenwich Hospital also, taking Inigo Jones' completed part as his starting-point, he successfully carried out on the same lines a great design, the combination of the two domes and the colonnades being particularly happy.

While Inigo Jones had no rivals, and no successors till the advent of Wren, Wren himself was the founder of a numerous school of accomplished architects. Jones was the introducer of the new style in English architecture, but Wren adapted it so thoroughly to English wants that it was followed successfully by many lesser men.

Of these the most striking figure is John Vanburgh. With an established reputation as a playwright, he devoted himself to architecture, and was the builder of a series of large structures marked by great audacity of conception, unfortunately marred by faulty taste in detail. Of these the most famous are Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard.

ENGLAND

Of the same generation are William Kent (1684–1748) and James Gibbs (1682–1754). The first is best known by the Horse Guards, Whitehall, the western front of which is particularly successful, and by Holkham House, Norfolk. James Gibbs is the builder of two of the most successful city churches next to Wren's—St Mary-le-Strand and St Martin's-in-the-Fields. Perhaps his finest work is the Radcliffe Library, Oxford—a solid and impressive structure, with something of the simple massiveness which marks Wren's work.

Other men of lesser note are George Dance (1698–1768), the builder of the Mansion House, and his son George Dance the Younger (1741–1825), whose Newgate Prison, now removed, was one of the finest public buildings in London.

In the provinces also we find the rise of independent architects. Henry Bell (1653–1717) produced excellent work in King's Lynn, of which town he was twice mayor; and the Woods of Bath (John Wood, c. 1705–54, and his son John, who died in 1782), taking advantage of a happy opportunity, were able to carry out on a large scale a piece of town-planning which renders Bath in a sense the most beautiful city in England.

When we come to the reign of George III we find a new state of things; the hold of the old Classic style is becoming feeble. The most important work of the period, Somerset House, by Sir William Chambers (1726–96), still follows out the Classic tradition of Inigo Jones and Wren and avoids the more trivial tendency which is the marked characteristic of the time. Aided by the advantage of a splendid site, it forms one of the most striking buildings in London.

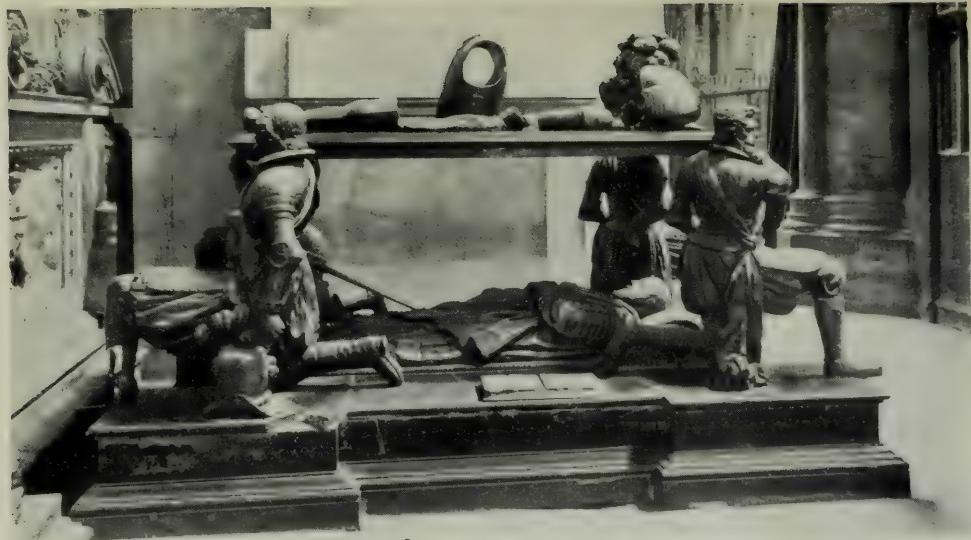
The brothers Adam, four in number, of whom the two chief are Robert (1728–92) and James (died 1794), are the typical representatives of the new style. They might be classified as more strictly decorators than architects. They were the originators of a style of design which affected almost every article of domestic use, and which soon became fashionable. But in the opinion of many their coming marks the beginning of the decadence of English architecture, which reaches its lowest ebb in the early part of the nineteenth century.



344. HAMPTON COURT
Southern front. By Sir Christopher Wren
Photo Underwood.



345. SOMERSET HOUSE
By Sir William Chambers
Photo Mansell



346. THE VERE TOMB
Westminster Abbey



347. CHOIR-STALLS, ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
By Grinling Gibbons
Photos Mansell

CHAPTER II

SCULPTURE

THE history of English sculpture has already been dealt with up to the year 1500. A number of the finest products of the Perpendicular period, however, were carried well into the sixteenth century, and among these may be mentioned such works as the magnificent reredos in each of the three Oxford chapels of New College, Magdalen, and All Souls. In these the combination of architecture and sculpture produces an extremely rich effect, although unfortunately the actual statues are now in most cases represented only by modern substitutes.

But the distinctive feature of the sixteenth-century work is the coming of Renaissance influences. In the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, executed by Pietro Torrigiani (1472-1522), the Florentine sculptor and fellow-student of Michelangelo, the new style definitely invades English sculpture. The monument takes the form of a sarcophagus of black marble, on which lie the bronze effigies of the King and Queen. On the sides, divided by pilasters of gilded bronze, and surrounded by floral wreaths carved out of the black marble, are bronze figures in relief of the Virgin and Child, the Archangel Michael, and the patron saints of the monarch. These figures are treated not in the old stiff conventional style of Gothic sculpture, but with complete naturalness and freedom of action. At the four corners are posed little statues in the form of cherubs, forming entirely detached pieces of sculpture. Close by is another fine work by Torrigiani, perhaps of slightly earlier date, the tomb of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, who died in 1509.

Another Italian sculptor who also worked in England at this time was Giovanni da Maiano, the modeller of the terra-cotta medallions at Hampton Court. At Nonesuch

ENGLAND

also, the great palace built for Henry VIII, his favourite Italian workmen evidently left their mark, for Evelyn notes in his *Diary* a hundred years later 'the plaster statues and bass relievos inserted 'twixt the timbers and punchions of the outside walls of the Court, which must needs have been the work of some celebrated Italian.'

In Elizabeth's reign we find the Italians disappear, and their place is taken chiefly by Flemings and Germans, while after the Massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 a number of Huguenot workmen also settle in England. The work of the native craftsmen, however, responds slowly to the new influences, and little of outstanding interest is produced, though the demand for sepulchral effigies continues, and is supplied by the 'alabasters,' as they were called.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, a more individual figure arises in Nicholas Stone (1586–1647). The son of a quarryman near Exeter, he found his way to London, and was apprenticed to a stonemason there. He then went to Holland, where he worked under Pieter de Keyser (the son of the well-known Dutch sculptor, Hendrik de Keyser), whose daughter he married.

To Stone is sometimes attributed one of the finest monuments in Westminster Abbey, that in the chapel of St John the Evangelist to Sir Francis Vere, who played so gallant a part in the Dutch war against Spain, and died in 1609. Its design is striking—four kneeling knights bearing on their shoulders a bier on which is placed the armour of their dead companion, whose effigy lies beneath; but its close similarity to the tomb of Engelbert, Count of Nassau, at Breda (about which tomb see p. 322 n.), and its dissimilarity to the monument to Sir George Holles—an undoubted work by Stone in the same chapel—rather points to a foreign origin. In the Vere monument we have a work in the style of what one might call the early Teutonic Renaissance, closely intermingled with old Gothic feeling; in the other we have a more Classic treatment. The figure of Sir George Holles stands in the centre, clad in the garb of a Roman general, with figures of Bellona and Pallas on either hand.

In a third monument, to Francis Holles, in St Edmund's Chapel—this also executed by Stone—we again have a

SCULPTURE

Classic treatment ; the figure, in Roman armour, is seated on a pedestal decorated with two female heads supporting large floral wreaths. Another well-known work by Stone is his statue of Dr Donne in St Paul's Cathedral. Though a little heavy in his touch, he stands out as the first native sculptor to use the new Classic style with dignity and force.

On the accession of Charles I he was appointed 'master-mason and architect,' and worked in conjunction with Inigo Jones. In the opinion of some the fine porch of St Mary's, Oxford, the design of which is attributed to Jones, was not only carried out by Stone, but was probably his own design.

A pupil of Stone's was Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630–1700), a native of Flensburg in Holstein, and the father of Colley Cibber, the well-known actor-dramatist of Georgian days. Cibber found a patron in the Duke of Devonshire, whose park at Chatsworth he adorned with temples and fountains ornamented with nymphs and deities. He was also the sculptor of the bas-relief of the Phoenix over the south door of St Paul's, and of the two figures, *Melancholy* and *Raving Madness*, at the entrance of Bedlam Hospital.

The first really vital figure, however, among English sculptors of the Renaissance period is Grinling Gibbons (1648–1720). The son of English parents, he was born at Rotterdam, and appears to have come to London shortly after the Great Fire. Befriended by John Evelyn in 1670, he was introduced to the King, from whom he received a post in the Board of Works, and under 'His Majesty's Surveyor, Mr Wren,' was employed at Windsor, where he designed and executed the ornate marble pedestal for the statue of Charles II in the great quadrangle. In addition, under Wren he carried out a great series of wood-carvings in St Paul's, St James's, Piccadilly, and other London churches, to say nothing of similar work at many of the great country houses.

It is as a carver in wood that Gibbons has earned his great reputation, and in this field he is unrivalled, though at times he pushes realistic representation beyond the bounds of good taste. As a figure-sculptor he is less known, but his

ENGLAND

statue of James II, now in St James's Park, outside the Admiralty, is one of the finest bronzes in London.

A follower of Cibber and Gibbons was Francis Bird (1667–1731), who was responsible for some of the sculpture of St Paul's and also for the figure of Queen Anne which stood in front of the cathedral. One of his best works is his monument to Dr Busby, of Westminster School, in Westminster Abbey.

In the next phase of English sculpture we pass from the ornate but vivacious decoration of Gibbons to an attempt to rival the classic purity of Greek art. It was an attempt foredoomed to failure. The serene beauty of Greek art was more than a mere form ; it was the crystallization of a philosophy of life, of a civilization. However praiseworthy the attempts, they resulted in little but a cold and empty formalism. Of all the sculptors who crowd the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, only one on these lines succeeds in rising to distinction—John Flaxman (1755–1826). An example of his sculpture at its best is the monument to Lord Mansfield in Westminster Abbey—a dignified but singularly unmoving work ; but he has a happier fate in the humbler walks of art, where his outline designs illustrating Homer and his dainty pottery designs for Wedgwood will always be remembered.

Joseph Nollekens (1737–1823) by good fortune was led to devote himself chiefly to portraiture, and produced a long series of excellent busts.

A little later Sir Francis Chantrey (1781–1842) had a similar success, and amassed a large fortune, the bulk of which still embarrasses the hands of his successors in the Royal Academy to-day, and by a curious fitness has resulted in the accumulation of a vast store of the mediocre painting and sculpture of our own times.

The one truly great figure in British sculpture (if we except the living sculptor Alfred Gilbert), Alfred Stevens (1818–75), belongs to a rather later period than comes within the scope of this book, but his importance justifies at least a short mention of his work.

Going to Italy at the age of sixteen, he remained there nine years. For a while he worked in the studio

348. FIGURES FROM FIREPLACE, DORCHESTER HOUSE

By Alfred Stevens

London, National Gallery of British Art





349. PORTRAIT OF RICHARD II

Painter unknown. *Westminster Abbey*

Photo Medici Society

SCULPTURE

of the Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen, but the whole art of the Italian Renaissance was his study, and he returned to England in 1842 an extraordinarily well equipped artist. All sorts of work passed through his hands. In 1845-47 he was master of Architectural Drawing, Perspective, Modelling, and Ornamental Painting at the new School of Design at Somerset House. From 1849 to 1854 he was engaged in decorative work for St George's Hall, Liverpool. In 1850 he was designing fire-grates, fenders, and other domestic utensils for Messrs Hoole of Sheffield—so successfully that their work secured the first prize at the International Exhibition of 1851. The famous little bronze lion of the British Museum railing belongs to 1852.

In 1856 he began the great work of his life, the Duke of Wellington's monument in St Paul's. His competition model was at first awarded only sixth place, but its superior fitness in every way finally secured him the commission. He was engaged on the monument until his death in 1875, by which time it was practically complete, with the exception of the equestrian figure on top, which was ruled out by a decree of the Dean's. He had, however, completed the full-sized model, from which the bronze statue was cast and placed in position in 1911. This monument stands out as the supreme achievement of British sculpture. Below, on a beautifully shaped sarcophagus, is the recumbent figure of the Duke; above towers a great architectural fabric, crowned by the equestrian figure, and with two great bronze groups at the sides, *Valour and Cowardice* and *Truth and Falsehood*.

Another great work left unfinished at his death was the decoration of the dining-room at Dorchester House, an elaborate scheme of sculpture and mural decoration, a central feature of which is the magnificent fireplace, with its two beautiful supporting female figures.

It is only a giant that can wear the mantle of a giant; but just as Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren take up the Classic style of architecture and make it live anew, so in Stevens something of the spirit of Michelangelo seems to breathe again.

CHAPTER III

PAINTING

(a) English Painting before Hogarth

ALTHOUGH English painting does not emerge as an independent school until the eighteenth century, yet at all periods, if we seek for it, we come across traces of interesting and individual work.

From the seventh to the fifteenth centuries the English illuminators could more than hold their own with their contemporaries. Though the Gothic style of architecture does not afford the large wall-spaces of the Italian churches, yet mural decoration seems to have been more or less universally used, and examples of some importance are still to be seen, notably in the Galilee Chapel at Durham and in the nave of St Alban's. Of early panel-pictures comparatively few survive, but of these some are of a high order.

One of the most important is the portrait of Richard II in Westminster Abbey. Another kneeling portrait of the King with his patron saints forms part of a diptych at Wilton House. Dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, these works show a certain similarity in style to those of the little group of painters of the Avignon school working in France at the time, though there is no definite evidence to lead us to ascribe them to alien hands.

When we come down to the sixteenth century we find that the traditions of the old monkish illuminators linger still in the work of the painters of portraits in miniature. When Holbein comes to England in 1526 he finds these men at work, and himself takes up the style, infusing into it fresh life and vigour, the works he produced in miniature-painting still standing out as masterpieces in this *genre*.

He is followed by a series of Englishmen producing work

PAINTING

of great distinction and refinement. Of these the first is Nicholas Hilliard (1537, or 1547, to 1619). Although he subscribes himself as the humble follower of Holbein—‘Holbein’s manner of limning I have ever imitated, and hold it for the best’—his style is distinctive, and quite different from that of the German master. Indeed, it is not too much to say that in such works as the dainty portrait of his young wife there is a freshness and charm, a distinctive English quality, which is not surpassed even in the finest works of the eighteenth century.

Hilliard is succeeded by the two Olivers, Isaac Oliver (died 1617) and Peter, his son (died 1647). A fine example of the father’s work is the full-length portrait of the Earl of Dorset in the Jones Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Another pair, the Hoskins—father and son—carry us down to the greatest of the school, Samuel Cooper (1609–72), a nephew of the younger John Hoskins.

In Samuel Cooper we have one of the greatest of English portrait-painters. Within the modest limits of a few square inches he combines dignity and even grandeur of style with suavity and grace. Before the arrival of Van Dyck in England he had succeeded in giving to his sitters the dignity of carriage and nobility of air which afterward distinguished Van Dyck’s English portraits. Perhaps the most famous of all his miniatures is that of Oliver Cromwell.

Successors of Cooper are Thomas Flatman (1637–88) and Nicholas Dixon (1667–1708).

In this little school of miniature-painters I think we can claim that a definitely national note is struck, a quality emerges—a freshness and simplicity of treatment combined with elegance—quite unlike any in contemporary foreign work. But otherwise, for a period of more than a century—from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century—English painting is entirely dominated by the example of foreign artists working in England.

The first important figure among these foreigners is Hans Holbein (1497–1543), a German. From his first arrival in 1526, he remained here, with a few short absences, until his death, painting a great series of portraits of the Royal

ENGLAND

Family and the members of the English nobility. Holbein's influence on the development of English painting was necessarily great, and he was closely imitated by a number of contemporary artists. In the National Gallery is a portrait of Dr Edmund Butts by an English painter, John Bettes (1530?–73?), and this is only one of a number of similar examples. Indeed, most of the reputed 'Holbeins' in this country are the work of unknown English followers of his style. A painter of note in Elizabeth's reign was George Gower, who was made Painter to the Queen in 1584; a little later Sir Nathaniel Bacon (1583?–1627) produced a series of works of which *The Cook Maid*, in the collection of Lord Verulam, is a good example.

A number of Flemings and Dutchmen are also working in England at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, of whom Marc Gheeraedts (1561–1635) and Paul van Somer (c. 1576–1621) are typical figures. A finer painter is Daniel Mytens (c. 1590–1642), who came to England in the reign of James I, and was made Painter to the King by Charles I in 1625. He appears to have left England some years later, owing, it is said, to jealousy of the success of his rival, Van Dyck. Fine examples of his work are in the National and National Portrait Galleries.

Another artist who claimed English birth, but was probably of Dutch descent, is Cornelius Johnson (1593–1664?), or, as he is often called, Janssen van Ceulen. He produced work of great delicacy and charm, but like others was overshadowed by the greater figure of Van Dyck. He left England in 1643, and appears to have died in Amsterdam in 1662 or 1664.

With the arrival of Van Dyck in England in 1632 we have the most important influence on English painting since the days of Holbein. Van Dyck was now a mature painter, with the triumphs of his early Flemish and Italian periods behind him. True to his impressionable nature, he at once takes on the colour of his new surroundings, and produces the great series of works which belongs to his last or English period.

It is said that the distinctive influence which formed the starting-point of this new style of his was the sight of



350. PORTRAIT OF HIS WIFE

By Nicholas Hilliard

Collection Duke of Buccleuch. Photos Victoria and Albert Museum



351. OLIVER CROMWELL

By Samuel Cooper



352. CALAIS GATE

By William Hogarth. *London, National Gallery*



354. THE SHRIMP GIRL

By William Hogarth

London, National Gallery

Photo Mansell



353. DR EDMUND BUTTS

By John Bettes

London, National Gallery

Photo Mansell

PAINTING

a few miniatures by Samuel Cooper. Be that as it may, Van Dyck's English phase forms the brilliant culmination of his life-work, combining the stateliness of his Italian style with a fresher colour, a livelier aspect, and a more atmospheric quality. During his nine years' sojourn in this country he produced a great series of works, which have had a profound effect on the development of English portraiture. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that the great masters of the eighteenth century drew their chief inspiration from Van Dyck.

The next important foreign visitor after Van Dyck is the Dutchman Sir Peter Lely (1618–80). He arrived in London in 1641, and modelled his style on that of Van Dyck, under whom he is said to have worked for a few months. The work by which he is best known is his series of simpering beauties of the court of Charles II, which, vapid though they are, are beautiful pieces of painting. Works, however, which do more justice to his undoubted talent are the series of portraits of admirals in Greenwich Hospital. Another fine example of his male portraiture is the *Van Helmont* recently acquired by the National Gallery.

He was followed by a multitude of imitators, among the best of whom are John Greenhill (1649–76) and Mary Beale (1632–97).

After the death of Lely, his place was taken by the German Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723). Though much of Kneller's work is characterized by little more than extreme facility, that he was capable on occasion of better things the study of his own early portrait and other examples in the National Portrait Gallery will show.

In addition to portraiture in England some lingering traces also existed of wall-decoration. Holbein during his stay in London had carried out his great decoration at Whitehall, and Rubens also painted the ceiling of the Banqueting-hall there. In 1669 the ceiling of the Sheldonian Theatre was painted by Robert Streater. A little later we find Sir James Thornhill (1676–1734) carrying out his decorations of the dome of St Paul's, Greenwich Hospital, and other similar works.

ENGLAND

(b) Hogarth, and the Rise of the English School

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, after a period of nearly two hundred years of foreign domination, English painting asserts its independence in the person of William Hogarth (1697-1764).

Sweeping aside the artificialities of the art of his day, scorning the Old Masters, Hogarth went direct to life for his inspiration. He initiated a new style of 'dramatic *genre*' painting, in his own words 'endeavouring to give in his pictures all that the actor can on the stage.' In a series of six or eight scenes he maps out a life-story. And this pictorial drama is presented with extraordinary directness and force. He hits the nail right on the head every time—each episode is summed up at one decisive moment.

Issued as engravings, these 'moralities,' as they were called, were spread broadcast, and it is little wonder that until recent years Hogarth's fame as a social satirist has rather obscured his reputation as a painter. But the original paintings reveal him as a master in the handling of the materials of his craft.

Hogarth was born in London, 'in St Bartholomew's Close, next door to Mr Downing the printer's.' He came of a good North Country stock, his grandfather being a peasant-farmer near Kendal, and his uncle renowned in the district as a local poet. His father, a schoolmaster, settled in London, and was the author of a Latin dictionary which, though he was never able to publish it, was much esteemed by scholars.

The boy was first apprenticed to an engraver on silver, but at the age of twenty-one he gave this up for the more pictorial work of copper-plate engraving. In 1720 he opened a shop for the sale of prints, engraving his own sign, his first known plate. Painting he studied at the academy of Sir James Thornhill, whose daughter he married in 1730.

An interesting early example of his work is the *Scene from 'The Beggar's Opera'*, now in the Tate Gallery, painted in 1728, and showing his interest, even at this early time, in the stage. His first series, *The Harlot's Progress*, painted

PAINTING

and engraved by the artist himself, appeared in 1731, and achieved an immediate success. It was followed in 1735 by *The Rake's Progress*; and the famous *Marriage à la Mode* appeared ten years later, in 1745.

In the last series, now in the Tate Gallery, we see his powers at their height. Not only is the story told with wonderful dramatic force, but each canvas is a masterly little painting, compact and well balanced in composition, crisp and decisive in brushwork, and glowing with full rich colour. Some of the figures—the Countess, for instance, in the breakfast-room scene—will stand comparison with the finest examples of Metsu or Ter Borch.

In addition to these ‘moralities,’ which stand out as his most distinctive work, Hogarth produced some vigorously handled portraits. *Quin the Actor* and *Dr Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester*, are examples painted with masculine directness in a rich and fatty pigment. His female portraits, though pleasant in colour, are more commonplace, typical examples being those of his sister and *Lavinia Fenton as Polly Peachum*. For sheer spontaneity of handling he produced nothing finer than the brilliant group of *Heads of his Servants* and the marvellously vivid sketch of *The Shrimp Girl*, both in the National Gallery.

With pen as well as brush Hogarth fought his sturdy battle for independence, being a vigorous rather than a discreet controversialist. In 1753 he published his *Analysis of Beauty*, in which, instead of depending on the accepted formulae of others, he endeavours to get down to essentials for himself.

During his lifetime a group of painters arose following his manner more or less closely. Joseph Highmore (1692–1780), a pupil of Sir Godfrey Kneller, was influenced in his early work by that artist and by Sir Peter Lely, but the dominating personality of Hogarth brought about a change in his style, as may be seen in his illustrations to Richardson’s *Pamela*, specimens of which are in the National and Tate Galleries. Other members of the group are Thomas Worlidge (1700–66) and Thomas Bardwell (died about 1780), but the most interesting figure next to Hogarth himself is Arthur Devis (1711–87), whose little portrait full-lengths and

ENGLAND

conversation-pieces, with their dainty draughtsmanship and clear cool colour, have a piquant charm of their own.

A refined artist was the Scotsman Allan Ramsay (1713-84), the son of the poet. In 1767 he became Painter in Ordinary to the King, a post which he occupied till his death. His merits should be judged not from his numerous mediocre royal portraits, but from such exquisite examples as the portrait of his wife in the National Gallery of Scotland.

Toward the middle of the century the works of the Venetian painter Antonio Canale, better known as Canaletto, had a great vogue in England, and he visited London about 1746-47 and again in 1753-54, painting a view of Eton College (National Gallery) and many other English scenes.

His influence is seen in the Thames paintings of Samuel Scott (1710-72), who, however, gives us in place of the delicacy and distinction of Canaletto a typically English directness and solidity. At this time, too, appears the first notable figure in our series of marine painters, Charles Brooking (1723-59). Beginning life as an *employé* in Deptford Dockyard, he first took up marine painting as an amateur. His style is based on a close study of the methods of the Dutch masters, particularly Willem van de Velde, as may be seen from his *Shipping in a Calm* in the National Gallery.

The first great landscape-painter of the English school appears in Richard Wilson (1714-82). Practising first as a portrait-painter, he acquired a considerable reputation in this line. In 1749, at the age of thirty-five, he visited Italy. Here, influenced, it is said, by Zuccarelli and Vernet, then working in Rome, he took up landscape-painting in the Classic style of Claude.

After a residence of six years in Italy he returned to England, with the reputation of one of the first landscape-painters in Europe. Unfortunately Wilson found landscape-painting, as the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century had found it before him, a very unremunerative branch of art, and though received with honour by his fellow-artists, and on the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 made one of its original members, he had a hard struggle for existence. In his old age he was glad to accept for its small



355. LANDSCAPE WITH BATHERS
By Richard Wilson. *London, National Gallery*



356. CORNARD WOOD
By Thomas Gainsborough. *London, National Gallery*
Photo Mansell



358. THE AGE OF INNOCENCE

By Sir Joshua Reynolds
London, National Gallery

Photo Mansell



357. NELLY O'BRIEN

By Sir Joshua Reynolds
London, Wallace Collection

PAINTING

salary the post of librarian to the Academy. He is a curious, rather unhappy figure in the group of famous painters of the day—rough in exterior, a little red-faced man, irascible in temper, bitter in his petty quarrels with Sir Joshua and his fellow-Academicians, but within a man of education and refinement, with a dignity of mind which finds expression in his work. On the death of a brother he inherited a small property in Wales, and retired to Llanberis in 1780, where he died two years afterward.

Wilson's reputation continues to grow steadily. To the dignity and serenity of Claude he adds a certain breadth of his own, and a strong and vigorous handling of the pigment. Further acquaintance with his work shows also that the 'golden tone' so beloved of the connoisseur is often in his case due only to later coats of varnish, and some examples happily left in their original state have a beautiful silvery quality, anticipating the pearly greys of Corot.

(c) The Great Portraitists

In strong contrast to the tardy rise of a distinctively English school of painting is the rapidity of its development. Within a generation of the coming of Hogarth we have a group of portrait-painters who raise their art to the position of the chief school of portraiture in Europe.

Of these the first is Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92). Born at Plympton Earl in Devonshire, his father being a clergyman and headmaster of the grammar school there, at the age of eighteen he was apprenticed to William Hudson, a leading London portrait-painter. For some reason the apprenticeship terminated after little more than two years, and the young man returned to Devonshire, where he settled at Plymouth Dock (now Devonport), even in those early days an important naval depot. Here he worked quietly, being influenced to some extent by the vigorous work of an earlier local painter, Gandy of Exeter.

In 1749 a young naval officer, Commodore Keppel, on his way to the Mediterranean with his squadron put into Plymouth Dock for repairs. The two young men struck up a great friendship, and a fortnight later Reynolds sailed with

ENGLAND

Keppel for Italy. It is during his three years in Italy that Reynolds obtains his real art education. And while Hogarth appears as the revolutionary, throwing off allegiance to all masters, going direct to nature for himself and relying entirely on his own vigorous personality and outlook, Reynolds bases his work on the most sedulous study of the great masters of the past. Not the Italians only, but the great Flemish and Dutch masters are the sources of his inspiration.

During his stay in Rome also he displays the same social gifts which serve him so well in later years, making the acquaintance of a useful circle of wealthy Englishmen, so that when in 1752 he returns to London and sets up his studio in St Martin's Lane he finds a fine *clientèle* ready to his hand. In a short time he has attained the position of the leading portrait-painter in London, and his future career is a stepping from one success to another.

The chief characteristic of Reynolds' work is its great variety. Every fresh portrait he seems to approach with an alert mind, seeking out some new treatment which will reveal most fully the personality of his sitter. Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt—from each in turn he borrows a hint.

In his early portrait of Commodore Keppel he represents an incident in the young sailor's life where, in pursuit of a French vessel, he runs his ship ashore, but by dint of skilful and energetic action succeeds in saving his crew. Keppel is represented on the seashore in animated action, and here we have a new element of drama introduced into portraiture, a treatment Reynolds uses with striking success on other occasions, such as in the *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* and *Mrs Siddons as the Tragic Muse*. Perhaps the masterpiece of his early life is the *Nelly O'Brien* of the Wallace Collection, painted in the year 1763.

Reynolds' studio becomes a *salon* through which pass all the leading figures of London, his portraits forming a great gallery of types of the society of his day. And to a strength and directness as pronounced as that of Hogarth he adds a distinction and refinement of his own.

In 1768, on the foundation of the Royal Academy, he was



359. LORD HEATHFIELD

By Sir Joshua Reynolds

London, National Gallery



361. THE HON. MRS GRAHAM

By Thomas Gainsborough

National Gallery of Scotland

Photo Annan, Glasgow



360. THE BLUE BOY

By Thomas Gainsborough

Private Collection

Photo Mansell

PAINTING

unanimously elected its first president, and received the honour of knighthood from George III on the occasion of its first Exhibition. His discourses to the students are still well worth reading both as literature and as art criticism, and on social occasions he filled the position of the official head of British painting with infinite tact and great dignity. In private life he was the friend and associate of Dr Johnson, Burke, Oliver Goldsmith, and the other members of the little circle immortalized by Boswell in his *Life of Johnson*. In 1784, on the death of Allan Ramsay, he became Painter in Ordinary to the King. In 1789 his eyesight began to fail, and in the next year he resigned the presidency of the Royal Academy. In 1792 he died.

In one respect the eager intellectual quality of Sir Joshua's mind sometimes led him astray. Seeking after the glories of Venetian colour, he was led to experiments in the use of mediums and pigments which have in many cases had unhappy results. It has been said that his early works fade, those of his middle period darken, and those of his later life crack, and certainly in only too many cases the picture as we see it to-day gives but a faint reflexion of its former brilliance. Hogarth's straightforward direct methods have stood the test of time much better.

In the bewildering variety of Sir Joshua's work one might perhaps point to his great series of male portraits as the supreme fruit of his genius. Outstanding examples are *Laurence Sterne* (1760), *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* (1761), *Dr Johnson* (1772), *Admiral Keppel* (1779), and *Lord Heathfield* (1787). In the last he raises portrait-painting to epic heights, and the picture of the old soldier, posed on the Rock of Gibraltar, which he defended so successfully, with the smoke of battle behind him, becomes a piece of English history.

Reynolds' female portraits are marked by grace and distinction, and sometimes embody a happy motive expressed with wonderful skill and spontaneity, as in the *Duchess of Devonshire*, with her dancing baby, or the *Lady Crosbie*; while in the portrait-group of *The Montgomery Sisters* in the National Gallery we have a large decorative design carried out with conspicuous skill.

ENGLAND

His child-portraits perhaps smack a little of the old bachelor, the benevolent uncle rather than the father, but none can deny the charm of such works as the *Angel Heads* and *The Age of Innocence* of the National Gallery, the latter painted just at the end of his life.

1 Sir Joshua's great rival is Thomas Gainsborough (1726-1788), and no two men could be more strikingly contrasted—the first an intellectual type carefully planning everything, basing every step on sound knowledge, but seldom kindling to enthusiasm; the other a creature of the senses, intuitive, spontaneous, every picture an improvisation evoked by the feelings of the moment, often producing work unworthy of himself, but at times in flights of sheer inspiration reaching dizzy heights untouched by his rival.

Gainsborough was born in the little town of Sudbury in Suffolk, where his father, a man of marked ability but eccentric character, had a clothier's business. He was one of a large family, and two of his brothers showed marked mechanical talents. He studied in London in 1741 under Gravelot, the French engraver, and then under Francis Hayman. In 1745 he returned home, and in the next year married a lady of means and settled in Ipswich.

From this time Gainsborough's life falls into three periods of fourteen years—his Ipswich period, 1746-60; his Bath period, 1760-74; and his London period, 1774-88.

An interesting example of the first period is to be seen in the unfinished portrait-group of his two daughters in the National Gallery, evidently painted about the year 1755. Here we have revealed at once a very different artistic personality from that of Sir Joshua or any of the other masters of the English school. In place of solidity and vigour we have a curious nervous quality, and under a certain primness and stiffness a wonderful delicacy and precision. There is also an unaffected grace and spontaneity of pose and action in the little figures which is infinitely charming.

Gainsborough, too, was a landscape-painter as well as a portraitist. His early works, evidently based on a study of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century, are uncompromising in their realism and carried out with great



362. THE MORNING WALK

By Thomas Gainsborough

By permission of the Hon. N. Chas. Rothschild

Photo Mansell



363. THE BEAUMONT FAMILY

By George Romney

PAINTING

{minuteness of detail. Typical examples are the *Cornard Wood* and *Dedham Vale* of the National Gallery.

In 1760 he moved to Bath, and found in the fashionable watering-place a much more congenial field for his labours. Unlike Reynolds, Gainsborough never studied abroad, but during his residence at Bath he had the opportunity of seeing certain fine private collections of paintings, particularly the great series of 'Van Dycks' at Wilton House. The effect on his work is seen in an added grace and distinction of style; the early stiffness and hardness disappear, and there is a subtle blending of figure and landscape background into one harmonious whole. To this period belong the famous *Blue Boy*, the *Schomberg* of the National Gallery, the *Parish Clerk* of the Tate Gallery, and a number of fine female portraits. On the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 he was made one of the original members, and exhibited regularly at the Exhibitions, so that when he came to London in 1774 he was already well known in the metropolis.

To this last period of his life belong many of his most famous works—a magnificent series of portraits and a number of fine landscapes. By this time he had evolved a technique of his own, a strange medley of little flicks and streaks of colour which, blending together, give a wonderful vibrating quality to his work. Though such portraits as the *Hon. Henry Bate Dudley* of the National Gallery show Gainsborough's powers as a painter of men, it is really as a painter of women that he stands supreme. In such works as the *Hon. Mrs Graham* (National Gallery of Scotland), the *Mrs Robinson* (Wallace Collection), and the *Mrs Sheridan and Mrs Tickell* (Dulwich) he combines a spontaneous grace of design, a delicacy of luminous colour, with a fine psychological insight. The evanescent quality we call charm has never more magically been transferred to canvas. His children's portraits are full of sparkling life and vivacity, as witness the *Miss Haverfield* of the Wallace Collection. Perhaps his masterpiece in portraiture is *The Morning Walk* (*Squire Halket and his Wife*), in the collection of Lord Rothschild.

{In landscape Gainsborough soon departed from the rather 'tight' handling of his early days, and after his

ENGLAND

transference to Bath began to work more broadly, with the introduction of dramatic effects of lighting. Of his later work *The Watering-place* (Tate Gallery) and *The Market Cart* (National Gallery) are fine examples. As an animal-painter, too, he ranks with the best. In addition to his paintings in oil are innumerable landscape studies, usually in chalk on tinted paper, many of them of great beauty.

The third of the great triumvirate of English portraiture is George Romney (1734–1802), born at Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire. He received his early art training from Christopher Steele, a travelling painter whom he joined at Kendal in 1755, following him to York and other places. In 1757 we find him back in Kendal, where he worked until 1762, when he left for London. An early work dating from 1763, a portrait of Jacob Morland of Capplethwaite, Westmorland (Tate Gallery), is interesting as showing his style at this time. It is a small full-length figure, painted in a rather hard, 'tight' fashion in bright, almost crude colour.

Under the contact with new influences his style rapidly gains in breadth and assurance. He visits Paris in 1767, and Italy in 1773–75. From this time onward he shares the patronage of the town with Reynolds and Gainsborough.

Romney supplements the work of Reynolds and Gainsborough, giving us qualities we do not find in either. In such works as the *Mother and Child* in the National Gallery he takes us in the most intimate way into the atmosphere of English home-life. Nothing could be more natural or spontaneous than the pose. The colour too in this picture, in the *Mr and Mrs Lindow*, and still more in the large group *The Beaumont Family* in the National Gallery is treated in a new way, in broad, simple, map-like spaces, which have a wonderful carrying power. In such works as *The Gower Children* (1776) he adds rhythm of line to charm of colour, the whole effect being one of almost classic grace.

In 1782 he made the acquaintance of Emma Hart, the future Lady Hamilton, who during the next nine years was the model and inspiration for some of his finest works, perhaps the best of all being the famous *Lady Hamilton as a Bacchante*, a brilliant sketch for which now hangs in the Tate Gallery.

PAINTING

We have already seen how Gainsborough excelled as an animal-painter. An artist who devoted himself more exclusively to this branch of work, particularly to the painting of horses, is George Stubbs (1724–1806), typical examples of whose work are to be seen in the National and Tate Galleries.

An artist of wider reputation is George Morland (1763–1804). The son of a painter, Henry Robert Morland (1730?–97), whose *Laundry Maid* is in the Tate Gallery, he was apprenticed to his father for seven years. At the end of that time he made his reputation by a series of domestic *genre* pictures, painted with great felicity of touch. Afterward he devoted himself to the branch of painting we associate peculiarly with his name. Studies of farmyard scenes, the interiors of stables, or horses at an inn-door were his favourite subjects. In addition he produced a number of freshly touched landscapes, and a series of coast subjects painted during a residence in the Isle of Wight. Dissipation cut short his career, and he died at the early age of forty-one.

His brother-in-law, James Ward (1769–1859), painted in a somewhat similar style, and produced some very powerfully handled large landscapes, of which a typical example is *Harlech Castle*, in the National Gallery.

Contemporaries of the great triumvirate of portraiture are a number of very capable painters. Of these we may mention Francis Cotes (1725–70), who followed closely the lines of Sir Joshua's work; Robert Edge Pine (1730–88), a competent portraitist; and Joseph Wright, of Derby (1734–97), noted for his effects of artificial light. Three artists of American birth attained distinction—Sir Benjamin West (1738–1820), painter of historical and religious works, who succeeded Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy; Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), a portrait-painter in the manner of Romney; and John Singleton Copley (1737–1815), who produced some good historical paintings, of which *The Death of Major Pierson* (Tate Gallery) is a typical example.

Miniature-painting also revived during the eighteenth century, John Smart (1741?–1811), Richard Cosway (1742–

ENGLAND

1821), the two Plimers, Andrew (1763–1837) and Nathaniel (1757–1822), Ozias Humphry (1742–1810), and many others worthily carrying on the traditions of the early masters.

At least passing mention should be made of a figure who stands apart in British art—William Blake (1757–1827), poet and mystic. Although hampered by obvious technical limitations, and perhaps expressing himself more clearly in literary than pictorial form, yet by sheer imaginative power he rises sometimes to great heights. His best work is probably his series of illustrations to the Book of Job.

Of the lesser group of portraitists who followed the great triumvirate perhaps the most individual is John Hoppner (1758?–1810). Born in Whitechapel, he entered the Royal Academy schools in 1775. He soon became, through the patronage of the Prince of Wales, a fashionable painter, and exhibited his first work at the Royal Academy in 1780. Thereafter for a period of some twenty years he divided with Lawrence the patronage of the town. Particularly as a painter of children he has produced works of great charm, one of his finest being the well-known *Sisters Frankland*.

His great rival was Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830). During his early years Lawrence showed extraordinary precocity, and at the age of ten worked as a portraitist in crayons at Oxford. In 1787 he became a student at the Royal Academy schools, where he had a brilliant career. In 1791 he was elected an associate, and in 1794, at the age of twenty-five, he became a member of the Academy. On the death of Benjamin West in 1820 he was made president, having been knighted five years previously.

Lawrence was cursed by a fatal facility. He does not get below the superficial aspect of things. His colour is often cheap and flashy, and his works, particularly his female portraits, lack the dignity of Reynolds, the charm of Gainsborough, or the more intimate feeling of Romney. Yet in their own way they have an undeniable pictorial charm. Sometimes in his male portraits he rises to a higher level, and in such a work as his *John Julius Angerstein* of the National Gallery, painted in the last year of his life, we have a fine and vigorous piece of modelling.



364. STABLE INTERIOR

By George Morland

London, National Gallery



365. BLIND MAN'S BUFF

By Sir David Wilkie

London, National Gallery



366. DR NATHANIEL SPENS

By Sir Henry Raeburn

By permission of the Royal Scottish Archers' Company, Edinburgh

Photo Annan, Glasgow

PAINTING

In the North arises a painter who alone among his contemporaries is worthy to rank with the three great masters—Sir Henry Raeburn (1756–1823). Born in Edinburgh, he worked first as a miniaturist. In 1785 he visited Italy, remaining there for two years, after which he returned to Edinburgh, where he lived until the end of his life. One of his first great successes was his *Dr Nathaniel Spens as a Member of the Royal Company of Archers*, painted in 1791. He exhibited a number of works at the Royal Academy, was made an associate in 1812, and a member in 1815. In 1823, on the visit of George IV to Scotland, he was made His Majesty's Limner for Scotland and received the honour of knighthood.

Raeburn's earlier works are marked by an almost excessive abruptness and vigour of handling, a superb example being the *Lord Newton* of the Scottish National Gallery. As time goes on his style becomes quieter, as in the beautiful and reticent portrait of *Dr Adam*, of Edinburgh High School, or the still later portrait of *John Wauchope*, both in the same collection.

His portraits of young women have a certain superficiality of aspect, despite an undoubted decorative charm, as seen in the *Mrs Scott Moncrieff* of the National Gallery of Scotland, but his portraits of older women have a magnificent breadth and power, the finest example being the *Mrs James Campbell*, which was shown some years ago at the Japan-British Exhibition.

Another Scotsman rises into prominence in the beginning of the nineteenth century—Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841). Studying first in Edinburgh, he came to London, and entered the Royal Academy schools in 1805. In 1806 he exhibited his *Village Politicians*, which had an instantaneous success. *The Blind Fiddler* followed in the same year, and later a succession of other *genre* works. In 1825 he visited France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, being particularly struck with the works of Velasquez. On his return he devoted himself to historical painting, changing from the minute detail of his earlier style to a broader handling. A typical example of his later work is the *John Knox Preaching* of the Tate Gallery.

ENGLAND

(d) The Watercolourists

Perhaps the most interesting development in landscape-painting of the eighteenth century is the rise of the English watercolour school.

From early days the medium had been used, either as a means of tinting working drawings or—in the form of a monochrome wash—for reinforcing line drawings, but it assumes a new importance with the development of landscape-painting. Dürer and Titian at the beginning of the sixteenth century discovered how effectively the different planes of distance could be suggested by one or two flat washes. In the seventeenth century Claude used a brilliant combination of line and wash in his direct sketches from nature—sometimes dispensing entirely with line and delineating his forms with the brush. Rembrandt too could suggest the immensity of the flat Dutch landscape by rugged strokes of the reed-pen and a few washes of bistre, while Van Ostade and one or two others used washes of colour to supplement the pen outline. But, when all is said, such early use of the medium was more or less tentative and experimental, and it fell to the English school at the end of the eighteenth century to give a new importance to the medium as a vehicle for serious works of art.

The pioneer of the new movement is Alexander Cozens (*c.* 1700–86). Said to have been a natural son of Peter the Great, his mother being an Englishwoman, he travelled in Switzerland and Italy, and settled in England about 1746. He was appointed teacher of drawing at Eton College, and also to the Prince of Wales.

From his travels he brought back with him albums of drawings in monochrome, line, and wash, something in the style of Claude, but with the formal Classic treatment giving place to the freedom and picturesqueness of mountain scenery. He was fond of using a golden-brown paper as the foundation of his drawings, often with very pleasing effect.

He was followed by his son, John Robert Cozens (1752–99), a much greater artist. To the monochrome foundation, generally of Indian ink, he added a delicate suggestion of colour—faint blues and greens and purples. Joined to

PAINTING

this is a feeling for grandeur in composition, combined with elegance of draughtsmanship and an exquisite perception of tone-values. No artist ever expressed the gentler moods of nature with truer sympathy. In the words of Constable, 'Cozens is all poetry.'

But these two followers of Claude stand rather apart from the main line of development, which takes a different course.

During the eighteenth century a fashion arose for the production of topographical works copiously illustrated by engravings, such as Byrne's *Antiquities of Great Britain*, Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, or *Beauties of England and Wales*, or of periodical publications like Walker's *Itinerant*. To provide the preliminary drawings for these illustrations the topographical artist comes into existence, and he soon finds that the best and simplest preparation for the engraver is a line-and-wash drawing. At first the drawings are in monochrome, Indian ink or sepia being usually used ; but soon, timidly at first, and for his own pleasure, the artist adds colour.

Taverner, Sandby, the three Maltons, Marlow, and Hearne are among the first of these topographical draughtsmen, the leader of the group being Paul Sandby (1725-1809), and within the modest limits of the tinted drawing much excellent work was produced.

At the end of the century we find a brilliant group of young men working together in London, trained in this school, and finding their chief source of livelihood in topographical work. Of these, three figures stood out above the rest—Girtin, Turner, and Cotman. An informal academy was provided by Dr Monro, a leading London physician and art connoisseur, who delighted to get these young fellows along to his house in Adelphi Terrace, where they copied his 'Canalettos,' 'Wilsons,' and 'Gainsboroughs.' They met also at the Sketch Club founded by Girtin, and at other similar gatherings, where they carried out exercises in composition.

The dominating spirit is Thomas Girtin (1773-1802). He it is who first sees the possibilities of the new medium, and changes the tinted drawing into a complete painting,

ENGLAND

with a full gamut of colour and a direct and characteristic technique of its own. Never forgetting the essential quality—its transparency—which differentiates watercolour from the opaque oil medium, he dispenses with the pen outline, and expresses form by means of bold calligraphic brushwork, carried out in rich full colour. With this vigorous technique Girtin combines a fine spacious design and a feeling for the elemental in nature. His early death at the age of twenty-nine deprived English landscape art of one of its most promising figures.

The best collections of his work are to be seen in the Print Room, British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Whitworth Collection, Manchester. The *Peterborough Cathedral* of the Whitworth Gallery is a fine example of his architectural treatment, so much more full of actual truth and the real feeling of Gothic architecture than any photograph. The *Kirkstall Abbey*, of South Kensington, is a good specimen of his broad open composition and his direct brushwork, while in the *Bridgnorth* of the British Museum—a late example of a large size—we have the old bridge, the river, and the piled houses beyond seen in the poetic light of the dawn!

Closely associated, during his younger days, with Girtin is Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851). The son of a barber who had a little shop in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, he worked in early youth under Thomas Malton, the architectural draughtsman. In 1789 he entered the Royal Academy schools, where he continued to study at intervals till 1799. By 1793 he had taken a studio at Hand Court, Maiden Lane, and begun his career as a topographical draughtsman. Beginning with the tinted drawing of the earlier men, he met Girtin at Dr Monro's, and was soon influenced by his bolder methods of handling.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Girtin was endeavouring to force the watercolour medium to the production of large paintings in competition with oil, Turner wisely decided that for the purpose of attracting public attention the latter was the more suitable medium, and from that time onward most of his exhibition pictures are in oil, though watercolour continued to be his favourite medium,

PAINTING

and he continues to use it both for sketching and for the production of drawings for engravings.

A magnificent series is in the Tate Gallery, beginning with his youthful efforts, going on to the freer style of Girtin, and then to his individual experiments, in which he pushes the resources of watercolour to their farthest limits.

Of the bold, frank use of transparent wash on a white ground fine examples are to be seen in his Lake District sketches, dating from about 1801. Quite a different style is seen in the *Interior of Durham Cathedral* (c. 1797), where a much more sophisticated method is employed, the paper being soaked, and sponged, and rubbed, and the effect obtained not by direct flat washes, but by soft, subtle gradations of tone, with outlines almost lost. A third style introduces the use of body colour, often on a tinted ground.

Then we have a peculiar technique of Turner's own. On a preparation of delicate washes he adds a finishing of minute stippled touches in drier colour, giving an infinite wealth of detail. Unfortunately, it was this last style, so fascinating in Turner's own hands, that was selected for imitation by the mediocre watercolourists of the Victorian era. With infinite pains, but alas! to our infinite weariness, they elaborate their trivialities, and it is not until the end of the century that we return to the wholesome broad technique of Girtin. The one artist who, by fine composition and exquisite draughtsmanship, justified his imitation of this phase of Turner's work is Birket Foster.

Particularly delightful is Turner's mixed style—half transparent wash, half body colour, on a tinted ground—such as the charmingly facile little Petworth sketches on a blue-grey paper.

But the culminating works are to be found in the late Swiss and Venetian watercolours. Here the medium is used with a freedom and spontaneity, and yet with a delicacy and distinction, unapproached in the work of any other artist. They represent the last word in watercolour painting.

John Sell Cotman (1782–1842) was born at Norwich. Going to London in 1797 or 1798, he was one of the little circle that met at Dr Monro's and joined the sketching club formed by Girtin in 1799.

ENGLAND

In 1805–6 he toured the northern counties, producing his magnificent series of sketches of the Greta and other Yorkshire scenes. Here we have the broad, direct treatment of Girtin allied with clear, cool colour, and a Classic feeling for composition reflecting the style of Wilson and Claude. Some of the works produced at this time, the *Greta Bridge* and *The Scotchman's Stone* (British Museum Print Room), and *The Meeting of the Greta and the Tees* (Scottish National Gallery), are among the finest examples of English water-colour.

In 1809 he married and settled in Norwich, and, like other painters of the day, finding watercolour painting a singularly unrewarding employment, was forced to earn his livelihood in the uncongenial rôle of a teacher of drawing.

In the middle period of his life also he attempted to make his watercolours compete in force and brilliancy with oils. Girtin in his last years made similar efforts, increasing the size of his pictures ; Turner wisely turned to oils when he wanted strength ; while Cotman endeavoured to force up the pitch of his colour by the adoption of a scheme of hot yellows opposed to strong blue. The effect was powerful, but often unpleasant, even vulgar.

For some years he resided at Yarmouth, painting a number of fine sea-pieces. In 1834 he was appointed Professor of Drawing at King's College, London.

In his early years he had produced some delightful drawings in cool tones of Indian ink, and in later years he returns to monochrome, giving us a wonderful series of studies in sepia—evening scenes, with a soft, velvety quality approaching mezzotint in its effect and full of vibrating effects of light.

In the autumn of 1841 he revisited the district round Norwich, and executed a magnificent series of drawings, which includes some of his finest work. Of these *The Wold Afloat* (British Museum Print Room) is a supreme example. He died in 1842.

Two other members of the school deserve more than passing mention—Peter de Wint (1784–1849) and David Cox (1783–1859). The first was of Dutch descent, born in



367. KIRKSTALL ABBEY

By Thomas Girtin

Victoria and Albert Museum



368. GRETA BRIDGE

By John Sell Cotman

Collection Russell J. Colman

370. CROSSING THE BROOK
By J. M. W. Turner
London, National Gallery



369. THE PONINGLAND OAK
By John Crome
London, National Gallery



PAINTING

Staffordshire, and came to London in 1802. Less vigorous than Girtin, and without the distinction and refinement of Cotman, he used watercolour in a straightforward, simple fashion. No better master in the use of the medium could be found.

David Cox was born near Birmingham, and in his early days acted as a scene-painter in the theatre there. At its best his watercolour has a fine fresh, open-air feeling, resembling in some respects Constable's work in oil.

A brilliant painter who died prematurely at the age of twenty-six was Richard Parkes Bonington (1802-28). Born at Nottingham, he went at the age of fifteen to Paris, where he received his training. His French coast-scenes have a fine crispness of handling ; and his Italian watercolours—the *Street Scene in Bologna* of the Wallace Collection is a good example—combine freshness and delicacy.

(e) Crome, Constable, and Turner

Just as the eighteenth-century school of portraiture is headed by three great men, so in the beginning of the nineteenth century we find that the second great phase of English painting—the development of the English landscape school—produces three great figures, Crome, Constable, and Turner—the triumvirate of landscape.

John Crome (1768-1821) occupies a unique position in the history of British painting. Born of humble parents in the provincial town of Norwich, with little education, and almost no systematic training in his profession, not only does he make himself a thorough master of the technique of his craft, but brings to bear on landscape-painting a nobility of outlook and dignity of treatment which are purely personal. He was the founder of the Norwich school of painting, exhibiting chiefly at the local exhibitions of this little coterie of artists, and but little in London.

At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to an ordinary coach- and sign-painter for seven years. In his leisure time, along with Robert Ladbrooke, he began to study landscape. A Mr Harvey, of Catton, Norfolk, who possessed a good collection of paintings, was a useful friend, and we find that

ENGLAND

the examples of the Dutch masters seen there had a strong influence on the young man. Another influence—the serene and beautiful work of Richard Wilson—also asserts itself.

He married in 1792, and set to work to maintain himself as a teacher of drawing, and soon built up a steady income from this source. It is interesting to note how differently this necessary ‘potboiling’ affects the two Norwich masters, Crome and Cotman. To Cotman it is a degrading drudgery. Crome seems to have welcomed its human relationships with delight ; a great favourite with his pupils, he becomes their friend. The Gurneys of Earlham take him with them to Wales and the Lake District.

In the meantime his real work slowly but steadily reaches maturity.

The Norwich Society of Painters was founded in 1803 and its first exhibition held in 1805. From 1805 to 1820 Crome exhibited there some 288 works.

We are fortunate in possessing at the National and the Tate Galleries a representative series of Crome’s work. Perhaps the earliest in date is the large painting *The Slate Quarries* (Tate Gallery). Here Crome realizes, as few painters have done, the grandeur and largeness of aspect of mountain scenery. We have no concessions to mere picturesqueness, no pretty purple cloud-shadows, but a great bare landscape, in cold, austere tones, the huge shoulders of the mountains heaving themselves up into the clouds, and in the middle distance a great waste of wild rocks and pools, with the quarrymen’s cottages nestling under the crags.

Another early work of great beauty and dignity is the *Moonrise on the Yare*. Almost in monochrome, and in strong silhouette, we have the windmill, the sails of the wherries, the flat landscape, and the winding river, while behind is the soft light of the rising moon.

Of his painting of trees we have a magnificent example in the famous *Poringland Oak*, painted toward the end of his life—probably in 1818. Here we have no mere decorative treatment of tree-forms, as in the school of Claude, nor yet the matter-of-fact, prosaic outlook of the Dutchmen. It is real tree-portraiture—the magnificent old oak, every gnarled branch bearing the history of hundreds of winters, is painted

PAINTING

with thorough knowledge and understanding. Behind is a clear, luminous sky, pale blue with light flecks of cloud.

In his open heath scenes the sense of spaciousness asserts itself even more strongly. The greatest of all is the *Mousehold Heath* of the National Gallery, painted not as a commission, but, as he said, ‘for light and air.’ Nothing could be more simple and direct than the treatment. In the foreground are weeds and wildflowers painted in a strong, vigorous fashion reminiscent of Cuyp; behind, the wide, undulating folds of the heath, across which the eye is carried to the horizon by the converging lines of the footpaths. Over all is the sky, a clear eggshell blue, with a great line of cumulous clouds slowly moving across from left to right.

In 1921, the centenary of Crome’s death, a great exhibition of his work was held at Norwich, revealing him as without question one of the greatest masters of English landscape.

After Crome himself the most important member of the little group which formed the Norwich school is John Sell Cotman. His work as a watercolourist has already been discussed, but the exhibition held in the summer of 1922 at the Tate Gallery brought together for the first time a considerable number of his oil-paintings. Here he achieves successfully the richness and fullness of tone for which he strove in his later watercolours. It is much to be regretted that Cotman was not enabled to develop more fully this branch of his art.

Of the others the chief are the Ladbrookes, Robert Ladbrooke (1770–1842) and his two sons, Henry and John Berney, John Bernay Crome (1793–1842), James Stark (1794–1859), Joseph Stannard (1797–1830), and George Vincent (1796–1830).

Quite a different figure from Crome is John Constable (1776–1837), the second of the great three. Even though Crome followed to some extent the naturalistic style of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century, it was the larger and more permanent aspects of nature that he sought to portray. ‘Whatever you paint, John, dignify it,’ was his advice to his son. But Constable’s attitude was something more intimate. ‘I love every stump and stile and lane in the village,’ he writes, ‘and I shall never tire of painting

ENGLAND

them as long as I can hold a brush.' And so it comes that of all English landscape-painters it is Constable who portrays most sympathetically the simple and familiar surroundings of English home-life.

But also he is the greatest of innovators. He would have nothing to do with the formulae of the pedants of the Classic school. When Sir George Beaumont told him that the correct tone of a landscape was 'the golden brown of a Cremona violin' Constable replied by taking the violin and laying it down on the green grass of the lawn. The hues of nature as he saw them were what he wished to convey—our fresh English greens, our luxuriant heavy-headed trees, our grey skies. And while the Classic school was concerned with the more permanent aspects of nature, with the summing up of a number of impressions in a somewhat formal way, to Constable it was the momentary aspects of nature that were of vital interest. To catch the passing shower, the gleam of light on the wet foliage, the play of light and shadow on the meadow—this was his aim; and it is not too much to say that it is on the lines of Constable's work that modern landscape has shown its most interesting developments.

Constable was born at Bergholt, in Suffolk, the son of a well-to-do miller, and was first employed in his father's business. It was not till 1799, when he had reached the age of twenty-three, that he became a regular student at the Royal Academy schools.

His development was slow. In the *Flatford Mill* (1817) of the National Gallery, painted when he was forty-one, he had not yet attained freedom of handling. There is still a certain stiffness and woodiness in the foreground figures; but the landscape is rendered with extraordinary completeness. The lush meadows, the rainy, cloudy sky, the willow-leaves ruffled by the wind, showing the silver undersides—here we have the real England. When we pass to *The Haywain* (1821), hanging in the same room, we find that in the intervening four years the ease and freedom that were lacking before have now been attained. It is a June day, with fresh breezes, and a pattern of moving sunlight and shadow checkering the meadows, the whole effect being rendered with a wonderful spontaneous freshness.



371. THE HAYWAIN

By John Constable. *London, National Gallery*



372. DIDO BUILDING CARTHAGE

By J. M. W. Turner. *London, National Gallery*



373. SPITHEAD—BOAT'S CREW RECOVERING AN ANCHOR
By J. M. W. Turner. *London, National Gallery*



374. ULYSSES DERIDING POLYPHEMUS
By J. M. W. Turner. *London, National Gallery*

PAINTING

This picture, along with two other 'Constables,' was exhibited at the Salon in Paris in 1824, where it created a great sensation. Constable received a gold medal from the French Government, and it is claimed that the Barbizon school of twenty-five years later found its origin in those works of the English painter.

Constable has now entered on the most prolific period of his life, and a great series appears in rapid succession : *Salisbury Cathedral* (1823), *The Leaping Horse* (1825), and *The Cornfield* (1826). He was made a member of the Royal Academy in 1829. Of his latest works two fine examples are *The Valley Farm* (1835), in the Tate Gallery, and the *Cenotaph* (1836) of the National Gallery. He died in the year 1837.

It is in his direct sketches from nature that Constable is seen at his very best. Though he eschews the formal methods of composition of the Classic school, he has a marvellous power of coaxing nature's forms into a harmonious arrangement. No artist ever had a finer power of selection—a faculty of seeing nature pictorially. And so those large oil sketches, painted at lightning speed, with bold, dashing brushwork on a dark ground, of which large spaces are often left uncovered, seem veritable glimpses of Nature herself, Nature not formalized, yet somehow refined and made perfect—the quintessence of the scene is there, but all that is irrelevant is left out.

When we come to the third of the triumvirate, Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), we reach the culminating figure in English, and indeed in European, landscape-painting. Other men have their definite styles—at most two or three different manners at different periods of their development. We can label them and pigeonhole them. But with Turner it is a different matter. He sets himself to explore the whole field of landscape-painting.

Beginning life as a topographical draughtsman, he first took up the watercolour medium, his work in which we have already discussed. Throughout his life it was his favourite sketching medium, and the ethereal watercolours produced at the end of his career are perhaps the most exquisite of all his works, but he decided early that if he wished to hold his

ENGLAND

own and attract attention in the public galleries he must use the weightier medium of oil. So from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward we find that practically all his exhibited works are in the oil medium.

Here he deliberately sets himself to cover the whole field. The marine paintings of the Dutchmen, the Classic landscapes of Poussin and Claude, the more homely subjects of Crome and the English school—all these he takes up in turn; then in his later years we find him creating new styles of his own. And so his work is full of infinite variety; Nature in all her phases is mirrored there, and in some of her most intimate moods Turner still remains her sole interpreter.

His first exhibited oil-painting is the little moonlight scene on the Thames at Millbank, now in the Tate Gallery, painted in 1799. In the following years we find him making a series of studies in the coast-towns of Britain in emulation of the Dutch marine painters. Two magnificent examples of this phase of his work are seen in the large *Calais Pier* (1803) and *The Shipwreck* (1805). Here, at the outset of his career, Turner is revealed as our greatest marine painter. No one else ever painted the sea with his intimacy and power, and in his knowledge of shipping he equals his Dutch rivals. One has only to go through his early sketch-books to see the innumerable studies on which this knowledge is based. One defect these early paintings have which is conspicuous in the two examples named—they are very heavy and dark in tone. It is not till some years later that this fault disappears. The transition is well seen when we come to the large seascape in the Tate Gallery, *Fruit Vessel on the Bar off the Meuse*, painted in 1819. Here we find that without loss of power a limpid, glassy quality is imparted to the heaving waters.

One noticeable thing about these early works of Turner's is the deft and lively figure-painting, full of life and animation. In his later works his figures are apt to take an entirely subordinate position, fitting perfectly their place in the composition, but of little individual interest.

In addition to his marine painting, we find him from 1800 onward taking up mythological subjects, a typical

PAINTING

example, in the style of Nicolas Poussin, being *The Goddess of Discord in the Garden of the Hesperides* (1806). But it is when he takes Claude as his model that the Classical style in Turner's hands begins to yield rich results.

Two fine examples dating from the year 1815 are in the National Gallery, *Dido building Carthage* and *Crossing the Brook*. In the first he deliberately sets himself to rival such a work as Claude's *Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* in the same gallery. He almost repeats Claude's composition—Classical buildings by the waterside, and the sun right in the centre of the picture. Perhaps the 'Claude' excels the 'Turner' in the beauty of the architectural draughtsmanship and has a certain serene dignity of its own. On the other hand, Turner brings to bear all the resources of a more modern handling of his medium, the varying surface texture of the painting giving it greater glow and sparkle. In *Crossing the Brook* he adapts the scheme of a Claude composition to an English landscape—a scene near Plymouth—substituting the more silvery light of the North for the golden glow of Italy. The work is noticeable for its extreme elaboration of detail.

In addition to these experiments in alien styles, Turner also produced during this time a fine series of direct studies of English subjects. *Windsor* (1808), *Greenwich Hospital* (1809), and the famous *Frosty Morning* (1813) are typical examples. In these works the most characteristic feature is the refinement of vision they display in the rendering of subtle atmospheric effects.

In his *Liber Studiorum* (1807-19) Turner sums up for us the work of this early period. The idea was taken from Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, a pictorial record in line and wash of the artist's principal compositions; but as Turner elaborated his scheme it became something much more grandiose. In the prospectus it was described as a series of typical landscape compositions—'historical, mountainous, pastoral, marine, and architectural.' The method of reproduction was a combination of etching and mezzotint (in a few cases also aquatint was employed). The preliminary drawings were made by Turner in line and sepia wash, and the etched outline was in most cases executed by himself; the mezzotinting was

ENGLAND

generally carried out by professional engravers, but eleven of the finest plates were engraved by the artist.

Of the contemplated hundred plates seventy were published, and the series affords a demonstration of the extraordinary mastery possessed by Turner over the various forms of pictorial composition. With the publication of the *Liber Studiorum* we may say that the first stage of Turner's life-work comes to a close.

By this time, in addition to knowing his own country thoroughly, he had travelled extensively abroad, in Belgium, Holland, France, and Switzerland. In 1819 he makes his first visit to Italy, and the brilliant sunlight of the South gives him a new outlook on nature. He takes up again the Classic style of Claude, but in such works as *The Bay of Baiae* (1823) he pitches the key much higher than before; the dark shadows fade away, and the whole picture glows and throbs with light and colour. About this time also, from 1820 to 1830, we have a fine series of yachting studies at Cowes, the Petworth pictures, the *Chichester Canal*, and some quiet and beautiful marine pieces.

In 1829 he strikes out a new line in his *Ulysses and Polyphemus*. With the phenomena of nature at his finger-ends, he creates his own landscape, and translates the old Homeric story into a brilliant colour fantasy, the golden vessel seen against the hues of a gorgeous sunrise.

Ten years later, with a somewhat similar treatment, he strikes a deeper note in *The Fighting Temeraire towed to her Last Berth*. Here marine painting is raised to epic heights. To the right of the canvas the sun is setting in a blaze of glory, while to the left, seen in a clear, cool, silvery light (a bold liberty taken with the facts of nature), the old vessel, under bare spars, moves slowly along in the wake of the fussy little tug.

This emotional painting Turner carries still farther in *Wilkie's Burial at Sea* (1842). To this late period also belongs the series of paintings in which the objective treatment of his earlier topographical works gives place to a subjective treatment, a quality of pure impressionism. Of these two of the finest are the *Snowstorm—Vessel off a Harbour Mouth* of the Tate Gallery and the well-known

PAINTING

Rain, Steam, and Speed of the National Gallery. These works are unique in the almost physical sensation of contact with the reality which they arouse in the spectator.

Venice fascinates Turner during these years. Although he begins with a 'Canaletto' painting exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1833, it is not with the clean-cut architectural vision of Canaletto that he sees Venice. To him it is a mystic fairy city suspended midway between sky and water, the light of the sky, the silver and pink and gold of the marble buildings, the gay fishing-boats, and the black gondolas all mirrored in the reflecting surface of the lagoon. Although the Venetian oil-paintings have in most cases sadly faded, this most exquisite phase of Turner's art, in all its ethereal delicacy of colour, is still preserved with pristine freshness and beauty in his watercolour sketches.

Turner died, after several years of failing health, in 1851. The bulk of his important works remained in his own possession—he made his fortune chiefly from the sale of the engravings after his works—and these, with his vast collection of sketches, he left to the nation.

In our two great collections, the National and the Tate Galleries, we have set forth with unexampled completeness the life-work of our greatest landscape-painter.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS ON THE ART OF THE FAR EAST

By STEWART DICK

PRELIMINARY

THESE chapters, devoted to the art of the Far East—including in the term India, China, and Japan—deal with a phase of art which, though affected in its early stages by contact with Western influences, has had during the whole period of its evolution an independent existence, following its own ideals, building up its own traditions, creating its own methods of technique. Though varying in its forms and taking on the colour of its changing environment, it is dominated by one great unifying influence which runs through and links together all its different manifestations—the religion of Buddhism. In India, then, the scene of the life and wanderings of Gautama Buddha, we shall find its source, the stream flowing thence northward to China, to Korea, and finally to Japan. With the architecture of the Far East—the chaotic styles of native Indian work, and the characteristic temple buildings, largely in wood, of China and Japan—I shall not attempt to deal.

The subject, as thus limited, falls naturally into two broad divisions, sculpture and painting.

CHAPTER I

SCULPTURE

(a) India¹

ALTHOUGH the life and death of Gautama Buddha belong to the sixth century before Christ it is not until some centuries later that we begin to find traces of Buddhist art. Indian archaeological research, indeed, hardly carries us farther back than the third century B.C., when the Emperor Asoka did so much to stabilize the position of the new faith ; and in the colossal pillars which he set up to mark the holy sites of Buddhism, and the *stupas*, or shrines, which he built to contain the relics of the Blessed One, we have the earliest existing examples of Indian sculpture.

But just as Buddhism itself was not an entirely new creation, but merely an outgrowth and development of pre-existing Indian religious thought and philosophy, so we shall find the earliest Buddhist art based on a previously existing tradition of native Indian art, with already an elaborate and highly developed system of technique and with a wealth of imagery drawn from nature-worship. And though the Buddhist art raised on this foundation represents the highest phases of Indian sculpture, yet behind it we are always conscious of this background, and when Buddhism dies down in India it is to this native tradition that Indian sculpture reverts.

Western influences also are evident in the earliest Buddhist sculptures, though perhaps too much is apt to be made of these. The splendidly carved capitals of the pillars set up by Asoka are claimed to be the work of the Perso-Greek masons employed by him. Certainly the example discovered at Sarnath, Benares, with four lions seated back

¹ For Arab-Indian architecture see Vol. I, pp. 275-276.

SCULPTURE

to back on an abacus formed of a down-turned lotus, in vigour of design and quality of workmanship stands out as a most masterly performance, and has a severity and purity of style entirely different from the more ornate treatment of the native work.

But when we turn to the *stupas* we find an art thoroughly native and based on popular tradition. The *stupa*, or funeral mound, of the Aryan chieftains probably had its origin in the rudely built wooden hut of the forest-lands, with its domed roof formed of branches, and was not destined for any very permanent use. But when the structure was adapted to enshrine the relics of a saint it assumed a more solid and pretentious form. Like the fortified Aryan village, it was surrounded by a fence (*vedika*), which enclosed the processional path of the worshippers. At each of the four cardinal points was an entrance marked by a gateway (*torana*). The simple dome-like shape of the *stupa* was a symbol of the cosmos—the mystic blue lotus with down-turned petals which forms the heavenly vault. A funeral urn, or reliquary, surmounted the dome, and was often incorporated for greater safety in the solid structure itself; the whole was surmounted by the umbrella, the symbol of royalty.

A typical and beautiful example is the famous Sanchi *stupa*, situated in Bhopal State near the site of the famous city of Vidisha, for many years a chief seat of Buddhist learning. The original brick *stupa* built by Asoka was covered with a casing of rubble and fine masonry in the latter half of the second century B.C. Two processional paths with railings or fences, one at a high level, entered by a double stairway, the other on the ground level, surround it. The original wooden fences have been superseded by stone railings elaborately carved and bearing the names of innumerable donors, the old wooden structures being carefully reproduced in the stone. At each of the four openings is a lofty *torana*, or triumphal arch. The original gateways were of wood, and the present stone replicas date from about the first century A.D. Railings and gateways alike are covered with elaborate carvings, some decorative or heraldic, others illustrating scenes from the life of Buddha.

THE FAR EAST

Here we have a purely native art untouched by foreign influences—a popular and secular art, depicting under the guise of sacred legend scenes from ordinary Indian daily life. A type of sculpture in relief, it is probably based on wood-carving, and is essentially plastic rather than pictorial; but it depends for its effect not on isolated figures or groups, but on the pattern of light and shade of the whole. It would be difficult to exaggerate the decorative beauty of some of these panels, so rich in their harmony of light and shade, so fresh and vigorous in their expression of nature and life.

On the gateways, in addition to the panels in relief, are several delightful figures in the round, female forms amid leafy foliage—types of a native Dryad of the woods. One of these figures from the eastern gateway is here reproduced, and a somewhat similar example from one of the mutilated gateways may be seen in the British Museum. Originally the carvings were probably covered with stucco and painted, and the surface of the *stupa* itself was plastered over and painted in the style of the frescos in the caves of Ajanta.

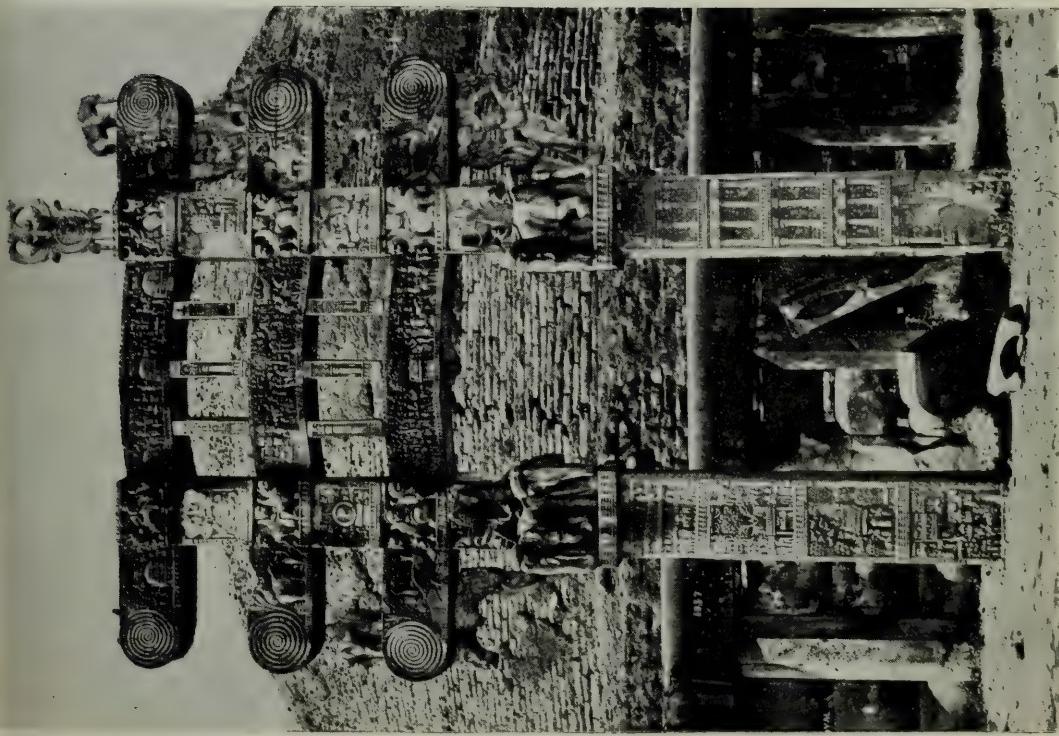
A similar *stupa*, of somewhat later date, existed at Amaravati, near the mouth of the Krishna river. Greater in dimensions than the Sanchi *stupa*, it was adorned with some 16,800 square feet of relief carvings even richer and more ornate than those of Sanchi. The *stupa* was destroyed a hundred years ago, but what remnants have survived are now divided between the museum of Madras and the British Museum. In the examples lining the walls of the main stairway of the latter institution the wonderful beauty of these reliefs may be studied to full advantage.

At Borobudur, in Java, also there is a shrine richly decorated with reliefs after the style of the Sanchi and Amaravati *stupas*, and on an even more extensive scale. The work dates from the eighth century A.D. and compares interestingly with the earlier examples. More sophisticated in style, it is less purely decorative. While at Amaravati background and relief are wrought into one glorious pattern of light and shade, in the later work we find two definite parts, groups and figures being posed against a flat background.

376. DRYAD OF THE WOODS
Detail from gateway of Sanchi stupa. Indian; second century A.D.



375. SANCHI STUPA AND GATEWAY
Indian; third and second centuries B.C.



378. SEATED BUDDHA
Indian; Gupta Period, fifth century A.D.



377. SEATED BUDDHA
Indian; Gandhara; first to second century A.D.



SCULPTURE

It is a noticeable feature that in the Sanchi reliefs the actual figure of Buddha does not appear. In the Jataka legends depicted there his presence is merely symbolically expressed : his horse is shown as riderless ; the adoring women worship only the footprints which indicate his presence.

It is not until a later date that the actual figure of Buddha, standing erect or seated in the typical attitude of Yoga contemplation, appears in Buddhist art. And here again Western influences make themselves felt. In Gandhara, a district in the mountain region of the north-west frontier near Peshawar, a school of sculpture arose in the first century A.D. dominated by Graeco-Roman influences. Probably there was a natural craving on the part of the worshipper for an actual presentment of the divine figure ; perhaps the foreign sculptor accustomed to portray the deities of Greek mythology had less scruple in satisfying it. Certain it is that in the sculpture of Gandhara the figure of the Buddha appears, at first as a modified form of a Greek god. But the figure created is something more isolated, more monumental, than has yet appeared in Indian sculpture. Clumsily at first the artist strives with the unfamiliar Indian imagery ; but soon two distinct types emerge, Buddha as the Yogi, seated in contemplation on his lotus throne, and the Bodhisattva, or Buddha as the King, the head of a universal religion.

The types once fixed, we find them rapidly repeated over India ; the foreign elements fade away ; the figure becomes more and more dignified and impressive. Of these early examples none is more striking than the colossal seated figure of Buddha at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon. The Buddha is represented as awaking from the trance of meditation, one foot just released from the rigid locked pose. In the Gandhara sculpture the drapery is modelled in classic folds ; here it is merely indicated by a line running from one shoulder across the breast, while the muscular structure is treated formally and without detail. But in its massive strength and simplicity the dignity of the conception is extraordinary. The statue is attributed to the second

THE FAR EAST

century A.D., though some authorities are inclined to place it somewhat later.

When we come to the Gupta Period (A.D. 320-530) this primitive strength and vigour gives place to a more highly finished, a gentler and more sophisticated art. A fine and typical example is the representation of the First Sermon, at Sarnath, Benares, dating from the fifth century. There the seated Buddha is represented as 'turning the wheel of the law.' The figure, treated with great suavity and grace, is posed with an elaborately carved halo behind the head, while behind the figure and on the pedestal is further decoration in relief.

As an example of the type of Buddha as King nothing could be finer than the torso in red sandstone in South Kensington Museum. Here, in place of the severe and emaciated form of the monk, we have the body of the Prince represented in all the grace of supple, youthful beauty. Other typical examples of the same date may be studied in the British Museum.

During the Gupta Period the influence of Buddhism in India begins to decline, and after the seventh century it maintains its hold only in Bengal, Nepal, and Ceylon. In the period which follows Indian sculpture reverts to the earlier cults of Hinduism.

Though lacking the elevation of feeling of the Buddhist sculpture, many of the works of this style are of great splendour. The three-headed figure of Siva at Elephanta is both powerful and impressive, while at Pathari is an exceedingly beautiful relief of Krishna as a new-born babe lying by the side of his mother. The group is nearly life-size, and the figure of the woman has the largeness of design of a reclining Venus, while in elevation of tone it reaches a much higher level. Beautiful also in its rhythmic movement is the figure of Siva as 'lord of the dance,' a conception repeated so often in Hindu sculpture, though here the element of monstrosity (in the introduction of the additional pair of arms), which mars so much of the later Indian sculpture, is already beginning to assert itself.

SCULPTURE

(b) China

When we turn to China we find, as in India, a highly developed native art in existence long before the advent of Buddhism. Relics of the Chou dynasty in the form of sacrificial vessels and other articles in bronze survive, and in their monumental simplicity of form far surpass the more ornate work of later periods.

But when we reach the Han dynasty (202 B.C.-A.D. 220) we actually come in touch with dated examples of the highest interest—the slabs of incised stone discovered in the province of Shantung. The earliest examples, found on the hill of Hsiao T'ang Shan, date from the first century B.C. They consist of flat tablets of stone on which are incised in clear and flowing line representations of horses and chariots, hunting scenes, legendary and historical episodes. On one slab is the earliest known representation of that favourite symbol in Chinese art, the dragon. In their dependence for expression on pure line, without the employment of relief, these might be termed rather incised drawings than carvings on stone, and may well be based on an earlier art of drawing with the brush.

A later series from the cemetery of the Wu family, near the city of Chiu-hsiang Hsien, Shantung, dates, as recorded in an inscription on one of the stones, from A.D. 147. Some two hundred years later than the first series, these have lost some of the freshness and vigour of the earlier work, and a certain degree of relief is employed. The background is lowered, and the subject is thus expressed in two planes. A certain similarity between these stone-carvings and the earlier sculptural reliefs of Egypt and Assyria has led some critics to ascribe their origin to Mesopotamian influences. These works are described in detail by Professor Édouard Chavannes in *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine au Temps des Deux Dynasties Han*.

In China, however, as in India, sculpture assumes a new significance with the coming of Buddhism. Buddhism first reaches China in the first century A.D., and gradually takes firm root there. Numerous translations of the *Sutras*, or Buddhist scriptures, are made into Chinese, and many

THE FAR EAST

Chinese pilgrims visit the scenes of Buddha's life and wanderings in India. One of the chief of these is Fa Hsien, who travelled (A.D. 399-414) from China through Khotan and Gandhara into India, returning *via* Ceylon by sea, and who has left a full account of his journey.

But the type of Buddhism introduced into China differs from the earlier Indian form, Hinayana, which embodied the personal teachings of Sakyamuni. It is based on a later form, Mahayana, which arose about the first century of the Christian era. Sakyamuni himself had taught that he was not the only Buddha or 'Enlightened One'—others had gone before him and others would succeed him; and from this idea the Mahayana system was developed. The aim of the devout became less the saving of the individual soul than the salvation of the whole world.

In the more Northern art of China, then, this later form of the religion finds expression. Sakyamuni disappears, and the typical Buddhist trinity is formed of the centre figure Amitabha (meaning Boundless Light), the ideal impersonal Buddha, with attendant Bodhisattvas, Avalokitesvara and Mahasthama, on either side. Also a wealth of local background is absorbed. Old Chinese deities reappear in Buddhist guise. The female form of Avalokitesvara becomes the Kwanyin of China (the Japanese Kwannon), and is worshipped as the Goddess of Mercy, and many other figures are added to the Buddhist pantheon.

An interesting link between the Chinese Buddhist sculptures and those of India is to be found in the stucco figures discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in his recent explorations on the borders of Chinese Turkestan. Here we find the Indo-Hellenic style of Gandhara mingling with more typically Chinese work.

In China itself, until a few years ago, little early Buddhist sculpture was known to exist, but recent explorations and the gradual opening up of the country by the building of railways have resulted in much more material being now available for study.

Of the highest importance are the researches of Professor Chavannes, who visited the sites of the great Buddhist rock-sculptures—vast series of grottos carved out of the



379. BUDDHA ATTENDED BY ANANDA AND KASSAPA
AND TWO BODHISATTVAS

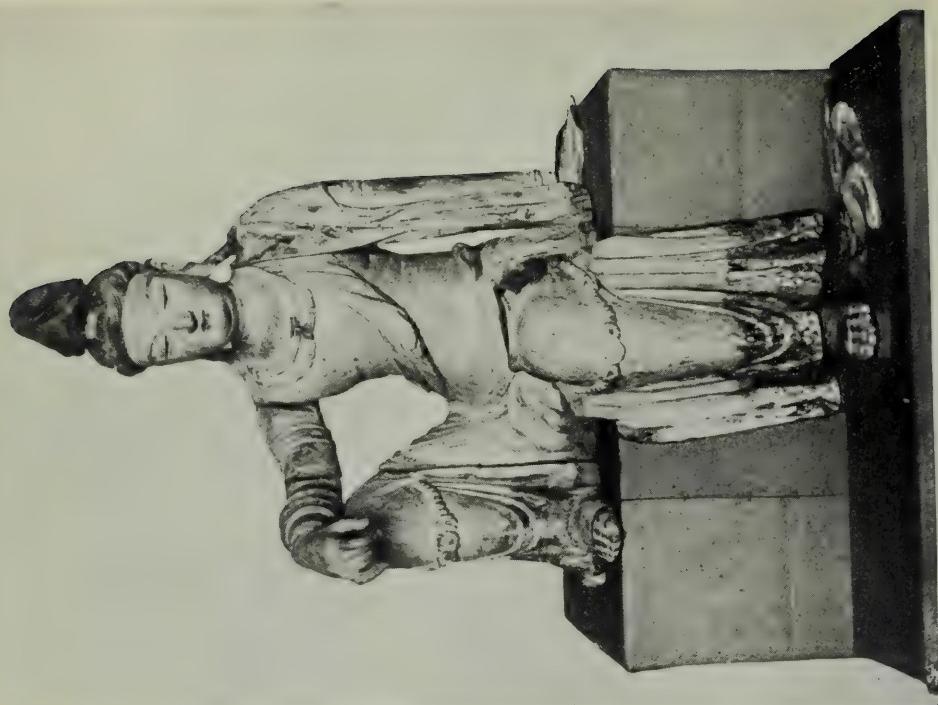
Chinese stele; Wei dynasty, sixth century A.D.

Collection of M. Victor Golonbev

381. SEATED BODHISATTVA

Wood covered with stucco. Chinese; Sung dynasty

British Museum



380. SEATED FIGURE OF A LOHAN

Pottery. Chinese; Tang dynasty

British Museum



SCULPTURE

mountain-sides and adorned, not with paintings, as in the caves of Ajanta, but with sculptured decorations.

The earliest of these Buddhist sculptures are those in the village of Yun-kang, near the little town of Ta-tong-fou. These were executed in the fifth century, in the time of the Northern Wei dynasty. The village nestles at the foot of a wall of rock pierced by innumerable grottos, which appear to be entirely artificial and are profusely decorated with sculptures. In the niche itself is usually placed a figure of a seated Buddha, and the walls of the cavern and the face of the surrounding rock are fretted with the most elaborate carvings. The figures vary from that of a colossal seated Buddha, 55 feet high, to those of natural dimensions, and are in very high relief, in some cases standing out almost in the round. The influence of the Graeco-Roman style of Gandhara, and also of more purely Indian work, is evident everywhere. Unfortunately the softness of the stone has led to a great deterioration in the condition of most of these works.

When we turn to the grottos of Long-men—a series of similar caves lining a defile between two mountains in the province of Honan—we find an even more extensive series of sculptures of a rather later period, from the fifth to the eighth century. The stone is much harder than that of Ta-tong-fou, so that not only are these works in a more perfect condition, but also the inscriptions on many of them have remained intact, in some cases giving the actual date of the work.

Here again we find great variety of scale, some figures being of colossal dimensions, some of life-size, and others smaller still. As the work becomes later in date we gradually lose the transmitted Classic feeling of the Gandhara style, and a truly Chinese style is evolved of great dignity and repose. In the ornate character, however, of what might be called the architectural setting—the carving on the walls of the grottos and the face of the rock—we are still reminded of the Indian work of the Sanchi and Amaravati *stupas*.

Some of the smaller statues, torn from their setting, have found their way into European collections, and are now available for purposes of closer study. One of the

THE FAR EAST

most important of these (here reproduced) is the group in the collection of M. Victor Golonbew. The monument is in two pieces—the figure group and a square pedestal. The Buddha is placed in the centre, with a Bodhisattva on each side, while between the larger figures are two disciples on a smaller scale. Behind each figure, which stands out in almost complete relief, is an elaborately carved halo. The upper part of the pedestal is in the form of a lotus, and its sides bear elaborate work in relief and an inscription giving the date of the work—A.D. 543.

A magnificent example of Tang sculpture, probably dating from the eighth century, has recently been acquired by the British Museum. It represents a *Lohan*—one of the original sixteen disciples of Buddha—seated in contemplation, and is over life-size, measuring, with pedestal, about 4 feet in height. It is executed not in stone, but in glazed pottery coloured in tones of green and brownish yellow. Here we have art of a more human quality than the more formal type of purely religious sculpture of the earlier periods. In its combination of intense vitality with serene and lofty dignity, of powerful modelling and grandeur of design with truth and careful finish of details, it stands out as one of the most important works of early Chinese sculpture that has yet reached Europe.

Of a similar style of workmanship are the more humble examples of Tang pottery discovered in tombs which have accidentally been opened in railway excavation—figures of men, horses, camels, all full of life and action, and with something of the same largeness of design.

Another recent acquisition of the British Museum is a more than life-size seated figure of a Bodhisattva, carved in wood and originally—though most of the covering has now worn off—overlaid with stucco and ornamented in colour and gold. Gentler in style than the older work, it dates from the Sung Period, and forms a worthy companion to the exquisite pictorial work of this age of Chinese culture.

In later ages of Chinese sculpture the grandeur and dignity of the earlier periods tends to fade away, but, especially in the minor forms of art—in carvings of ivory, crystal, and jade—marvels of craftsmanship are produced.

SCULPTURE

(c) Japan

The wave of Buddhist influence, passing northward from India through China and Korea, finally crossed the narrow sea and reached the island kingdom of Japan in the sixth century.

The Emperor became a convert to the new religion, and on his death left a solemn charge to his widow, the Empress Suiko, to establish it as the State religion of Japan. This great work was carried out by Prince Mumayado, who acted as regent from A.D. 573-621. A man of saintly character, a great artist, and an administrator of a very high order, he is known in Japanese art as Shotoku Daishi. He embraced Buddhism with fervour, preached it personally among his people, and under his direction the first great Buddhist temple in Japan—that of Horiuji, at Nara—was built. Soon a great system of these monastic establishments spread over the land.

The first great expression in Japanese art of this new culture and civilization takes the form of sculpture, and, though an outgrowth of the earlier Indian and Chinese styles, the Japanese work has distinct characteristics of its own.

The earliest examples are of wood or of bronze. Later a fine grey clay found at Nara, mixed with vegetable fibre and hardened without baking, is used; another method is to cover a core formed of coarse cloth stiffened with glue with layers of lacquer mixed with powdered bark. But stone, the favourite material of the Chinese sculptor, is rarely used.

One of the earliest examples of Japanese sculpture is the wooden statue of Kwannon preserved at the temple of Chuguji, Nara, which is said to be from the hand of Shotoku Daishi himself. The seated figure, 5 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, is nude from the waist up, and is modelled with great severity of style, so that the anatomical forms are almost lost; but this, with the simplicity of line in the drapery, only concentrates the attention more completely on the serene dignity of the expression and adds to the impressiveness of the work. In the elongated, wasp-waisted

THE FAR EAST

type of figure we find an echo of the contemporary Korean style, which in its turn reflects the qualities of the earlier figures discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Khotan.

An interesting specimen of early bronze-casting of the Suiko Period, attributed to the famous sculptor Tori Busshi, is the Buddhist trinity of the Kondo, or Golden Hall, at Horiuji. The figures are small in scale, the central one 2 feet 3 inches, the others 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in height; the facial type depicted is curiously heavy, almost negroid, in expression. Technically the work shows a high degree of accomplishment.

In the succeeding era, known as the Tenchi Period, and occupying the latter part of the seventh century, we find greater beauty of design combined with a further advance in technical skill, the most exquisite example of all probably being the little bronze trinity, with an open-work folding screen, also at Horiuji. Here the negroid ugliness of the earlier group gives place to a type of elegance and refinement, the delicately modelled features having great sweetness of expression, while the lines of the draperies are graceful and flowing. Perhaps the finest part of all is the open-work halo, with a floral design, behind the head of the central figure. In beauty of design and perfection of workmanship this piece, which is thought to date from about A.D. 680, has never been surpassed.

Toward the end of the seventh century a wave of the Graeco-Buddhist feeling which influenced so definitely Indian and Chinese sculpture reaches Japan, and a certain ampler sense of human dignity and proportion appears. This quality finds supreme expression in the great bronze trinity in the temple of Yakushiji, Nara. Cast in black bronze, the figures are above life-size, the seated figure in the centre being 9 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, while the two standing side figures reach 11 feet 3 inches. They are the work of the sculptor Giogi, and date from about A.D. 718. In largeness of conception, elegance of pose, and perfection of finish they represent, in the opinion of many, the culmination of the art of bronze-casting in Japan.

To the Tempyo Period, which covers the middle part of the eighth century, belongs much of the finest Japanese

SCULPTURE

sculpture. In addition to the usual religious works are some of a more secular nature. Examples of this type are the delightful open-work panels of a bronze temple lantern from To-dai-ji, Nara—one panel ornamented with an angel playing on a flute—and the famous bronze drum, or Kwagen-kei, from Kasuga, Nara, which hangs between two twining dragons treated with great vigour and realism. Both of these works were shown at the Japan-British Exhibition at Earl's Court in 1910.

Portraiture too is represented in the magnificent wooden figures of the Buddhist teacher, Asanga, and his brother and disciple, Vasbandhu.

These two centuries—the seventh and the eighth—form the Golden Age of Japanese sculpture, and though in later ages fine examples still appear, they never quite touch the same high level of achievement.

In the ninth century the Buddhist priest Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, produces powerful works, a typical example being the figure of Fudo, the subduer of devils, seated sword in hand—a figure with the curious, almost grotesque, grimness which distinguishes so much Japanese art.

The Kamakura Period is marked by the appearance of the famous sculptor Unkei, who lived at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. At the gateway of the temple of To-dai-ji, at Nara, is a pair of *Nio*, or temple guardians—huge figures of sinister aspect and terrific power hewn out of wood, the one by Unkei and the other by his contemporary Kwakei. A pair of dwarf figures of demons, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, supporting lanterns, by Koben, the third son of Unkei, show the same fierce, grotesque quality.

The largest piece of bronze-casting in Japan is the colossal figure of Buddha at Nara, dating from the ninth century, which stands no less than 53 feet in height. It has suffered much during the lapse of years. It was damaged by an earthquake in A.D. 855, and later by a fire, and the head was replaced by another of commonplace workmanship in the sixteenth century. Much finer as a work of art is the Dai-butsu, or Great Buddha, at Kamakura, which dates

THE FAR EAST

from the thirteenth century. These colossal bronzes were built up of a number of plates cast separately, then placed together, and finished off with the chisel. The smaller pieces were cast by the more delicate method of *cire perdue*.

The art of sculpture now tends to fall into a subsidiary position, pictorial art taking first place, though an interesting and beautiful specimen of portrait sculpture of the fifteenth century may be seen in the wooden statue of the Shogun Yoshimasa in the Ginkakuji temple, Kioto, said to have been carved by that cultured statesman himself.

In a humble sphere also work of so high an order as to be dignified by the name of sculpture is to be found—in the masks worn by the *No* dancers, where extraordinary force of expression is attained, combined with extreme simplicity of form. Many of these date from the fifteenth century.

In metal-work, particularly in the adornments of the sword, and in *netsukes* of wood and of ivory the Japanese craftsmen give us what is really exquisite sculpture on a small scale.

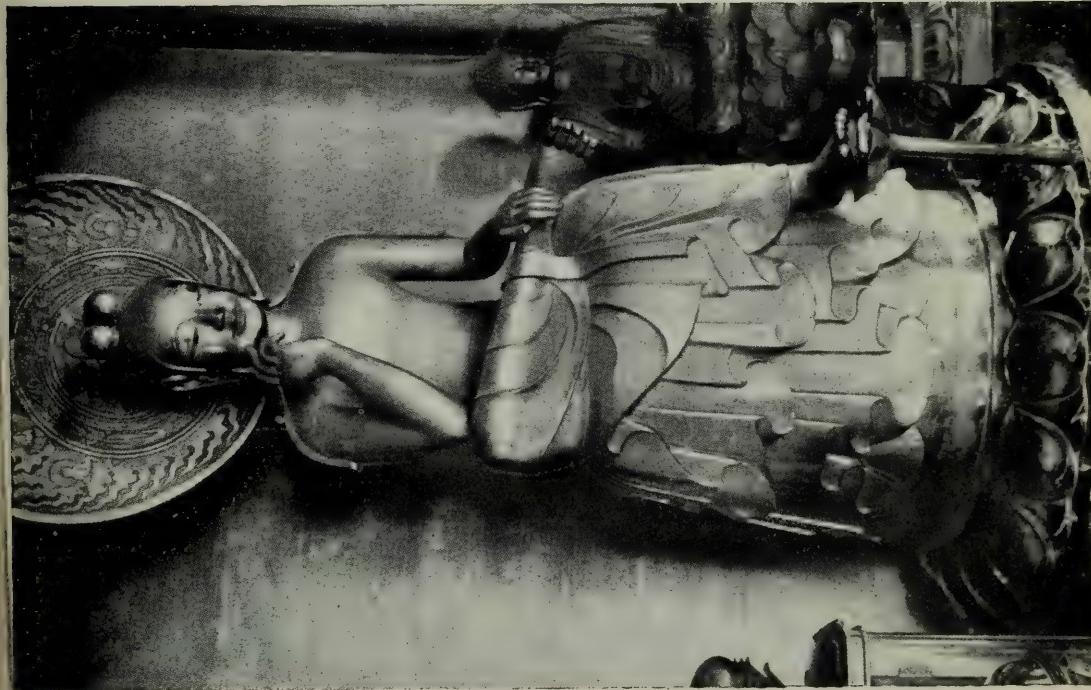
383. BRONZE FIGURE OF BODHISATTVA
By Giogi. Japanese; eighth century A.D.

Nara, *Takushiji*



382. WOODEN FIGURE OF KWANNON
Ascribed to Shotoku Daishi. Japanese; seventh century A.D.

Nara, *Chugujii*



385. TWO FORMS OF AVALOKITESVARA

Tun-huang, Chinese Turkestan



384. BODHISATTVA

Detail from Ajanta fresco. Indian; fifth to seventh century A.D.



CHAPTER II

PAINTING

(a) Early Stages—China, India, and Turkestan

IN the sister art of painting we find that though the influence of Buddhism plays a great part in its evolution, and supplies the inspiration for many of its loftiest creations, even more than in sculpture this influence comes as an outside force affecting a pre-existing and deeply rooted traditional art.

And the birthplace of this early pictorial art appears to have been China. In the words of Mr Binyon, ‘The great original art tradition of Europe had its home in Greece; the great original art tradition of Asia has its home in China.’

Legend fixes the origin of painting in China as contemporary with that of the art of writing, both dating from about 2700 B.C. And this association of writing and painting still continues, for Chinese calligraphy is an art demanding no little skill with the brush. Indeed, painting was formerly reckoned as one of the branches of calligraphy. The expressive brush-stroke, then, is an all-important element in Chinese and Japanese painting, which in all its different forms is pre-eminently an art of line. This calligraphic quality, too, saves the painting of the Far East from a pitfall which has engulfed much of the painting of the West—the desire to reproduce modelling or relief, an effect more properly belonging to sculpture.

Chinese and Japanese painting is usually frankly an art in two dimensions, colour when introduced being used in flat tints and without any attempt to express light and shade. Where the third dimension creeps in, as in the monochrome mountain landscapes of the Sung painters, it is expressed by means of tone. Here a succession of receding

THE FAR EAST

planes is given in varying depths of tone, with little attention to actual modelling or relief.

As far back, then, as we can trace the Chinese artist wrote his pictures with the brush; watercolour or body colour, on paper or absorbent silk, were his materials; while his subjects ranged from the representation of gods and supernatural beings, surrounded by a wealth of imagery and symbolism, to the realistic portrayal of scenes of everyday life.

In Professor Giles's *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* we read the names of numbers of these early Chinese painters, but we know practically nothing about them or their works. It is not until the fourth century, in the person of Ku K'ai-chih (who worked about A.D. 364-405), that we come in contact with reality.

In the British Museum is a roll painted on faded brown silk, more than 11 feet long and about 9 inches wide, very much worn, and repaired with infinite patience and care, which is believed to be an original work from the hand of this master.

The paintings, consisting of nine separate scenes, form a series of illustrations to a book, *Admonitions of the Instructress in the Palace*, by a Chinese writer, Chang Hua (A.D. 232-300). Beside each picture is written the passage which it illustrates. One of the most striking is the representation of the heroism of the fair Feng, who, when an escaped bear threatened to attack the Emperor, boldly threw herself in its path. Another represents a toilet scene.

The chief characteristic of the work is its exquisite delicacy and grace. Here certainly is no mere primitive painting, but highly matured art. The delicately modulated line is full of sweetness, but wonderfully firm and clear, and though the colours have faded and sunk into the dark silk, a vermillion red, a tawny yellow, a dull green, and a soft purple still give a quiet richness to the old painting.

From the fourth to the eighth century we know of no authentic works of the Chinese painters, though history records long lists of their names.

It is to India that we must turn for our next landmark in the history of Oriental painting. In a gorge of the

PAINTING

Western Ghâts is the temple of Ajanta, hewn by Buddhist monks out of the solid rock, its many caves adorned with elaborate paintings in fresco.

It has been justly said that the frescos of Ajanta occupy a place in Buddhist art similar to that held in Christian art by those of Giotto and his followers. They stand out as the first great monument of Buddhist painting, and date from the fifth to the seventh century. In many ways, compared with the quiet grace and refinement of Ku K'ai-chih's work, with its subtly modulated strength, these paintings belong to an earlier and more primitive stage. In one respect they differ widely from the later Chinese and Japanese Buddhist paintings. As we have already seen, in the Mahayana form of Buddhism which reached the Northern countries the personal figure of Sakyamuni is replaced by an ideal Buddha, Amitabha, remote, impersonal, wrapt in a trance of impassioned contemplation. But in the Ajanta frescos, in the land which gave him birth, the older style is followed, and the story of Sakyamuni's life and wanderings is told with all the vividness of personal narrative.

It is the Jataka legends that are the theme of the paintings, just as they supply the subjects of the great series of reliefs at Sanchi and Amaravati. Sometimes the crowded and turbulent compositions are dominated by intense religious feeling. At other times we have intimate glimpses of Indian life: men, women, and children portrayed with a wonderful naturalness of movement and gesture; animals, birds, and flowers drawn with life and vivacity.

In its frankly realistic outlook on nature the art of the Ajanta frescos is more akin to Western painting than is the later and more abstract Buddhist art. One great painting, a battle-piece, represents an actual historical event—the invasion of Ceylon by Vijaya—a large composition with warriors, elephants, and horsemen, surrounded by a wide decorative border of plants and flowers. Then again we get quiet *genre* scenes: a mother and child adoring Buddha, delineated with a familiar and loving touch; a glimpse of the interior of the palace—a touching group of a dying princess and her attendant maidens. The figures are of the exaggeratedly slender-waisted Indian

THE FAR EAST

type, and the colour used is a little hot in tone—a heavy red predominating, relieved by quieter passages of green, blue, yellow, and purple.

A series of cave-paintings of a somewhat similar character to those at Ajanta is to be found at Sigiri, in Ceylon, containing some female figures of great beauty.¹

But though the early stages of Buddhist painting in China show unmistakable traces of the influence of the Ajanta frescos, yet this influence is mellowed and softened by various causes. For Buddhism finds itself in China in an entirely new environment. In the land of its birth the religion was but the latest development of Indian thought, the logical outcome of what had gone before. But China is a land which in the course of long ages has woven its own tissue of natural religion, has evolved its own systems of thought and philosophy.

In the teachings of Confucius we have the practical or materialistic side of Chinese character expressed; but we find when we turn to the rival teacher, Lao Tzu, that Chinese character has also its mystic and imaginative side. 'The softest things in the world override the hardest.' 'That which has no substance enters where there is no crevice.' 'The farther we travel the less we know.' Such are some of the sayings of Lao Tzu. The influence of this master was very great from the third to the fifth century, and it was from among his followers, the Taoists, that Buddhism derived many of its adherents. Indeed, in the new Zen sect of Buddhism we have embodied much of the teaching of Lao Tzu. And in art especially this mystic quality finds expression. It is the spirit and not the outward form that the artist seeks to portray. We find, then, that though early Chinese Buddhist painting borrows many elements from India, yet a new spirit pervades the work. The element of monstrosity, so disturbing in Indian work, gives way to a quiet and serene dignity, and Buddhist art enters on a higher and wider phase.

When we come to the time of the Tang dynasty (A.D.

¹ No further traces of Indian painting survive until we come to the sixteenth century, when a style of painting rises based on Persian models and closely linked with the Arab-Indian architecture of the period. (See Vol. I, pp. 275-276.)

PAINTING

618–905), the age of China's greatest material power, we find that a great national art has arisen, expressing itself both in sculpture and in painting. The examples of the former art, less perishable in their nature, have survived more successfully than the paintings of the period the successive waves of conquest which have passed over China; and until recently almost our only knowledge of the Tang painting of China was derived from a few examples in Japanese collections and from the native Japanese art formed on the same model.

A new light, however, was thrown on the subject by the recent important discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein on the borders of Chinese Turkestan. In the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, near Tun-huang, were found not only interesting frescos of an Indo-Hellenistic type, but a large number of paintings on silk, linen, and paper, some of high artistic merit. These paintings are all of a Buddhistic character, and their importance is enhanced by the fact that some of them bear dates, the bulk belonging to the latter part of the Tang dynasty. A few of the earlier examples in the delicate firmness of their line recall the work of Ku K'ai-chih, but most of them show a more vigorous and calligraphic brushwork. Gold is used, and the colouring is of great splendour, showing rich greens and blues, clear reds, and soft purples. In some cases the imagery and even the treatment is Indian in style, in others the Indian element, though still present, is fused with something more Northern, and the result approaches more closely to the Chinese style. A number of these paintings are now in the British Museum, notably a great *Mandala*, or beatific vision of all the divine personalities that go to make up the Godhead. This painting dates from the ninth century, and is a work of great dignity and beauty, combining soft and harmonious colour and rhythmic flow of line with quiet tenderness of feeling.

When we turn to Chinese histories of the Tang Period we find the names of many great masters, though hardly any traces of their work survive. Ranked by the Chinese as the greatest of all is Wu Tao-tzu (Go-doshi, the Japanese call him), who lived in the eighth century. None of his works are certainly known to survive, though several examples

THE FAR EAST

attributed to his hand exist in Japanese collections, one of the chief being the triptych in the Tofokuji temple, Kioto.

But even though the actual works may be lost, the compositions of these old masters are preserved by the free copies executed by later artists; for the copying of a masterpiece was not reckoned in China or Japan as plagiarism, but rather as a pious act, a handing down of a great tradition. So in the British Museum we have a copy of the most noted of all the works of Wu Tao-tzu, his *Death of Buddha*. The original was painted in A.D. 742; the copy is the work of a Japanese artist, probably dating from the thirteenth century. Even as weakened by transmission through other hands the conception is one of great grandeur. The prostrate form of Buddha in the centre is surrounded by his mourning disciples. But not only these, the birds of the air, the beasts of the field gather around; all nature is overwhelmed in an agony of grief. The British Museum copy is faded and worn; in most places the bulk of the rich body colour has cracked away, but enough remains to give us an idea of its original glowing splendour. In general tone of colour it closely resembles the great *Mandala* of the Stein collection.

Another copy of a work by Wu Tao-tzu, in the Freer Collection, Detroit, is probably from the hand of a master of the Sung dynasty, and represents the divine figure of Kwanyin. In the majestic flow of its rhythmic line, its combination of power and dignity with a serene tenderness of feeling, it is a painting of wonderful beauty. In such a work as this how far we have travelled from the frank naturalism of the Ajanta frescos!

Landscape-painting was also extensively practised by the Chinese masters of the Tang dynasty, two distinct styles arising, that of the North distinguished by breadth and spaciousness, that of the South dealing with a more picturesque and rugged mountain scenery. The latter school was founded by Wang-wei, a physician by profession, but renowned also as a painter and a poet. In the British Museum is a roll, over 17 feet long, a copy of an original by Wang-wei. It was painted by Chao Meng-fu, an artist of the Yuan dynasty, and is dated 1309. It represents a continuous flowing landscape of mountain and river,

PAINTING

with here and there a country village, or a lonely pavilion where a contemplative sage looks out on the beauties of nature. In its rich harmony of blues and greens it reflects the full colouring of the Tang figure-paintings.

Another artist of the period, Han Kan, was renowned as a painter of horses, and a famous pair of paintings by him, *The Hundred Colts*, is still known from a sixteenth-century woodcut. In the British Museum is an example attributed to him—a boy-Rishi riding on a goat of colossal size, while other little goats frolic around.

(b) Early Stages—Japan

We now come to the beginnings of painting in Japan. The civilization and culture of Japan are essentially dependent on those of China. At different times successive waves of influence have passed from the mainland to the island kingdom, to be gradually absorbed and assimilated. For the Japanese have this remarkable quality, that they are able to receive an outside influence, but without losing their own individuality, to absorb it, and finally to produce a result which, though showing clearly the original impulse, is yet distinctly not foreign but Japanese in feeling.

The earliest Buddhist art of Japan, as we have already seen, took the form of sculpture. The earliest example of Japanese painting is to be found in the frescos adorning the temple of Horiuji. The original temple was built by Shotoku Daishi in the seventh century, and rebuilt or extensively repaired about A.D. 708-715, to which later period the paintings must belong. Here the influences appear to be chiefly Indian, the work resembling in many respects the frescos in the caves of Ajanta.

But soon a more characteristic art, based on the Tang painting of China, makes its appearance in the Buddhist monasteries of Japan. A few of these early works, treasured carefully in the temple collections, still survive. And here mention may be made of a fact which has rendered possible the study of Japanese art (and indeed Chinese art also) with far greater completeness than could otherwise have been the case—viz., the issue first by the Japanese Govern-

THE FAR EAST

ment, and then by Japanese private publishers, of a superb series of reproductions, in monochrome and in colour, of the treasures contained in Japanese national and private collections. These publications, the *Kokka, Tajimas Selected Relics of Japanese Art*, etc., are indispensable to the student.

One of the earliest examples of native Japanese painting is a work of the eighth century representing the Buddhist angel Kichijo with the jewel of life in her hand (*Tajimas Selected Relics*, vol. ii). Here, though we may see the influence of such great Tang masterpieces as the *Kwanyin* of Wu Tao-tzu, yet in type the face is purely Japanese, and in the combination of exquisite delicacy of line with quiet, rich colouring we have a work of very great beauty, a specimen not of crude or primitive painting, but of a very highly matured and sophisticated art.

At the end of the eighth century a great Buddhist revival took place in Japan, headed by Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism. A painter and sculptor himself, he brought many examples of the works of the Tang painters of China into Japan, and under his rule the practice of painting and sculpture formed part of the ordinary training of the Shingon priests. The capital was shifted from Nara to Kioto in the year 794, and the new period ushered in was termed the Heian Period, lasting from 794 to 1110, during the later part of which the chief political power was wielded by the great Fujiwara clan. This was a great age of culture in art and literature, reaching its most brilliant phase in the reign of the Emperor Daigo—the period of Engi, 901–922.

At the beginning of the tenth century Japan was closed to foreigners, and the energies of the nation appear to have been turned to assimilating the Chinese influences to which it had been subjected.

A great national tradition arose alike in literature and in art. To this period belong the most famous names of Japanese literature—the poet Narahira, famed for his handsome exterior and his romantic adventures; the poetess Omi Komachi, in her youth and beauty the darling of the court, in her old age fallen from her high estate to deepest poverty and misery, and begging her way from door to door.

PAINTING

The field of art too is expanded. Not only are Buddhist paintings produced rivalling in splendour of colouring the Tang works of China, but a secular style of painting arises.

To this period, the beginning of the tenth century, belongs Kanaoka, like Wu Tao-tzu in China looked on by succeeding artists as his country's greatest painter, but, alas! like him now little more than a name, no absolutely authentic examples of his work remaining. He painted Buddhist subjects, landscapes, and figure-pieces, and was especially famed as a painter of horses. In the British Museum is a portrait of Sugawara Michizane, the statesman and poet, attributed to Kanaoka, a wonderful combination of delicacy and strength; and in landscape a masterpiece reputed to be by his hand is the well-known *Nachi Waterfall*. One of his chief works was a series of Chinese sages, painted as decorations of the Imperial Palace at Kioto in A.D. 928. These were destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century, and replaced by paintings by Tanyu. Kanaoka was the founder of the Kosé line of painters, who afterward became known as the Tosa school.

A little later in Yeshin Sodzu (942-1017) a great religious painter arose. A Buddhist priest of the Shingon sect, he was a man of great learning and piety, being the author of a number of religious works. In painting he created two great subjects, repeated in various forms—the Ascending and the Descending Buddha. An example of the latter is in the British Museum. The figure of Buddha, in three different tones of gold (and here the gold is used not only for decorative effect, but to express the effulgence of light from the divine figure), stands, on the leaves of a green lotus veined with gold, against a background of deep lapis-lazuli blue. In the course of nine hundred years the tone of the blue background has gone down to a rich dark brown, the green body colour of the lotus-leaves has mostly cracked off, but the picture is still one of great impressiveness, serene, gentle, and dignified.

Toward the end of the Heian Period the exquisite civilization of the Fujiwara court becomes somewhat overripe. Its life is luxurious and effeminate in the highest

THE FAR EAST

degree. Men shave off their eyebrows and use rouge and powder. The most dignified employments of State officials take the form of the writing of light verses, and more frivolous pursuits, such as incense games—in which incense is burned, and each one tries to guess the constituents from the perfume—occupy most of their time. We hear of the governor of a province who has never visited the scene of his duties, of a captain of the guard who cannot mount his horse.

In these surroundings the Tosa painters produced a style of court-painting curiously stiff and formal, but in its rich colour and copious use of gold of great decorative beauty. The founder of the style is Takayoshi, who lived at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, and a number of his works are reproduced in the *Kokka*—some in colour. The subjects illustrated are romances of court-life, painted, like Ku K'ai-chih's work, on long horizontal scrolls, called by the Japanese *makimonos*, as distinguished from *kakemonos*, or hanging pictures.

The colouring is the rich full colouring of the Tang dynasty, but the Japanese painter introduces a new element in a masterly use of the straight lines and sharp angles of the architectural setting of his subject. A quaint device is adopted by means of which both the interior of a room and its exterior are shown: the roof is left off the building and the scene viewed from above, while bands of gold clouds are introduced by the artist in the most arbitrary way as the decorative needs of his composition require. The ladies of the court, with their little doll-like faces and rich flowing robes (robe worn above robe, each of a different colour, to show a brilliant variegated band at the edges); the men in their stiff, wide trousers and curious high black hats; the slight but sumptuous furniture of the rooms—all these are portrayed with great minuteness of detail. One other thing should be noted—the exquisite beauty and grace of the growing flower and plant forms introduced in some of these paintings.

Among the numerous masters of this school two stand out as more individual than the others—Toba Sojo and Nobuzane.

PAINTING

Toba Sojo (1053-1140), Abbot of Midera, was noted not only for his religious but for his secular paintings. His *Shigizan makimono*, recording a series of miracles, is full of vivacious sketches of contemporary types; he also produced several famous scrolls satirizing the life of his fellow-monks—frogs, monkeys, and other animals taking the place of the human beings. In the curious combination of incisive wit, broad humour, and exquisite artistic skill we have a type of work which reappears again and again in Japanese art.

Nobuzane (1177-1265) is one of the most highly prized of all the early Tosa masters. In his court-scenes a breath of naturalism and freedom invades the stuffy atmosphere and infuses life into the conventional forms, while his colour-schemes are often very audacious. Deep blue and orange, fawn, green, black, and gold go to make up some of his strange and striking harmonies. His portrait of Kobo Daishi as a boy—the child-saint serene and holy—stands out as one of the supreme masterpieces of Japanese art.

But the life of the Fujiwara court was too artificial to last. It was swept away in the civil wars of the Kamakura Period, and in place of the formal court-scenes we have now stirring battle-pictures. Mitsunaga, Sumiyoshi Keion, and Kosé Korehisa are names that stand out during this period.

A famous scroll by the first depicts the burning of the gate of the palace; and the turmoil of the crowd—a moving mass of excited figures—is given with extraordinary life and force.

Sumiyoshi Keion is known only by three *makimonos* of battle-scenes, two of which are in Japan and one in Boston. In these scrolls, as we unfold them foot by foot, war in all its barbaric splendour and brutality is spread out before us: scenes of strife and capture, horsemen in full career, the burning of the palace, and the flight of the court. Here we see again, in a riper form, something akin to the old incised stone-drawings of the Chinese, but in place of the chisel-stroke of the stone-cutter we have brilliant and incisive brushwork, reinforced by rich and glowing colour. Nothing could exceed in its tumultuous energy the headlong

THE FAR EAST

flight of the court: the horsemen, the chariots with their teams of oxen, all mingled together in one wild rush.

Both these artists belong to the twelfth century. A little later comes Kosé Korehisa, whose battle-scenes are even more realistic in their relentless detail. It is by no means a rash or idle claim that would set up the works of this group of painters as the finest battle-pictures in the world.

(c) The Sung and Ming Periods in China

It is time now to return to China. Though the Tang dynasty saw the zenith of the external power of China, yet in the Sung Period (A.D. 960-1280) which follows we touch an even higher level of culture. Its three hundred years form a Golden Age of art and literature, in which the dominating influence is to be found in the teachings of the Zen sect of Buddhism. In the Zen system of philosophy the central idea is the unity of nature. Man is not conceived as a separate entity detached from the external universe, but as part of it. One common life belongs to all, and by contemplation man may merge his individuality in the universal life. No book-learning is necessary or desirable—nothing but the book of nature and one's own intelligence. 'The teacher is within ourselves,' said the Zen priests.

Nature, then, in the widest sense is the theme of the Sung painters. Landscape-painting assumes a new importance in art as the relations between man and nature become closer and more intimate. The Chinese philosopher loved to escape from the material and petty surroundings of the city into the solitudes of the mountains. We hear of a wandering recluse, a wealthy man, who leaves all behind him and is found living in an old boat at the edge of a mountain lake. When asked why, instead of living in luxury at home, he preferred to roam, he replied, 'With the dome of heaven as my roof, the bright moon my companion, and the four seas my inseparable friends, what is it that you mean by roaming?'

From this new outlook on nature arises a new treatment, at once less naturalistic but more intimate than before.



386. KWANYIN

After Wu-Tao-tzu. Chinese; tenth to twelfth century

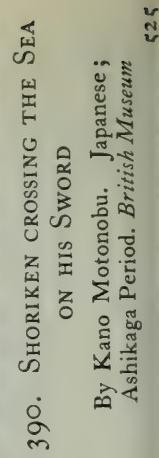
Collection of Mr C. L. Freer



387. BIRDS AND LOTUS

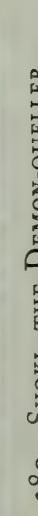
Chinese. Unknown master of Sung Dynasty

British Museum



390. SHORIKEN CROSSING THE SEA
ON HIS SWORD

By Kano Motonobu. Japanese;
Ashikaga Period. British Museum



389. SHOKI, THE DEMON-QUELLER

By Cho Densu. Japanese; Ashikaga Period
British Museum

388. TIGER

By Mu Chi. Chinese; Sung dynasty
British Museum

PAINTING

As the essential truth was the inner unity of nature under the diversity of form, so it was the spirit of nature, not its mere outward aspect, that the artist sought to express. So instead of realistic colouring we have the monochrome sketch in ink, where with a few delicate washes in tender greys the whole mystery of mountain and stream is suggested. Instead of the wealth of detail of the Tosa masters we have the bold, rough sketch, conveying the emotional message of the subject with the least possible obtrusion of the material element.

The poetry of nature was crystallized and formalized in a series of eight subjects termed the *Sho-sho Hakkei*, the scenes being originally taken from the scenery of the Chinese rivers Hsiao and Hsiang; these eight views are repeated again and again by generations of artists, each giving his own personal interpretation of the themes.

The subjects are : (1) *Homing Sails from a Far Coast*; (2) *Evening Snow on the Mountains*; (3) *Fine Weather after a Stormy Day*; (4) *The Evening Bell from a Distant Temple*; (5) *The Autumn Moon on Lake Tung-ting*; (6) *Sunset over a Fishing Village*; (7) *Wild Geese alighting on a Marshy Plain*; (8) *Night Rain on the Two Rivers*.

Human figures are introduced, usually as part of the general scene. Philosophers and recluses in the midst of mountain solitudes are depicted in this characteristic style of monochrome wash, which brings the calligraphic quality of the painting into even greater prominence than before. Sometimes, also, we have separate figures of Buddhist saints, studies of tiger and dragon, paintings of birds and flowers. But here too it is the inner spirit that is expressed—the swift flight of the bird, not the feathers of its plumage; the ferocity of the tiger, not the stripes on its coat.

It is strange how, so many centuries before, the Chinese artist and philosopher should have anticipated the attitude of Wordsworth toward nature. Walter Pater's words applied to him might equally form a description of a painter of the Sung Period: 'Human life indeed is for him only an accidental grace on an expressive landscape. When he thought of man it was of man in the presence and under the

THE FAR EAST

influence of these effective natural objects and linked to them by many associations. . . . By raising nature to the level of human thought he gives it power and expression ; he subdues man to the level of nature and gives him thereby a certain breadth and coolness and solemnity.'

Another phase of Sung painting, differing from the simple monochrome wash, is the flower-painting, which is carried out in rich full colouring reminiscent of that of the Tang masters. The exquisite delicacy and tenderness of these fragile forms makes even the finest European flower-painting look heavy and coarse.

The names of some eight hundred Sung painters of note are recorded, but, alas ! the Mongol invasion which brought the dynasty to an end swept away the greater part of their work. A certain amount has survived, however. Japan especially has proved an asylum for works of the Chinese masters, and enough remains for us to realize the splendour of this period of artistic development.

The first great outstanding name in the history of Sung painting is that of Li Lung Mien, famous as a painter of Buddhist subjects. He seems to have been the first to depict Kwanyin, the Goddess of Mercy, as seated on a rock, a subject repeated so frequently by the Japanese masters. Several examples of his work are reproduced in the *Kokka* ; and the Freer Collection, Detroit, contains a fine example of a Buddhist saint, or *Arhat*, with a lion, attributed to this master. The outstanding feature of these religious works is their solemn and majestic rhythm of line. Among the numerous followers and imitators of Li Lung Mien perhaps the one who comes nearest to him in spirit is Cho Densu, the Japanese master of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

But the most characteristic works of the Sung masters are to be found in their monochrome landscapes, already referred to. Hsia Kuei and Ma Yuan (known as Kakei and Bayen in Japan, where most of their surviving works are preserved) are the most famous of these landscapists, and worthy to be ranked with them is the Emperor Hui Tsung.

Another great figure is Mu Chi (Mokkei in Japanese),
526

PAINTING

celebrated alike for his landscapes, his Buddhist paintings, and his studies of dragons, tigers, and birds. In the British Museum there is a tiger by him full of grim power, while his studies of wild geese, of storks, and of monkeys—many of them reproduced in the *Kokka*—are equally characteristic.

Many, however, of the finest works we possess of the Sung Period are by unknown masters. Two such examples are in the British Museum, one a study of wild geese, monumental in its strength and simplicity, the other a painting of white storks amid flowering lotus-plants by the water's edge, glowing with splendid colour, exquisite in the delicacy of flower and leaf, and majestic in its harmony of rhythmic line.

But in the year 1280 this wonderful and complex civilization disappeared before the invading armies of Genghis Khan.

In the Ming Period (1368–1644), which succeeds the short reign of the Mongol dynasty, while some artists, such as Lin Liang, continue to work in the traditional monochrome style of the Sung masters, most of the painting is in a lighter vein. *Genre* scenes become popular. *The Hundred Children*—children at work, children at play, children in all the occupations of their busy little lives—is a subject repeated by generations of Chinese painters. In place of the austere landscapes of the old masters we have a more naturalistic art. Flowers and birds are painted in bright and gay colouring. The minor arts, and particularly the making of porcelain, which reaches the highest perfection, flourish exceedingly. But, while full of charm, the work has lost much of the old dignity and power, and with the Ming Period the decay of Chinese painting sets in.

(d) Later Stages of Japanese Painting

When the Sung dynasty was swept away by the invading hordes of Mongols Japan was also threatened, and a huge armada set out for its conquest. But as the hostile ships lay off the shore a great storm arose, and the destruction of the Mongolian fleet was even more complete than that of the Spanish Armada. So Japan preserved her independence,

THE FAR EAST

and as the destruction of works of art in China continued the island kingdom became at once a refuge for Chinese culture and a storehouse of Chinese art.

It is during the latter part of the Ashikaga Period (A.D. 1335-1573) that this new wave of Chinese influence appears definitely as a force in Japanese art, and just as the earlier Japanese painting of the Tosa Period reflects the style of the Tang dynasty, so the austere art of the Ashikaga masters reflects that of the later Sung Period.

The forerunner of the new style is seen in Cho Densu (1351-1427). A monkish painter of great piety—a Fra Angelico in his own country—he followed very closely in the footsteps of the Chinese Buddhist master, Li Lung Mien.

The most characteristic work of the Ashikaga masters, however, is to be found in their monochrome paintings. The founder of the school is said to have been Josetsu, a Chinese priest who visited Japan toward the end of the fourteenth century; and in his pupil Shiubun, a priest of the temple of Sokokuji, we have the first Japanese exponent of the style. A fine example of his misty landscapes is in the British Museum.

At the court of Yoshimasa—who laid aside his Shogunate and retired to end his days in an atmosphere of culture and refinement—the exquisite culture of the Ashikaga Period, with its ideals of severity and reticence in taste, reached its culmination. Not only did these ideals find their expression in literature, music, and painting, but also in such forms as landscape-gardening and flower-design; and all forms were combined in a unique way in the *Cha-no-yu*, or tea-ceremony, so eloquently described in Okakura Kakuso's delightful *Book of Tea*.

At Yoshimasa's court the central figure of a group of famous men was Noami, renowned as calligrapher, painter, poet, art critic, and connoisseur of sword-blades. How great he was in painting may be seen from his tiger in the British Museum. Working along with him were his son, Soami, and his grandson, Gei-ami.

Soami is renowned as a designer of landscape gardens. Of his paintings the *Daruma* in the British Museum is a

PAINTING

magnificent specimen, dashed off in the boldest style with a thick reed-brush, while in landscape he produces work of great delicacy and beauty.

But the greatest figure in the Chinese school of the Ashikaga Period is that of Sesshiu (1420-1506). In his youth he studied under Shiubun at the Buddhist temple of Sokokuji, and in his hands the delicate style of his master is transformed into something very massive and strong and astonishingly individual. To study his work is to realize what a wonderfully expressive instrument the calligraphic brush-line of the Chinese school can be. But the personality is greater even than the technique. He uses the brush-line with the freedom of a master. In his hands it becomes something very masculine and virile—at times angular and jagged like forked lightning. Yet when we step back and look at the whole effect it is wonderful how everything falls into its due place. His foregrounds stand out with abrupt sharpness, his distances fade away in a misty vagueness. At the age of forty-seven Sesshiu visited China, being received with great honour and remaining there some three years.

Famous chiefly as a landscapist, he also painted a number of figure subjects. A fine series of his works is in the British Museum, including not only landscapes, but a vigorous figure subject, *Hotei and Children*, painted at the age of eighty-three. His masterpiece, the *makimono* in the collection of Prince Mori of Choshun—a landscape scroll 50 feet long by 15 inches wide—may be well studied in Japanese reproductions.

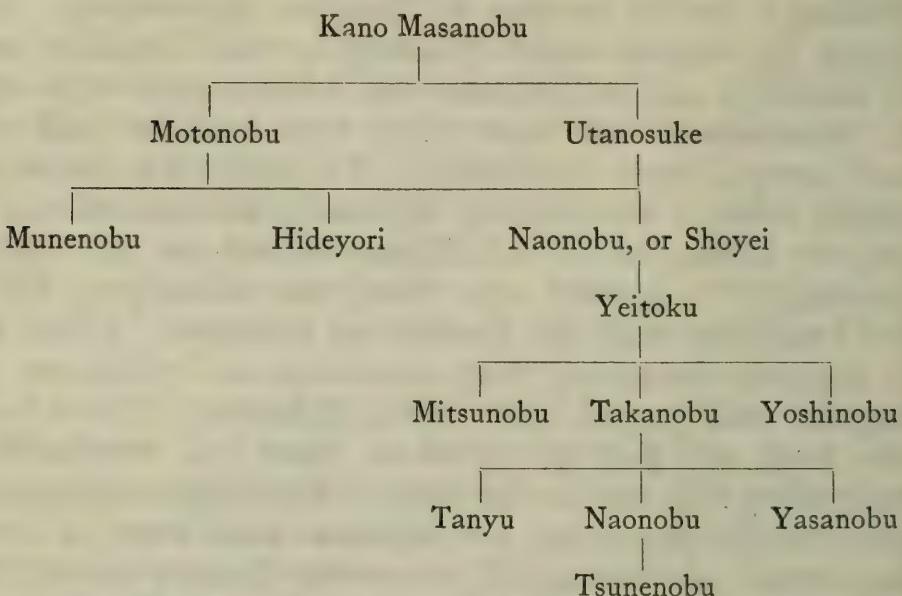
Sesshiu is followed by a group of painters working in a closely similar style, of whom the chief are Shiugetsu (who accompanied him on his visit to China) and Sesson.

But the Chinese Renaissance of the Ashikaga Period leaves its deepest imprint on Japanese art in the Kano school, perhaps the most famous of all Japanese schools of painting. Superseding the old Tosa school in the sixteenth century as the official school of painting, its prestige has lasted almost until the present day, and it has produced a great series of famous artists. One curious feature, especially in the earlier stages of the school, is the way in which

THE FAR EAST

artistic talent of a high order is transmitted from father to son, as the following table will show.

THE KANO SCHOOL



In the Kano school the monochrome ink sketch of the Chinese masters undergoes a transformation. Its sobriety and dignity is exchanged for a handling somewhat more lively, expressing more directly the vivacity and nimble wit of the Japanese race.

The first master of the school is Masanobu, said to have been a pupil of Oguri Sotan, a contemporary of Noami, in whose work a somewhat more familiar note is struck than in the typical Chinese style.

But it is in his son, Kano Motonobu (1476-1559), that we find the real founder of the Kano school. An infant prodigy at the age of four, he early found a place in the court of the Shogun Yoshimasa. Then we hear of years spent in wandering about the country, studying nature directly and supporting himself by the sale of his sketches. Finally we find him married to the daughter of Mitsunobu, an old Tosa court-painter, and succeeding his father-in-law in his official position.

Motonobu's work is of wonderful versatility. Figure subjects, landscapes, flower-studies, birds—all flowed from his brush. Sometimes he used the monochrome ink style



391. MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE
By Sesshiu. Japanese; Ashikaga Period
British Museum



392. 'EVENING SNOW ON THE MOUNTAINS'
By Sesson. Japanese; Ashikaga Period
British Museum

P. 393. KWANNON
V. T. D. 393

393. KWANNON



PAINTING

of the Chinese Renaissance, sometimes, and especially in his flower and bird subjects, a richly coloured style reminiscent of the earlier Chinese work, and occasionally the style of the old Tosa masters.

How powerful his work in Indian ink is may be seen from the magnificent *Shoriken* in the British Museum. Here the power and swing of the Kano brushwork is seen to full advantage—freer and more flexible than the Chinese style, and full of nervous force. Motonobu's brother Utanosuke is also an artist of the first rank, and the line is continued by his three sons, Munenobu, Hideyori, and Shoyei.

In his grandson, Yeitoku (1543–90), we have another painter of outstanding power. But by this time social conditions are widely different from those of the days of the cultured court of the Shogun Yoshimasa. The Ashikaga dynasty has been overthrown, and the actual power is concentrated in the hands of rough soldiers with little of the culture and refinement of earlier days. Nobunaga, who from a lowly position carved his way with his sword to the supreme power, was followed by his lieutenant Hideyoshi, and to both of those Yeitoku acted as official painter, decorating the castle of Ando for Nobunaga and the palace of Momoyama for Hideyoshi.

A new style of art arose to meet the new conditions. In place of the dignity and austerity of the Chinese and early Kano styles, something more showy and striking was demanded. But such was the genius of Yeitoku that in his hands this richness of decoration, which otherwise might easily have degenerated into vulgarity, took the form of an art of real magnificence and splendour.

On the walls of the palace of Momoyama he painted bold and striking decorations of pine-trees, in rich colour on a gold ground. It was the old Tosa work on a heroic scale and carried out with the swing and freedom of the Kano brush. In the palace also were a hundred large folding screens, in colour and gold, painted by Yeitoku and his pupils, with which the road was lined on the days of State processions. In this work we have the beginning of the gorgeous decorative style which reaches its climax in the Korin school a little later.

THE FAR EAST

In the seventeenth century comes a revival of the earlier traditions of the Kano school in the work of the three brothers (grandsons of Yeitoku), Tanyu, Naonobu, and Yasanobu.

In the first we have one of the great masters of the school, a worthy successor to Masanobu, Motonobu, and Yeitoku. In his hands the monochrome ink painting is restored to its former position of pre-eminence. Two magnificent six-fold landscape screens in this style are in the British Museum. His brushwork is amazingly free and sweeping—seemingly careless, but never failing to give, as by some magic, precisely the subtle effect intended. That he was no mere *virtuoso*, however, may be seen from the painting of Monjiu (the God of Literature) in the same collection, a work of serene dignity and beauty.

Naonobu, the second brother, was an artist cast in a gentler mould, producing work of great delicacy and beauty. His studies of birds and flowers in particular, with a peculiar use of a soft blurred outline, have a special charm of their own.

Yasanobu, though a capable painter, is rather overshadowed by the greater talents of his two elder brothers.

In Tsunenobu (1636–1713), the son of Naonobu, we have an artist who seems almost an echo of Tanyu. The Kano school is now established as the successor of the old Tosa school, and in the official academies the style of Tanyu becomes stereotyped: his works are copied slavishly by generation after generation, till all originality is well-nigh crushed out.

One other figure of note should, however, be mentioned—that of Hanabusa Itcho (1652–1724), who adds to the brilliant brushwork of the Kano school a gay humour and nimble wit of his own.

The traditions of the Kano school have been carried right down to the present day, the last painter of note being Kawanabe Kyosai (1831–89).

But the seventeenth century, which saw the last phase of splendour in the Kano school, also produced other art developments of great interest. Hideyoshi was succeeded as Shogun in 1603 by Ieyasu, a man of different calibre

PAINTING

from his two predecessors. A great general, he was also a great statesman, and in his family—the Tokugawas—the office of Shogun became hereditary. The Shogun, or Prime Minister in Japan, was, it should be said, the virtual ruler of the country, the Mikado, the head of the royal house, having only nominal authority.

Iyeyasu's first act was to secure his own position. The rebel chiefs were ruthlessly dealt with and brought under his control. As a condition of his position of local authority each *daimio* was required to render personal homage on a yearly visit to the Shogun's court at Yedo (now Kioto), and thus the central authority was made permanent. The country was closed to outside influences, no intercourse with foreign countries being permitted, and Iyeyasu set himself to the task of the peaceful development of the resources of Japan.

A period of material prosperity set in, marked by a great revival of the minor arts and crafts. In metal-work, in pottery and porcelain, in embroidery, and in lacquer exquisite things were produced. The products of the kilns of Satsuma rivalled the finest wares of China, and more unique still is the Japanese lacquer, built up slowly and with infinite patience in translucent layers, and richly decorated with gold, mother-of-pearl, and various other substances.

In painting a number of new phases demand our attention.

The rich and striking decoration of Yeitoku and his followers is taken up and carried still further in the Korin school. The founder of the style is Honnami Koyetsu. Little of his life is known, but he worked during the first part of the seventeenth century, and was better known as a lacquerer than as a painter. Enough, however, of his work has been discovered—chiefly in the form of screens and panels for mural decoration—to mark him as a designer of great originality and as a rich and powerful colourist.

He is followed by a figure little less shadowy, Tawaraya Sotatsu, who is noted as perhaps the finest of all Japanese flower-painters. Never by any artist was the springing growth of fern, plant, or flower expressed with greater

THE FAR EAST

vitality ; and to this is added fresh and brilliant colour, applied not in the precise and formal Tosa method, but splashed boldly in with the calligraphic sweep of the Kano brushwork.

It is, however, in the work of the third master, Korin (1655–1716), that the style to which he gives his name reaches its culmination. To Western eyes he stands out in audacity of conception and in sheer unexpectedness as the most striking of all Japanese artists. His great screens—floral designs on gold and silver backgrounds, studies of rocks and waves, etc.—form superb decorations. Form is conventionalized with the most astonishing boldness ; colour is used in vivid masses ; and the whole effect brims with life and spirit.

In the British Museum is a fine series of his works, including a typical wave screen—a wave-beaten rock rising out of the sea. Its sides are crusted with curious weather-stains, dwarf pines stick out from it, and below coil the seething masses of waves. The extraordinary thing is that, though nothing could be farther removed from nature than the conventional treatment of the wave-forms, they convey the feeling of the ceaseless turmoil of the waters with astonishing truth and force.

Another phase of Tokugawa painting—and here we have a treatment directly opposed to that of the Korin school—is found in the group of naturalistic schools deriving their inspiration from contemporary Chinese painters.

One of these Chinese artists, Chin-nan-pin, in 1731 visited Japan, where he had many pupils. An example of his work, *Rabbits at the Foot of a Tree*, is in the British Museum.

Of the Japanese naturalistic painters several names stand out, chief among them being that of Maruyama Okio (1733–95), the founder of a sub-school of his own. Birds, fishes, and landscape are rendered by him with extraordinary delicacy and truth to detail, but with a certain power and insight which is far removed from superficial realism.

Even more popular is Mori Sosen (1747–1821), of the Shijo school, one of Japan's greatest animal-painters, and especially renowned as a painter of monkeys. But here again, in addition to the most minute and delicate detail



395. WAVE SCREEN

By Korin. Japanese; Tokugawa Period
British Museum

534



396. ONE OF THIRTY-SIX VIEWS OF FUJI
Colour-print. By Hokusai. Japanese; Tokugawa Period



397. HORSEMEN
Woodcut. From the *Mangwa* of Hokusai. Japanese; Tokugawa Period

PAINTING

and subtle rendering of the furry texture of the animals' bodies, we have both insight and sympathy, for Sosen spent his summers in the woods, living among the monkeys he delighted to paint.

Goshun and Ganku are two other leading figures among the numerous naturalistic painters of the day.

But the most interesting phase of Tokugawa painting is to be found in the Ukiyo school. Here we have something more than a mere difference in style : it reflects the rise of a new social order and foreshadows the coming change in social conditions, for in the Ukiyo school there arises in Japan for the first time an art of the people.

The term Ukiyo signifies ' pictures of the passing world ' —that is, not ideal subjects such as we find in religious and formal art, but frank transcripts of scenes from contemporary life. Of course, this is not an entirely new thing in Japanese art. We occasionally find such subjects portrayed in the work of the old Tosa masters, but for the first time we find a school openly adopting this style and this outlook as its main characteristics.

Its founder is Matabei (1578–1650), an artist whose work is now almost unknown, but who seems to have drawn his inspiration direct from the old Tosa masters.

He is followed by Moronobu (1625–94), in whose work a gayer and more popular note is struck. Nothing could be daintier and more full of grace than some of his little idylls depicting gaily dressed youths and maidens sitting in the meadows under the blossoming trees, or dancing in circles to the strains of music. But Moronobu's place in Japanese art is not only due to the charm of his paintings. He was responsible also for giving a new direction to the whole development of the Ukiyo school, for he was the first artist of the school to have his designs reproduced in the form of woodcuts. His single sheets printed in black from a wood block—sometimes with the colour added by hand—achieved instant popularity, and from this time, though Ukiyo painting still continues, we shall find the chief work of the school in the form of woodcuts.

From the simple print in black from one block, the process gradually grows in complexity until we have the

THE FAR EAST

elaborate print in many colours from a series of blocks. The most striking characteristic of this method of colour-printing as compared with painting is its cheapness, many impressions being taken from the same blocks ; and so in the colour-prints we find the pictures of the common people.

The artists and craftsmen, designers, engravers, and printers, were all of the artisan class, and the subjects they chose were those beloved by the people. Indeed, one favourite field of the colour-printers—designs for the theatre and illustrations of actors in character—dealt with a subject which was tabooed by all the better-class people.

The artist to whom is given the credit of bringing the process of colour-printing to its full development is Suzuki Harunobu (1718–70). Eschewing theatrical subjects, he gives us scenes of Japanese daily life, intimate little *genre* pictures as true to life as those of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century, but with a wonderful freshness and daintiness of colouring. He is followed by Kiyonaga (1752–1814), working in a stronger and bolder fashion, by Utamaro (1753–1806), whose prints of female figures are among the most exquisite products of the school, and by many others.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, in the work of Hokusai (1760–1849) and his follower Hiroshige, from figure design the colour-printers turn their attention to landscape—not, however, to the classic landscape of the old Chinese school, but to frankly topographical scenes, redeemed, nevertheless, from all commonplaceness by the decorative beauty of the treatment.

Hokusai's famous *Thirty-six Views of Fuji* stand out for originality of design and beauty of linear composition as among the great landscapes of the world. He is equally famous as a figure-draughtsman, and in his *Mangwa*—rapid sketches illustrating the whole popular life of Japan, issued in a series of volumes—we have a pictorial encyclopaedia of extraordinary interest and completeness. He lived to a great age, his activity continuing unimpaired till the very end.

In the work of his follower, Hiroshige (1797–1858), we have a rather different phase of landscape art. He particularly delighted in evening scenes, views on the Sumida

PAINTING

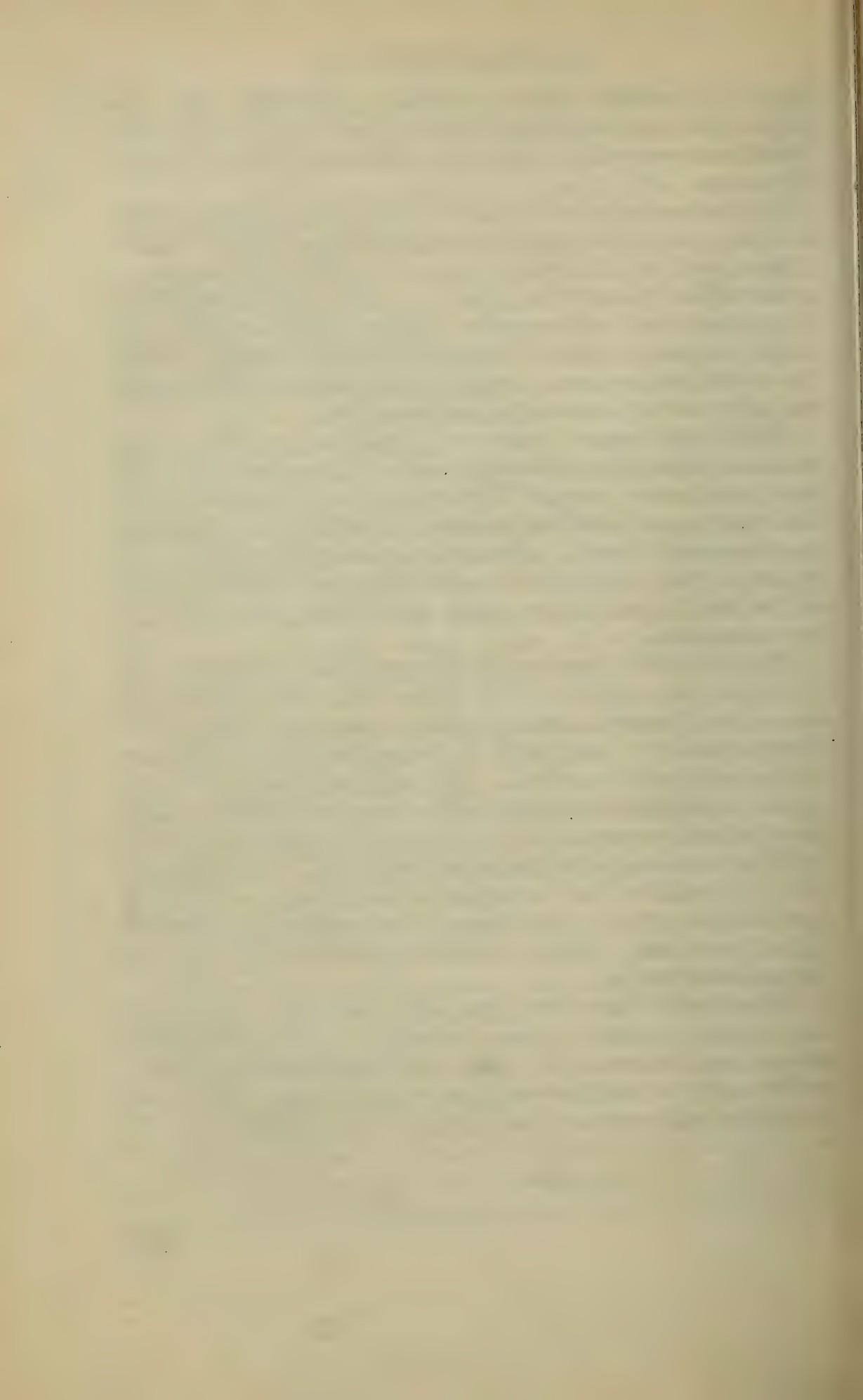
river, the twilight greys and blues contrasting with the yellow lights of the paper lanterns ; and from such prints Whistler borrowed the idea for his famous series of Thames nocturnes.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century a degradation sets in. The virility and originality of the earlier masters is lost, and the decline is hastened by the introduction of crude aniline colours from Europe. But in the hundred and fifty years of its existence the *Ukiyo-e* school certainly produced the most beautiful examples of colour-printing which the world has yet seen, a unique combination of fine design, exquisite colour, and skilful craftsmanship.

The more recent phases of Japanese art are of less interest. Since the throwing open of Japan to the world fifty years ago a wave of Western influence has passed over the country, and with marvellous adaptability the Japanese have responded to it. Already in science, in commerce, in the arts of war they rank as one of the great civilized powers of the world, and of late years have taken their place in world-councils.

But, alas ! the invasion of Western ideals of culture and civilization has spread to the field of art, and a great part of modern Japanese artistic effort is a mere imitation of European work. For a while it looked as if the old distinctive art of Japan was dead. And as Conrad says, ‘ History repeats itself, but the special call of an art which has passed away is never reproduced. It is as utterly gone out of the world as the song of a destroyed wild bird.’ Fortunately, the old tradition has never quite been lost, and now a reaction has set in. At present a movement to revert to the old national styles is steadily gathering force in the Japanese art world.

Who knows but that time will show that Japan can once again receive a new culture, a new civilization, absorb just as much of it as suits her, rejecting the rest, and forming out of the combination of old and new ideals something quite original and distinctively Japanese ?



INDEX

References to the illustrations are printed in heavy type. The number in these cases is that of the illustration.

A., P., and S. after names mean respectively architect, painter, and sculptor.

- ACADEMIES of art at Paris and Rome, 226, 267-8. Other academies in Paris, 268 n.
Adam (four brothers), A., 462
Adrian VI, 43
Aigues-Mortes. Ramparts of, 186
Aix (Provence), as medieval art centre, 184, 191, 194, 221
Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen). Cathedral, 324. Royal Chapel built by Charlemagne, 375
Ajanta. Rock-temple, 515. The paintings, 384, 515-16
Albani, P. *Baptism, Madonna del Roseto, Dancing Cupids*, 130, 107
Albertinelli, P., 65-7. *Visitation*, 58
Aleman, Juan and Rodrigo, S., 153
Aleotti, A., 100
Alessi, A., 9 and n., 14 n.
Alfieri, Count Benedetto, A., 99
Algardi, A.S., 93, 95. *Leo the Great and Attila*, 110
Allori, Cristofano, P. *Judith*, 103, 131
Almedina. See Ferrando di Almedina
Altäre (carved reredoses), 380 sq., 392, 436 sq.
Altenberg. Gothic church, 378
Altpörtel, Das, at Speyer, 379, 288
Alva, Duke of. Portrait by Mor (?), 339
Alvares, S., 157
Amaravati. Great *stupa*, now destroyed, 502
Amati, A., 103
Amboise, Castle of, 200, 152
Amitabha, the Impersonal Buddha, 506, 515
Ammanati, A.S., 10, 28
Amsterdam. Oude and Nieuwe Kerk, 312 n. Royal Palace, 320
Andernach. Church, 376
Andrea del Sarto, P., 40. *Annunciation*, 39. *Madonna del Sacco*, 37. *Deposizione, Madonna delle Arpie, Last Supper, Sacrifice of Isaac*, 41. In France, 216. *Tobias, Judith, Charity*, 216
Angers. Ramparts, 186
Angoulême. Saint-Pierre, 310 n.
Anguier, Fr., S., 214. Monument to Duke of Montmorency, 212 n.
Animals in sculpture, 249 and n.
Anne, Ste, et la jeune Vierge, 209 n., 164
Antwerp. Siege, 307 n. Cathedral, 311 and n., 230, 312. Saint-Jacques, 312; pulpit, 315-16; stained glass, 325 n. Jesuits' (former) Church, 318. Hôtel de Ville, 316, 232. Drapers' and Tanners' Halls, 317. Edifice now Royal Palace, 319
Anuradhapura (Ceylon). Buddha statue, 503
Apollo del Belvedere, 5
Appiani, Andrea, P., 142-3. Frescos at Monza, 143
Arazzi, 85 n. And see Gobelins
Aretino, Pietro. See Pietro Aretino
Arhat, a Chinese saint, 526
Armstrong, Sir Walter: on Kneller, 351 n.; on Holbein, 446 n., 449
Arnstein. Church, 376
Arthur, King. His statue by Vischer, 401-2, 294
Asam, Cosmas and Egidio, decorators, 424
Asanga, Buddhist teacher. Fine wooden statue of, 511
Ashikaga Period of Japanese art, 528 sq.
Assisi. S. Maria degli Angeli, 3, 14 and n.
Astorga. Retablo, 155

HISTORY OF ART

- Audenarde. A little Notre-Dame, 311
 Audley End, Elizabethan mansion, 458
 Augsburg. Cathedral, 378, 395; its monuments, 395. Herculesbrunnen, Merkurbrunnen, 405, 407. Rathaus, 422
 Auvera, Jacob van de, S., 409
 Avalokitesvara, two forms of, 385
 Avignon, as medieval art centre, 184, 191, 221. Palais des Papes, 186, 194. School of painters, 193, 468. *Pietà*, 194, 147
 Azay-le Rûdeau, castle, 201
 Azzurri, A., 103
- BACCIO della Porta, P. See Bartolomeo
 Baciccio, P., 135. *Triumph of Name of Jesus*, 136
 Backere. See De Backere
 Backhuysen, Ludolph, marine painter, 370
 Bacon, Nathaniel, P., 470
 Baerse, Jacob de, wood-carver, 303 n., 315
 Bagnacavallo, P., 45, 123
 Bähr, Georg, A., 427
 Bakker, P., 364
 Balestra, Pietro, S., 408
 Bamberg. Cathedral, 376, 387; sculptures, 376 n., 382-3; *Last Judgment*, 383 and n.; *Ecclesia and Synagogue*, 383 and n.; equestrian statue, 383
 Bandinelli, Baccio, S., 24-5
 Baratta, Fr., S. Monument to Valier family, 111
 Barbieri. See Guercino
 Bardwell, Thomas, P., 473
 Barelli, A., 423
 Barentsz, P., 356
 Barocco and rococo, 14 and n., 96, et al. Barocco decorators, 134 sq.
 French baroque, 412-16, et al. German Barock, 227, 235, et al. See Jesuitic style
 Bartolini, Lor., S., 117. *Carità, Fiducia in Dio*, Demidoff monument, 118
 Bartolomeo, Fra (Baccio della Porta), P., 65-8. *Last Judgment*, 66-7; *Deposizione (Pietà)*, 66, 59; *Madonna with Saints*, 67; *St Catharine and the Magdalene*, 67 n.; *St Mark, Pietà*, 68
 Barye, S., 197, 248-9
 Basile, A., 104
 Bassano, Fr., the Elder (Da Ponte), P., 56
 Bassano, Jac., P. *Paradise, Nativity, Animals entering Ark, Burning Bush, Concert*, 57 n.
 Bassano, Fr., the Younger, P. *St Catharine, Christ's Visit to Mary and Martha*, 57, 53
 Bassano, Leandro, P., 57
 Bath. Buildings by architects Wood, 462
 Batoni, Pompeo, P. *Reading Magdalene, Adoration of Shepherds, Achilles and Daughters of Lycomedes, Fall of Simon Magus*, 142, *Chiron and Achilles*, 117
 Bavaria, statue at Munich, 407
 Bazzi. See Sodoma
 Beale, Mary, P., 471
 Beauregard Castle (Cheverny). Collection of pictures, 218 n.
 Becerra, wood-carver, 155
 Bedlam Hospital. Figures of Melancholy and Madness, 465
 Beer, Franz, A., 424
 Bell, Henry, A., 462
 Bellechose. Painter at Burgundian court. *Martyrdom of S. Denis* perhaps by him. See Malouel
 Bellini, Gian, P., 48
 Benvenuti, Pietro, P. Decorates Cappella dei Principi and rooms in Pitti Gallery, 143
 Berlin. Neustadt, Unter den Linden, Friedrichstadt, Old Burg, 427-9. Schloss, 313, 428. Charlottenburger Schloss, Opera House, 428. Bridges, Royal Library, 429
 Bernini, Giov. Lor. A.S.P. (1) As architect, 91, 92-3, (at Paris) 107, 232, 269 and n. (2) As sculptor, 106-9. *Aeneas, David, Rape of Proserpine, Apollo and Daphne*, 88, 108, *S. Teresa*, 89, 108, *Beata Ludovica*, 108. Fountain statuary: *Il Tritone, La Barcaccia, Moro, and Quattro Fiumi*, 86, 108-9, *Trevi* (design of), 82, 109. Baldacchino in St Peter's, 109. Statue of St Longinus, 109. Monument of Urban VIII, 109; of Constantine, 109.

INDEX

- Doctors of the Church*, 109. Tomb of Alexander VII, 109. Statues on Bridge of S. Angelo and colonnade of St Peter's, 109. Portrait busts, 110. His pupils, 110-11. (3) As painter, 106 and n., 135 n.
- Bernini, Pietro, S.P. Monument to Clement VII, 107
- Berrettini, Pietro (Cortona), P., 135, 137. Decorates rooms of Pitti Gallery, 143
- Berruguete, Pedro, P., 164
- Berruguete, Alonso, A.S.P., 149, 154, 165
- Berry, Duc de. His illuminated prayer-book, 193. His collection of illuminated MSS., 324, 325
- Bertram, Meister, S. Wooden figure of Christ, 382
- Bettes, John, P. Portrait of Dr Butts, 470, 353
- Biard, S. Statue of Henry IV, 214
- Bird, Francis, S. Sculptures in St Paul's, statue of Queen Anne, monument to Dr Busby, 466
- Blake, William, writer and artist, 482
- Blenheim Palace, 461
- Bles, P., 333, 337. *Rest on Flight to Egypt*, 245
- Blois Castle, 185, 200
- Blondeel, S., 321
- Blondel, Fr., A., 235
- Bodhisattva. Buddha as King, 503. Attendant Bodhisattvas, 506, 379, 508. See also 381, 383, 384
- Boileau. Portrait by Rigaud, 275
- Bol, Frans, P., 339
- Bologna. Teatro Comunale, 100
- Boltraffio, P., 35, 36
- Bonifazio (de' Pitati) of Verona, P. *Judgment of Solomon*, 55
- Bonington, Richard Parkes, P. (water-colourist). *Street Scene in Bologna*, 489
- Bonvicino, Alessandro, P. See Moretto
- Bordeau. Theatre, 237
- Bordone, Paris, P. *The Sibyl and Augustus*, 52, *The Lovers, Baptism, Madonna*, 56, *Consignment of Ring*, 54
- Borgognone, P., 34, 36
- Borobudur (Java). Shrine like Indian stupa, 502
- Borromini, Francesco, A., 93, 94
- Borromini, Giovanni, A., 94 and n.
- Bosch (Aken), P. *Visit of Magi*, 247. *Mocking of Christ, Christ bearing the Cross*, 334 and n.
- Bosio, S., 244 and n.
- Bosse, engraver, 223, 266, 272
- Bouchardon, S., 242
- Boucher, P., 281-3. Character of his work, 282. *Lever du Soleil, Couche du Soleil*, 213. Other works in Wallace Gallery (*Triumph of Amphitrite*, etc.), works in Louvre (*Venus and Vulcan, Diana and Nymphs*), 214. His etchings, 283
- Bouman, Jan, A., 429
- Bourdichon, P. Possibly is the 'Master of Moulins.' Book of Hours, 195
- Bourges. House of Jacques Cœur, 188, 141. Medieval art centre, 190, 191
- Bouts, Dirk, P. *Entombment, Virgin and Child, Last Supper*, 328, 237. *Justice and Injustice of Emperor Otto*, 328
- Braghettone, Il. See Volterra, Daniele da
- Bramante of Urbino, A. At Milan, 1 (see Vol. I, 284). At Rome, 2 n., 4, 6-7, 6, 8, 9. Pupils, 9 n.
- Breda. Tomb of Count Engelbert, 322 and n., 464. See *Surrender of Breda*, by Velasquez
- Bremen. Rathaus, 420, 307. Gewerbehaus, 422
- Bresciano. See Prospero
- Breslau. Rathaus, 420
- Breughel, Peter, the Elder, P., 330, 335. *Village Wedding, Return of Herds, Magi*, 249, *Massacre of Innocents, Road to Calvary*, 251. Drawings, 325
- Breughel, Peter, the Younger, P., 330, 335
- Breughel, Jan, P., 330, 335. *Hearing, 250; St Anthony*, 336
- Brézé, Duc de. Tomb, 211, 169
- Bril, Paul, P., 338, 339. His paintings in Italy, 339. Landscapes, 252, 339
- Broederlam, 193 n.
- Bronze-founders in Nürnberg, 399, 400 sq.
- Bronzino, P., 41-2 and n., 40

HISTORY OF ART

- Brooking, Charles, *P.* Follower of W. van de Velde, 474
- Brou. Church, 198, 211
- Brouwer, Adriaen, *P.*, 352, 363
- Bruant, Libéral, *A.*, 207 *n.*, 234
- Bruchsal. Residenz, 424
- Bruges. Saint-Sauveur, 311. Notre-Dame, 321. Belfry, 313 (*see* Vol. I, 235). Hôpital Saint-Jean, 314. Law-court building, 317. Palais de Justice and *Cheminée du Franc*, 234, 321
- Brüggemann, Meister, *S.* *Way to Calvary*, 382
- Brunelleschi, *A.*, 1, 2
- Brunnen** (fountains). Der Schöne Brunnen, 396 *and n.*, 295; Apollo-brunnen, 404, Gänsemännchen-brunnen, 404, Dudelsackspieler-brunnen, Tugendbrunnen, Perseus-brunnen, 404, 296, 406, Gerechtigkeitsbrunnen, 404, Marktbrunnen (Mainz), S. Georgsbrunnen (Prag and Rothenburg), and others, 405
- Brunswick (Braunschweig). Rathaus, 378, 302, 419
- Brussels. Sainte-Gudule, 229, 311; pulpit, 315-16, 235; stained glass, 325 *n.* Notre-Dame de Sablon, 312. Hôtel de Ville, 318. Augustine church, 318. Maisons des Corporations (guild houses), 233, 318. Palais de Justice, 319
- Buddha (Gautama), 499, 500. As Sakyamuni in India, 515. In early sculpture only symbolically represented, 503. Types of figures, 503-4, 377, 378. Indian Buddhism based on old nature-worship, 500. Buddhist scriptures and pilgrims, and forms of Buddhism, 506. Indian Buddhism merged in Chinese, the Buddhist trinity, 506. Chinese Buddha sculptures, 507-8. Japanese Buddhism and trinity, 509-10. Colossal bronze Buddha at Nara, 511. Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 517. Shingon sect, 520. Zen sect, 524
- Bullant, Jean, *A.*, 205, 232
- Burg (Burgen).** See *Schlösser*
- Burgkmair, *P.*, 437 *n.*, 438. *Self and Wife*, 438 *and n.*; *Madonna im Rosenhag*, *Magi*, 438. Woodcuts, 438
- Burgos. Cathedral, 147; early sculpture, 152
- Burgundian dukes, 190, 305-6
- Burgundian (Flemish-) school. Of sculpture, 190; of painting, 193. Carved altar-pieces in Carthusian church of Champmol (Dijon), 315
- Butts, Dr Edmund. Portrait by Bettes, 353, 473
- Byron. His attitude toward wild nature, 367-8
- Byzantine (so-called) frescos in North Spain, 162
- CADORE, Pieve di, 53 *n.*
- Caen. Saint-Pierre, 158, 204
- Cagnola, *A.*, 103
- Callot, engraver. *Fair at Florence*, *Misères de la Guerre*, 223, 266, 272 *and n.*
- Calvaert, Denis, *P.*, 128 *n.*
- Calvaries, 208-9, 392, 398, 400
- Cambridge. King's College Chapel, 456. Pembroke Chapel, 460
- Campion, Robert, *P.*, 326 *n.*
- Canaletto (Ant. Canale), *P.*, 140. *Piazzetta*, 116. In England, 474
- Canaletto (Bern. Bellotto), *P.*, 140
- Cano, Alonso, *S.P.*, 148 *n.*, 150, 164 *n.* At Granada, 156. As painter, 166
- Canova, Antonio, *S. Daedalus and Icarus*, 113, 93. Monument to Clement XIV, 92, 114. Monuments to Clement XIII and Alfieri, 114. The Vienna and Frari monument, 114. Monument (reliefs) to the Stuart princes, 114. *Perseus, Boxers, Hercules and Lichas*, 94, *Hector and Ajax*, *Theseus and Minotaur*, *Three Graces*, *Cupid and Psyche*, 114. Portrait statues of Washington, Napoleon, and Paolina Borghese (Bonaparte), 115 *and n.*, 96
- Canuti, *P.*, 136
- Cany, Castle of, 206
- Cappelle. *See* Van de Cappelle
- Carasale, *A.*, 102
- Caravaggio, Michelangelo Amerighi da, *P.*, 44, 126, 132. *Card-players*, *Deposition (Pietà)*, 99, 127
- Caravaggio, Polidoro da, *P.*, 44, 88, 126 *n.*
- Carcassonne, ramparts of, 186

INDEX

- Cardi (Cigoli), *P. St Peter healing Cripple, St Stephen, Ecce Homo*, 131
- Carezo, *P.*, 178
- Carignano, 99 *n.*
- Carloni (architects), 423
- Carpeaux, *S. La Danse*, 198, 249
- Carracci, Lodovico, *P.*, 44, 123. *Transfiguration, Vergine in Gloria (?)*, 124, 98
- Carracci, Agostino, *P.*, 44, 124–5. *Last Communion of St Jerome*, 125, and see Domenichino
- Carracci, Annibale, *P.*, 44, 125–6. *Vergine in Gloria (?)*, 98, *Pietà, Madonna of the Cherry*, frescos in Palazzo Farnese, 125. Landscapes, 125–6
- Carreño, *P.*, 178
- Carriera, Rosalba, *P.*, 141, 283 *n.*
- Carstens, designer and painter, 293, 453
- Caserta. Palace and Cascades, 102, 87
- Cassel. Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Wilhelmstal, Great Park, 425
- Castello, Bern., *P. Episodes from Tasso's Gerusalemme*, 136
- Castles. French: Romanesque, 186; later, 187, 193; of transition period, 199 *sq.* German: see *Schlösser* and *Burgen*. See also their names
- Castle Howard, 461
- Caylus, Count de, 294 and *n.*
- Cellini, Benvenuto. Sculptor and writer, 25–7. *Perseus and Medusa*, 31, *Ganymede, Nymph*, bust of Cosimo II, 25, *Diana of Fontainebleau*, 213 *n.* Quotation from his *Autobiography*, 26–7
- Cesari d'Arpino, *P.*, 135
- Chalgrin, *A.*, 238
- Châlons (near): Notre-Dame de l'Épine, 198
- Chambers, William, *A.* Builds Somerset House, 462, 345
- Chambord Castle, 185, 201, 153. Picture-gallery, 218 *n.*
- Champagne. See Philippe de Champagne
- Champmol. See Burgundian (Flemish-) school
- Chardin, *P.*, 280–1. His *natures mortes* and scenes from homely life, 'Benedicite,' 212, 281, 288. As pastellist, 284
- Charles I (England). Portrait by Van Dyck, 166
- Charles IV (Spain). Portrait by Goya, 137
- Charles V (Emperor). Portrait by Vasari, 42. With Titian at Bologna, 167. See 306
- Charles V (France). Bust, 139, 190
- Charles VII (France). Portrait by Fouquet, 142, 195
- Charles le Téméraire (Burgundian duke). His tomb, 322
- Charlottenburg. Schloss, 428
- Charonton, *P.*, 194
- Châteaux. See Castles
- Chatsworth. Decoration of park, 465. See also 238
- Chaudet, *S.* Statue of Napoleon, 244 *n.*
- Chaumont Castle, 199, 151
- Chavannes, Professor, 505–6
- Cheminée du Franc de Bruges*, 234, 321
- Chenonceaux Castle, 201, 154
- Chiaveri, *A.*, 426
- China. Dynasties (Chou, Han, Wei), 505–7, *et al.* Buddha sculptures, 507–8. Tang, Sung, and Ming Periods, 508, 524. Painting, as also writing, dates from about B.C. 2700; its characteristics, 513; the one very ancient painting, 514
- Chin-nan-pin. Chinese painter who (c. 1731) taught in Japan. Paintings in British Museum, 534
- Chiu-hsiang Hsien (China). Stone-carvings, 505
- Cho Densu, Japanese painter. Fore-runner of Ashikaga school, 526, 528. *Shoki, the Demon-queller*, 389
- Chodowiecki, Daniel, painter and engraver, 451
- Christian, King of Denmark. His tomb at Roeskilde, 321
- Christus, Petrus, *P. Story of S. Godeberte*, 327
- Churriguera, *A.* And 'churriguer-esque style,' 151
- Cibber, Caius, *S. Melancholy and Madness*, 465
- Cignani, *P.*, 131
- Cigoli, *P.* See Cardi
- Civitavecchia. The Arsenal, 92

HISTORY OF ART

- Classicism. Italian Neo-Classicism, 100, 112 sq., 141. French Classic architecture: *see* Lescot, Perrault, and section on later French architecture. French Classic painting: *see* Fontainebleau school, Vouet, Poussin, Le Brun, Boucher. French Neo-Classical school: *see* Louis David. German Neo-Classical architecture, 427, 428-9. German Neo-Classical painting: *see* Winckelmann and Mengs. English Neo-Classical sculpture, 466
- Claude (Gelée) le Lorrain, *P.*, 220, 250, 263-5. Character of his work, 263. Ruskin on Claude, 264. Constable on Claude, 265. *Embarkation of Queen of Sheba*, 205, 264; compared with Turner's *Dido building Carthage*, 265, and see 495; *Embarkation of St Ursula*, *Landing of Cleopatra*, 204, 265. His *Liber Veritatis*, 265, 495
- Cleef. *See* Van Cleef
- Clement VII, 15, 23, 43. Portrait by Sebastiano del Piombo, 54. Tomb, 25
- Clodion, *S.*, 243, 244
- Clouet, Jean, *P.* *Francis I*, 173, 219
- Clouet, François, *P.*, 219. *Elisabeth of Austria*, 174, 219
- Cochin, engineer, 283
- Coecke, Pieter, *S.*, 321
- Coello, Alonso, *P.*, 168
- Coello, Claudio, *P.*, 178. *St Louis IX adoring Christ*, *Arrival of the Bleeding Wafer*, 179
- Colbert and the French Academy of Art, 226, 233, 267, 268
- Colmar. Renaissance fountain, 405. Schongauer's *Madonna*, 319
- Cologne (Cöln). Foundation of Cathedral, 377 and n.; statues, 385; monument to founder, 385, 392 n. *Dombild*, 386, 316, 431-2. Rathaus, 419, 306, 425. Cologne school of painting, 431-2, 436
- Colombe, Michel, *S.*, 190, 209-10. *Prudence*, on tomb of Francis II of Brittany at Nantes, 166. *St George and the Dragon*, 167
- 'Colossal' style, 232. *See* Palladian style
- Column. Use and misuse, 1, 2
- Colyns de Nole, family of sculptors, 323
- Como. Dome of Cathedral, 99
- Compiègne, Château de, 236
- Condé, bust of. *See* Coysevox
- Confucius, 516
- Coninxloos, family of painters, 339
- Constable, John, *P.* Biographical, 491-2. Character of works, 492-3. *Flatford Mill*, 492, *The Haywain*, 492, 371, *Salisbury Cathedral, Leaping Horse*, *Cornfield*, *Valley Farm*, *Cenotaph*, 493
- Conti, Bernardino dei, *P.*, 36-7
- Contino, Antonio, *A.*, 12
- Contucci, Andrea. *See* Sansovino, Andrea
- Cooper, Samuel, *P.*, 469, 471. Miniature of Cromwell, 351
- Copley, John Singleton, *P.*, 481
- Coques (Cox), Gonzales, *P.*, 350
- Cordova Cathedral, 149 and n.
- Cornelis de la Haye (Corneille de Lyon), *P.*, 219
- Cornelius, Peter von, *P.*, 455
- Corradini, Antonio, *S.* *Pudicizia* (?), 112, 90. *Time unveiling Truth* (Dresden), 408
- Correggio (Ant. Allegri), *P.*, 46. *Assumption* (Parma), *Adoration*, *Zingarella Madonna*, *Madonna della Scodella*, 42, *Vierge au Panier*, *Venus and Mercury*, 41, *Il Giorno*, *Danae*, *Reading Magdalene*, 47
- Cortona. *See* Berrettini
- Cosimo, Piero di, *P.*, 39
- Cosway, Richard, *P.*, 481
- Cotes, Francis, *P.*, 451
- Cotman, John Sell, *P.* Biographical, 487-8. Watercolours: *Greta Bridge*, etc., 488, 368; sea-pieces, 488; drawings in vicinity of Norwich: *The Wold Afloat*, 488. Oil-paintings, 491. *See* Crome
- Coucy Castle, 186
- Cousin, *S.* *See* 169
- Coustou (Guillaume and Nicolas), *S.* *Rhône* and *Sâone*, 241, 242 n. *Chevaux de Marly*, 242
- Coustou, Guillaume, the Younger, 242
- Cox, David, *P.* (watercolourist), 489

INDEX

- Coysevox, S. Tomb of Mazarin, *Apollo and Muses, Mercury, Condé, Shepherd playing the flute*, 186, 240
- Cozens, Alexander, and his son John Robert, pioneers of English water-colourists, 484-5
- Cranach (Müller), Lucas, P. Biographical, 444-5. *Adam and Eve*, 327, *Christ and Adulteress, Judgment of Paris, Venuses and Eves, Crucifixion, Madonna and Child*, 328, large triptych, 329. Portraits, 445
- Cranach the Younger, P., 443
- Credi, Lorenzo di, P., 39 and n.
- Crome, John, P. Founder of Norwich school, with Cotman. Biographical, 489-90. *The Slate Quarries, Moonrise on the Yare*, 490. *Poringland Oak*, 369, *Mousehold Heath*, 491
- Crome, John Bernay, P., 491
- Cuvillés, A., 423-4
- Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz, P., 359 n.
- Cuyp, Albert, P., 369. *Landscape with Cattle*, 282. His treatment of light, 369
- DAI-BUTSU, great bronze Buddha at Kamakura, 512
- D'Alençon, Catherine, monument of, 144
- Dalmau, Luis, P., 163
- Dance, George, A. Builder of the Mansion House, 462
- Dance, George, the Younger, A. Builder of Newgate Prison, 462
- D'Angers, David, S., 246-7
- Daniele da Volterra, P. See Volterra, Daniele da
- Dante, quoted, 359 n. His attitude toward wild nature, 367
- David, Gerard, P. *Marriage of St Catharine*, 329, 240, *Donor and Saints* (Rouen Museum), *St John and Holy Women*, 329
- David, Jacques-Louis, P., 228-9, 294 sq. Political position, 292 n. Early life and works, 294. *Oath of Horatii*, 294, *Serment du Jeu de Paume*, 218, *Brutus, Marat*, 295, *Coronation Scene (Sacre de Napoléon)*, 295-6, 219, *Distribution of the Eagles, Napoleon crossing the Alps, Madame Récamier*, 221, *Romans and Sabines*,
- 220, *Leonidas at Thermopylae*, 296-297. David in Belgium, 319
- De Backere, Pieter, S., 322
- De Bries, Adrian, S. Works at Augsburg, 407
- De Cotte, Robert, A., 233 n., 234, 270 n.
- De Hooch, Pieter, P. Subjects mostly interiors, 366
- De Keyser, Hendrik, S., 322, 464
- De Keyser, Thomas, P. Portraits and genre, *Merchant and Clerk*, 359 n.
- De Koningh, or Koninck, P., 369
- Delacroix, P., 301-2
- Delaroche, P. *The Princes in the Tower, Strafford on Way to Execution*, 301
- Delft. Nieuwe Kerk—tomb of William of Orange, 322. 'Master of Delft,' 353 n., 271
- Della Porta, Giacomo, A., 7, 10, 14, 28
- Della Porta, Fra Guglielmo, S., 28
- Delorme, Philibert, architect, sculptor, and writer, 203, 211, 232
- Democracy or Tyranny, which more favourable to art? 349 n.
- De Mompers, family of painters, 338
- Denis, Saint-, Abbey of. Tombs, 210-211
- Devis, Arthur, P., 473
- De Vos, Paul, P., 351
- De Werve, S., 303, 306 n.
- De Wint, Peter, P. (watercolourist), 488-9
- Diana*, a nude, 244 and n., 195
- Diderot. His didactics, 289
- Didier d'Houffalize, monument of, 315
- Dieppe. Saint-Jacques, 204 n.
- Dietzenhofer, A., 423
- Differentiation in all great art, 355
- Dijon. Carthusian abbey (Champmol), 190, and see Burgundian (Flemish-) school, Sluyter, Marville, Baerse. Saint-Michel, 204-5, 159
- Dinan. Fortress, 186
- Dixon, Nicholas, P. (miniaturist), 469
- Doelen, 356
- Dolci, Carlo, P., 131. *Poesia*, 109
- Dombild (at Cologne), 386, 316, 431-2
- Domenichino, P., 45, 125, 126 n., 128. *Last Communion of St Jerome*, 125, 128-9, 105, *St Agnes, Madonna of the Rosary, St Peter Martyr*, 129, *St Cecilia, David playing the Harp*,

HISTORY OF ART

- La Caccia di Diana*, 106, frescos at Rome and Frascati, 129
- '*Donne Madonna*', by Memling, 327, 238, 329
- Dorchester House. Sculptures by Stevens, 467, 348
- Doria, Andrea, 27 and n.
- Dossi, Dosso, P., 45, 124
- Dou (or Dow), Gerard, P., 364-5. *Maid pouring out Milk*, *Greengrocer-woman*, *Poulterer's Shop*, *Woman picking Grapes at Window*, *Old Woman reading Bible*, etc., 365
- Dresden, 426. Hofkirche, 298, 408, 426. Frauenkirche, 426, 312. Kreuzkirche, 427. Schloss, 417, 418-19. Brühl'sche Terrasse, 408, 427. Palais im Grossen Garten, 426. Zwinger, 426, 311. Japanese Palace, 427. Johanneum, 427
- Dubois, P. (Fontainebleau decorator), 251 and n.
- Duderstadt. Rathaus, 420
- Dupré, Giovanni, S. *Cain and Abel*, *St Francis*, 119 and n. *Pietà*, 97
- Dupré, Guillaume, S. *Henry IV and Catherine de Médicis*, 213
- Duquesnoys, family of sculptors, 323
- Dürer, Albrecht, P., 436, 439-42. Characteristics of his art, 439. Biographical, 440-1. *The Four Apostles*, *The Magi*, 439, 441. *Adoration of the Trinity*, 439, 441-2, 325. Two portraits of himself, 323, 324, 441. Engravings, 442, 326. Writings, 440 n.
- Durham. Galilee chapel and mural decorations, 468
- Du Ry, A., 425
- Dyck. See Van Dyck
- Ecclesia and Synagogue* (statues), 383-384, 290-1
- Eckhout, P. *Ruth and Boaz*, *Jairus' Daughter*, 365
- 'Eclectics' (Italian), 33 and n., 44, 123-6, 127-32
- Einsiedeln (Switzerland). Monastery, 424
- Elector, the Great. Statue by Schlüter, 297, 409, 428
- Elisabeth of Austria. Portrait by Fr. Clouet, 174, 219
- Elizabethan style, and mansions, 456-8
- Eltz, Schloss, 416, 299
- Emden. Rathaus, 412 n., 419, 304
- Engelbrechtsz, P., 356
- Enghien. Tomb of Archbishop Croy, 322
- Eosander von Goethe, A., 427-8
- Erasmus. His *Praise of Folly*, 446. Portraits by Holbein, 449
- Erlach, Fischer von, A., 423, 429
- Erwin, Meister, A. His work at Strassburg, 377, 385 n.
- Escorial, 119, 149 and n., 150; church, 150; Panteon de los Reyes, Palacio Real, 150
- Estéban, Rodrigo, P., 162
- Everdingen, P. His love for Norwegian scenery, 368
- Eyck, Jan van. See Van Eyck, Jan
- Fachwerkhäuser*, 415, 300, 419, 420
- Falcone, P., 134 n.
- Falconet, S. *Girl bathing*, 191, 243. *Pygmalion and Galatea*, *Three Graces*, *Madame Dubarry dancing*, equestrian statue of Peter the Great, 243
- Fancelli, S. Tomb of Prince Juan and Cardinal Ximenes, 154
- Fedi, S. *Rape of Polixena*, 116
- Ferrando di Almedina, P., 166
- Ferrari, Gaudenzio, P., 37
- Flanders. Historical sketch, 304 sq. Counts of Flanders, 305; their castle at Ghent, 310
- Flatman, Thomas, P., 464
- Flaxman, John, S. *Lord Mansfield*, illustrations for Homer, decorations for Wedgwood pottery, 466
- Flemish-Burgundian school. See Burgundian (Flemish-) school
- Florence. Baptistry (carvings), 19 and n. S. Lorenzo, 3, 22, 23 n.; Sagrestia Nuova, 8, 8 n., 13 n., 23; Cappella dei Principi, 97, 143. S. Spirito, 3. L'Annunziata, 97. S. Firenze, 97. SS. Michele e Gaetano, 97. Bridge of La Trinità, 28. Uffizi, 15, 22. Ospedale degli Innocenti, 3. Laurentian Library, 8 n., 23 n. Palazzi Pitti, Pandolfini, Uguccione, 10. Poggio Imperiale, 97. Teatro alla Pergola, 100

INDEX

- Floris (de Vriendt), Cornelis, *A.S.*, 317, 321
- Foggini, S. Tomb of Galileo, 111
- Folfi, *A.*, 10
- Fontaine. Portrait by Rigaud, 275
- Fontaine, *A.*, 288
- Fontainebleau. Castle, 201-2, 156. School of painting, 43 *n.*, 217. Decorations by Italians, 185; by French Classicists, 251 *n.* The *Diana of Fontainebleau*, 213 *n.* Picture-gallery, 216
- Fontana, Domenico, *A.*, 16, 92, 94
- Fontana, Carlo, *A.*, 94
- Fontana, Prospero, *P.*, 123-4, 128 *n.*
- Fontana, Lavinia, *P.*, 124
- Fonts and other bronze work (Flemish), 313, 314 *and n.*
- Foppa, Vincenzo, *P. Adoration of Magi*, 34
- Forment, early sixteenth-century Spanish sculptor, 154 *n.*
- Fortuny, *P.*, 182
- Foster, Birket, *P.*, 487
- Fountains. For Italy see Rome and Bernini. For France see Park of Versailles, Girardon, Coysevox, and Puget. For Germany see 'Brunnen'
- Fouquet, Jean, *P.* Book of Hours (miniatures), 195, *History of the Jews* (miniatures), 195 *n.*, Charles VII, 142, 195, 218
- Fouquet, Nicolas, art patron and minister of State, 206 *and n.*
- Fraccaroli, *S.*, 116
- Fragonard, *P.* Greek mythological paintings, landscapes, sentimental and erotic subjects, numberless sketches, 290
- Franceschini, *P.*, 136
- Franceville, *S.*, 214
- Franciabigio, *P.* Marriage of the Virgin, Scenes from Baptist's life, 41
- Francis I. Invites Italian artists to Paris, 185, 215, 216 *and n.* Portrait by Titian, 218 *and n.*; by Clouet, 173. Bust, 171
- Frankfurt am Main. Münster, 378, 400
- Frederick the Great. Portrait by Graff, 451, 333
- Freiburg im Breisgau. Cathedral, 378; sculptures, 382; wood-carving, 400. Kaufhaus, 420
- Fréminet, *P.*, 251 *and n.*
- Froment, *P.* Burning Bush (?), Raising of Lazarus, 194, 148
- Fuga, Ferdinand, *A.*, 103
- Fugger family (Augsburg), 435
- Fujiwara clan (Japan), 520. Effeminity at Fujiwara court, 521-2
- Furniture and interior decoration of Louis Quatorze and Louis Quinze periods, 272
- Fyt, Jan, *P.*, 351-2
- GABLES (false), 413 *n.*
- Gabriel, *A.*, 234, 236
- Gaillard, Château, 186
- Gainsborough, Thomas, *P.*, 276, 338. Biographical, 478-9. Early portrait-group of his daughters, early landscapes, 478. Cornard Wood, 356, Dedham Vale, 479, Blue Boy, 360, Schomberg, Parish Clerk, 479. Later portraits: Henry Bate Dudley, Mrs Graham, 361, 479, Mrs Robinson, Mrs Sheridan and Mrs Tickell, The Morning Walk (Squire Halket and his Wife), 362, Miss Haverfield, 479. Later landscapes: Watering-place, Market Cart, 480. As animal-painter, 480
- Gand. See Ghent
- Gandhara. Graeco - Roman Indian sculpture, 503, 507
- Garofalo (Benv. Tisi), *P.*, 45
- Gates. See Tor and 179, 288, 289
- Gauli, *P.* See Baciccio
- Gelée. See Claude (Gelée) le Lorrain
- Gellert's Fables, illustrated by Chodowiecki, 451
- Geneva. Saint-Pierre, 99
- Genoa. S. Maria di Carignano, 10, 9 *n.*, 96. L'Annunziata, 12, 10, 96. S. Martino, 27. S. Ambrogio, 96. Immacolata, 103. Palazzo Doria, 27 *and n.* Palazzo Rosso, 96
- Genoels, assistant of Le Brun, 271
- Gérard, François, *P.* Madame Récamier, 224. Belisarius, 298. Very numerous portraits, Coronation of Charles X, Cupid and Psyche, 298-9
- Gerard, Hubert, *S.* St Michael and Dragon (Michaeliskirche, near Munich), 407

HISTORY OF ART

- Géricault, P. *Raft of the Medusa*, 229, 301-2, 227. *Chasseur*, 302
- Germanias*, 408
- Germans and Greek art, 380-1
- Germany. Historical facts, and Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Barock eras, 386-90. List of sculptured Altäre, etc., 381
- Gheeraerts, P., 470
- Ghent (Gand). Saint-Pierre, 318, 324. Saint-Bavon, 324. Château des Comtes, 310. Belfry, 312
- Gherardo delle Notti. See Honthorst
- Ghirlandaio, Ridolfo, P., 42
- Giampietrino, P., 35, 36 n.
- Gian da Bologna (Jean Boulogne), S. *Mercury*, 32, *Rape of Sabine Woman*, *Hercules and Nessus*, equestrian statues, 28
- Gibbons, Grinling, S. Bronze statue of James II, 466. Pedestal at Windsor, stalls in St Paul's, and other carvings in churches and country mansions, 465
- Gibbs, A. Builds churches in London, 462
- Gilbert, Alfred, S., 466
- Giles, Professor. Book on Chinese painting, 514
- Giocondo, Fra, A., 8
- Giogi, S. (Japanese). Bronze Bodhisattva, 383
- Giordano, Luca, P., 134, 137-8. *Scenes from Life of the Virgin*, 137. Frescos in Riccardi Palace, 113, 138. Works in Spain, 138 n., 179
- Giorgione (Giorgio, or Zorzi, of Castelfranco), P., 48. *Madonna and Two Saints*, 43, *Sleeping Venus* (?), *Concerto* (?), *Tempesta* (?), *Tre Filosofi* (?), 49
- Giotto invited to Avignon, 193
- Giovann Battista of Florence ('Il Rosso'), P., 72 n., 185, 217 and n.
- Giovanni da Ponte, A., 12
- Giovanni da Udine, P., 88
- Giralda. See Seville
- Girardon, S. *Apollo and Nymphs*, 185, 239. *Pluto and Proserpine* [Coré]. *Louis XIV* (equestrian statue), *Nymphs bathing*, 240. Tomb of Richelieu, 240
- Girolamo da Treviso (Pennacchio), P. *Miracles of St Anthony*, 56
- Girtin, Thomas, first real water-colourist, 485-6. *Kirkstall Abbey*, 367
- Giulio Romano (Pippi). As architect, 10-11, 87. As painter: *Cupid and Psyche* frescos (partly), 86, 87; *Stanze* frescos (partly), 87; frescos in Villa Madama, 87; frescos in Palazzo del Te, 32, 87 and n., 88
- Glass, painted, 191, 325 and n.
- Gobelins tapestries, 234, 270 and n.
- Goethe. On Rubens, 257
- Goltzius, P., 450
- Gomez, Sebastian, P., 178
- Gontard, A., 429
- Gossaert. See Mabuse
- Goujon, Jean, S., 211, 212-13. *Entombment*, *Nymphs*, *Diana*, 168. Sculptures for 'Lescot's Louvre,' 212, 213. Monument to the Duc de Brézé (?), 169
- Gower, George, P., 470
- Goya, P., 180. *Charles IV of Spain and Family*, 137, *Desastres de la Guerra*, 180, 181, 271 and n., *Los Caprichos*, 180, *Isabel del Porcel*, *La Maja*, 181
- Graeco-Roman influences in Chinese sculpture, 503, 507
- Graff, P. *Frederick the Great*, 451, 333
- Granacci, P., 19, 42. *Madonna of the Girdle*, *Assumption*, *Entry of Charles VIII into Florence*, 42
- Granada Cathedral, 148
- Greco, El. See Theotokopoulos
- Greenhill, P., 471
- Greenwich Hospital, 459, 461, 471
- Greuze, P. Character of work, 288. *La Cruche Cassée*, 216, *Milkmaid*, *Girl with Canary*, *Girl with Lamb*, *Father expounding Bible*, *Father's Curse*, *Village Bride*, 289
- Grimaldi, P., 131
- Grimani Breviary, 325, 246
- Gros, Antoine-Jean, P. Early life, 299. *Bonaparte at Arcole*, *Bonaparte at Battle of the Pyramids*, 299, 300, *Les Pestiférés de Jaffa*, 225, *Napoleon at Eylau*, 300, 226. Reverts to Classical (Davidian) style, *Death of Sappho*, frescos in Panthéon,

INDEX

301. *Flight of Louis XVIII* (Louvre),
 301 n. *The Fate of Diomedes*, 301
 Grünewald, Matthias, P., 442-3.
 Paintings on wings of reredos, 443.
Madonna von Stuppach, 443
 Guardi, Francesco, P., 140
 Guarini, A., 98
Guercino (Barbieri), P., 45, 130.
Death of Dido, *Aurora*, *Persian Sibyl*, *Samian Sibyl*, 130, 108,
Hercules and Antaeus, *Hagar*, *Angelo Custode*, 130
 Guérin, P., 302
 Guillain, Simon, S. Group of Louis XIII and consort and child, 214
 Gumiel, Pedro, S., 153
 Gupta Period in Indian art, 504
- HAARLEM.** Meat Market (former) and Town Hall, 320
 Hague, The. Mauritshuis, Groote Kerk, 320. Binnenhof, 321 and n.
 Halberstadt. Rathaus, 420
 Half-timber houses. German, 415, 300, 419, 420; English, 457
 Halle, Flemish trade halls, 312
 Hals, Frans, P. Biographical, and subjects of his paintings, 357. *Banquet of Officers*, 273, portrait of his wife and of Hille Bobbe, *Toper, Madman, Laughing Cavalier, Laughing Peasant*, 358
 Hampton Court. Tudor bridge, 336, 456. Medallions in terra-cotta, 456, 463. Part rebuilt by Wren, 461, 344
 Han Kan, Chinese horse-painter. *The Hundred Colts*, 519
 Hatfield House, 458
 Hegel, on art, 121-2
 Heidelberg Castle, 301, 418
 Henry IV (France). Bronze bust of, 213, 172
 Henry VIII (England). Portrait by Holbein, 331
 Héré, A., 235
 Herlin, Friedrich, painter and carver. *The Familienaltar* at Nördlingen, 396, 435
 Hernandez, wood-carver, 155
 Herrera, Juan, A., 149
Herrera, estilo de, 149
 Herrera, Francisco, P., 171
 Highmore, Joseph, P. Illustrations to *Pamela*, 473
 Hildebrandt, Lucas von, A., 423
 Hilliard, Nicholas, P. Portrait of his wife, 469, 350
 Hiroshige, Japanese colour-print artist. Follower of Hokusai, 536
 Hobbema, landscape-painter. Compared with Constable as depicter of luminous skies and cloudland scenery, 370. *The Avenue*, 286, *Village with Water-mills*, 287
 Hogarth, William, P. Biographical, and early work, 472, *Harlot's Progress*, *Rake's Progress*, *Marriage à la Mode*, portraits, 473, *Calais Gate*, 352, *The Shrimp Girl*, 358, 354, 473. His book *Analysis of Beauty*, 473
 Hokusai, Japanese colour-print artist, 536. *Views of Fuji*, 396, *Mangwa* 397
 Holbein, Hans, the Elder, P., 436-7. Paintings of Roman basilicas, and a *Marienaltar*, and wings of reredos, *St Barbara* and *St Elisabeth*, 437 and n., 320, 321
 Holbein, Hans, the Younger, P., 445-450. *Adoration*, 400. Early drawings and paintings, 'Das Haus zum Tanz,' 446 n. Illustrations to *The Praise of Folly*, early portraits, *The Fountain of Life* (Madrid), 446. Frescos for Basler Rathaus, 447. Etchings and drawings, *The Dance of Death*, and *Sale of Indulgences*, 447-8. *True and False Love*, the 'Meyer Madonna,' 330, 447. Later portraits: *Anne of Cleves*, *Sir Thomas More*, 448 and n., *Christina of Milan*, 322, 449, *Jane Seymour*, *The Ambassadors*, *Duke of Norfolk*, *Henry VIII*, 449-50, 331, *Henry VII and VIII with their Wives*, 450. Holbein in England, and his friendship with Thomas More, 448, 468-9, 470. Tempera decoration of a foreign guild's Banquet-hall in London, 450
 Holkham House, 462. See 60
 Holland. Its history (after c. 568), 308-9. Artistic sculpture and architecture rather rare, churches and other buildings, 312 n.

HISTORY OF ART

- Honnami Koyetsu, Japanese painter, 533
- Honthorst, Gerard ('Gherardo delle Notti'), P., 359 n., 363
- Hooch. See De Hooch, Pieter
- Hoogstraten, P. *Sick Woman and Doctor*, etc., 365
- Hopner, John, P. Portraits, especially of children, 482
- Horace. Quotation from the *De Arte Poetica*, 260, 261 and notes. His attitude toward wild nature, 367-8
- Horiuji (Japan). Bronze Buddhist trinity in the Golden Hall, 510. Oldest extant Japanese paintings (c. A.D. 708), 519
- Hoskins, John (father and son), P., 469
- Hôtels de ville*. French, 188. Flemish, 312-13. German : see *Rathäuser*
- Houdon, Jean-Antoine, S. S. Bruno (Rome), *Diana*, 244 and n., 195. Busts of Rousseau, 244, Voltaire, 194, Franklin, Madame Houdon, 244. Bust of Napoleon at Dijon, 244, 192, 193
- Hsia Kuei, Chinese landscape-painter, 526
- Hsiao T'ang Shan, hill in China. Incised stone tablets, 505
- Hugo, Victor. His *Hernani*, 300
- Hui Tsung, Chinese Emperor and painter, 526
- Humphry, Ozias, miniaturist, 482
- Huvé, A. Completed the Madeleine, 238
- Huy. Collegiate church, 311. Renier de Huy, S., 313 and n., 314 n.
- ILLUMINATION.** See Miniature-painting
- Ingres, P. *L'Odalisque, Apotheosis of Homer*, portrait of M. Bertin, 302
- Innsbruck. Hofkirche and Maximilian cenotaph, 402. 'Maria Hilf' Madonna, by Cranach, 328
- Iriarte, P., 160 n.
- 'Italianizers,' Flemish, 330, 336-7
- JAPAN.** Schools of sculpture and painting. See Tosa, Kano, Korin, Ukiyoe, Shijo. Periods of art (Tempyo, Kamakura, Heian, Engi, Ashikaga, Tokugawa), 507, 510-11,
- 520, 528, 533. Japanese metal-work, porcelain, lacquer, 533. See also Buddha
- Jean II (le Bon). See John II
- Jesuitic style. See Vignola, Il Gesù, Maderna, Fontana, Pozzo. French, 206-7, 231, 233, 236. Flemish, 317-318. German, 412
- John II (France). Portrait, 138, 195 n., 305 n., 325 n.
- John of Burgundy. See Juan de Borgoña
- John of Cologne, A., 146
- John of Padua, A., 456
- Johnson, Cornelius (Janssen van Ceulen), P., 470
- Jones, Inigo, 4. Biographical, 458. Designs new Whitehall Palace and rebuilds the Banqueting-hall, 340, 458. Builds parts of Greenwich Hospital, 450. Builds Lindsay's House, Lincoln Inn Fields, St Paul's, Covent Garden, double cube room in Wilton House, 459
- Jonghelinck, S., 322
- Jordaens, P. *Presentation, Concert après le Repas*, 346, 265
- Josetsu, Chinese founder of Japanese Ashikaga school of painting, 528
- Juan de Borgoña, 163 n., 164
- Juan de las Roelas. See Roelas
- Juan del Castello, P., 174
- Juanes, Vicente, P. Raphaelesque works at Madrid and in the Louvre, 166
- Julius II (Pope), 1, 14, 43
- Juvara, A., 98
- KAMMERZELL House (Strassburg)**, 300
419
- Kanaoka, great Japanese painter. Founder of Tosa (Kosé) school. Supposed works still extant : portrait and *Nachi Waterfall*, 521
- Kano school of Japanese painting. Five generations of Kano artists, 529-32
- Karlskirche. See Vienna
- Karlsruhe. Plan of city, 424
- Kauffmann, Angelica, P., 453. In Rome and other Continental cities, in London, friendship with Reynolds, 453. Historical and mythological

INDEX

- paintings, *Vestal Virgin*, portraits, 453, 384
 Kawanabe Kyosai, a nineteenth-century follower of Kano school, 532
 Kent, William, A. Horse Guards and Holkham House, 462
 Kerricx, Alexander, P., 351
 Keyser. See De Keyser
Kichijo, or *Angel of Life*, early Japanese picture, 520
 King's Lynn. Buildings by Bell, 462
 Kirkby Hall (Elizabethan), 458
 Kiyonaga, Japanese colour-print artist, 536
 Kneller, P., 275. His own portrait and others, 471. Sir W. Armstrong's criticism, 351 n.
 Knobelsdorff, A., 428
 Knole, Elizabethan mansion, 458
 Kobo Daishi, S. (also priest and reformer). Figure of Fudo, 511, 520
 Kokha, Japanese art publication, 520, 522, 526
 Koningh. See De Koningh
 Korin, Japanese painter (b. 1655). His wonderful treatment of wave-forms, 534, 395
 Korin school of painting, 533
 Kosé Korehisa, Japanese painter, 524
 Krafft, Adam, S. Reliefs for Stations of the Cross, and a *Calvarienberg*, 397-8. *Sakramentshaus* in S. Lorenz, Nürnberg, 398
 Krishna, relief of, at Pathari, 504
 Krumper, Hans, S. His *Bavaria*, 407
 Ku K'ai-chih, ancient Chinese painter. Works in British Museum, 514
 Kwakei, S. *Nio*, at Nara, 511
 Kwannon. Wooden statue of, ascribed to Shotoku Daishi, 509, 382. Painting of, by Kano Tanyu, 393. See also Kwanyin
 Kwanyin, Buddhist goddess, 518, 386, 526. See also Kwannon
 LADBROOKE, Robert, and two sons, P., 491
 La Hire, P., 266 and n.
 Lancré, P., 279. *Bal dans un Bois*, 279, *Actors of the Italian Theatre*, 279 n. Works in Wallace Collection and ex-Kaiser's collection, 280 and n., *Winter*, 209
 Landscape-painting. See Patinir, Bles, Bril, Rosa, Poussin, Claude, Ruysdael, Hobbema; also Ruskin and Nature
 Landshut, Jacob von, S., 399
 Lao Tzu, Chinese philosopher, 516
 Laocoön. Discovered, 5. See also Lessing
 Largillièr, P., 275-6. Portraits of himself and family, 208. Other works, 275 n.
 La Tour, P. (pastellist), 283-4. Portraits: *Louis XV and Family*, *Madame de Pompadour*, *D'Alembert*, *Mlle Fel*, 215
 Laurana of Dalmatia, A., 1
 Lawrence, Thomas, P. Character of his paintings; portrait of Angerstein, 482
 Le Brun, Charles, P., 221, 234, 262, 266, 267 sq. At Rome with Poussin, 266. Director of Academy at Paris, 266, 267. Work at Versailles, etc., 267-71. *Battles of Alexander*, 206. Other paintings, 262, 268-9, 271; see 207. Decoration of Apollo Gallery, Louvre, 268; of Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, 269. Director of Gobelins factory, 270 and n. Portrait of Turenne, 274
 Lebrun, Madame Vigée-, P. Portraits: Marie-Antoinette and personages at court of Louis XVI, and celebrities in other European cities, 291 and n. Portrait of herself and daughter, 217
 Lefebvre (or Lefèvre), Claude, P., 274
 Leipzig. Rathaus, 420
 Lely, Peter (Piet van der Faes), P., 350. *Windsor Beauties*, *Nell Gwyn*, *Charles II*, *Van Helmont*, etc., 351, 471
 Lemercier, A., 233, 235
 Lemgo. Rathaus, 420
 Le Moine, P. Paintings at Versailles and in Wallace Collection, 282 n.
 Le Moiturier, S., 306 n.
 Lemoyne, S., 242
 Le Nain (three brothers), P., 222-3, 267, 272
 Leo X (Pope), S. 22, 43. Portrait by Raphael, 86
 Leonardeschi, 35-7

HISTORY OF ART

- Leonardo da Vinci, *P.*, 61–5. Angel in Verrocchio's *Baptism*, *Adoration of Magi* (unfinished), 61, 63, *Cenacolo* (*Last Supper*), 38, 62 n., 64 and n., 65, *Beatrice d'Este* (?) 33, *Cartoon* (*Battle of Anghiari*), 62 and n., *Vierge aux Rochers*, 35, 63, 56, *Mona Lisa*, 62, 63, 64, 57, 81 n., 216, *Madonna and Child with St Anne*, 63, *La Belle Ferroniére*, 64, *Leda*, 216 n. Leonardo and Louis XII and Francis I, 215–16
- Leoni, S., 155 n.
- Lepère, A. Builder of Vendôme Column, 244 n.
- Lescot, Pierre, *A.*, 203, 205, 232
- Lessing. His *Laokoon*, 106, 293 n., 294 n. His misunderstanding of the difference between sculpture and painting, 452. His *Minna* illustrated by Chodowiecki, 451
- Le Sueur, Eustache, *P.*, 221, 176, 252 and n., 266
- Le Vau, *A.*, 207 n., 233, 235
- Levers, Jan, *P.*, 364
- Leyden. University, Cloth Hall (former), Butter Market, 320
- Leyden, Lucas van, or Luc Jacobsz, *P.* *Last Judgment*, *Card-party*, *Magi*, *Crucifixion*, engravings, 356 and n.
- Liége. Saint-Paul, Saint-Jacques, and Saint-Barthélemy, 310, 311, 312, 313
- Li Lung Mien, Chinese painter of Sung Period, 526
- Limburg. Gothic church, 378. Castle, 417
- Lindau. Rathaus, 420
- Liotard, as pastellist, 283 n.
- Lochner (Lothner ?), Stephan, *P.* *Dombild* (?), 316, 431–2. See also Vol. I
- Lodi. *L'Incoronata*, 9
- Lohan, disciple of Buddha. Statue in glazed pottery, 380, 508
- Loire (and Touraine) school of art, 190, 193, 195
- Lombard painters of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento, 34–7
- London. See Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, Inigo Jones, Wren, Kent, Gibbs, Dance, Chambers
- Longhena, *A.*, 97–8
- Longhi, Pietro, *P.*, 141
- Longleat House, 337, 457–8
- Long-men caves (China). Rock-carvings, 507
- Lorenzo il Magnifico, 20
- Loreto. The 'Sacred House,' 19 and n.
- Lotto, Lorenzo, *P.* *Triumph of Chastity*, *The Three Ages* (?), 55. Portraits, 55
- Louis XII and Leonardo da Vinci, 215
- Louis XIII. As artist, 233 n. Statue by Guillain, 214
- Louis XIV. See Versailles, Le Brun, Colbert. His last days, 272–3. Louis Quatorze upholstery and room-decoration, 272. Portrait by Rigaud, 211
- Louis XV. Style of interior decoration affects pictorial art, 273–4, but eclipsed by brilliance of the new school, 274, 280. Court-portraitists, 280; 283–4. His portrait by La Tour, 283
- Louis XVI. Portraits of court personages by Madame Lebrun, 291
- Louvain. Hôtel de Ville, 231, 312
- Louvre. See Paris, Lescot, Perrault, Le Brun, Rubens
- Lübeck. Rathaus, 378, 303, 419
- Lucas van Leyden. See Leyden, Lucas van
- Luciani. See Sebastiano del Piombo
- Lucinio, *P.*, 57
- Lucretius. Quotation from, 368
- Ludwig the Bavarian. His tomb at Munich, 407
- Luini, Bernardino, *P.* *Madonna del Roseto*, 35, *St Catharine carried by Flying Angels*, 35
- 'Luminosity' and artificial light in pictures, 343, 345, 363 and n.
- Lurago, *A.*, 425
- Lustschlösser, 421
- Lyon. Saint-Nizier, 196. Hôtel de Ville, 206, 235. The Coustous' Rhône and Saône, 242 n.
- MABUSE (Gossaert), *P.*, 330–1, 336–7. *St Luke painting the Virgin*, 336, *Danae*, *Adam and Eve*, 337, *Magi*, 248
- Maderna, Carlo, *A.*, 9, 16, 92
- Maderna, Stefano, *S.* *St Cecilia*, 110

INDEX

- Madrazo, P., 181
 Madrid. Palacio Real, 150. Becomes an art centre, 167-8, 178
 Maes, Nicolaes, P. Higher Dutch genre. *Idle Servants*, 365
 Mafra. Convent and palace, 151
 Maiano, Giovanni da, S., 456, 463
 Mainz Cathedral, 376, 387
Mais (May offerings to the Virgin), 221
 Maix, S. Maker of the Perseus-brunnen, 296, 406
Makimono, Japanese name for a painting on a long scroll, 522, 523
 Malines. See Mecheln
 Malouel. Early French or Flemish painter at the Burgundian court. *Martyrdom of St Denis* (or by Bellechose?), 146
 Maltons, three topographical artists, 485
Mandala (Beatific Vision in Japanese art), 517
 'Mannerists,' Spanish, 164
 Mannheim. Plan of the city, 424
 Mansard, François, A., 207 n., 233 n., 235
 Mansard, Jules, A., 207 n., 230 n., 233 and n., 234, 267 n.
 Mantes Cathedral, 198
 Mantua. S. Andrea, 99. Palazzo del Te, 11, 10, 32
 Marie-Antoinette. Her portraits by Madame Lebrun, 291 and n.
 Marie de Bourgogne (Mary of Burgundy), 306 and n. Her tomb, 306 n.
 Marie de Médicis. Her marriage and coronation : see Rubens and Pourbus
 Marienberg, Würzburg, 417
 Marino, San. Palazzo del Governo, 103
 Marlow, topographical draughtsman, 485
 Marly (Versailles), 234
 Marocchetti, S., 118. Bronze equestrian statues : *Richard Cœur-de-Lion*, *Wellington*, 118-19
Marseillaise. See Rude
 Martini, Simone, P., 194
 Maruyama Okio, naturalistic Japanese painter, 534
 Marville, S. Flemish - Burgundian school, 305 n., 313
 Mary I of England. Portrait by Mor, 168, 123
 Masaccio, P., 31, 70, 163
 'Master of Delft' and 'Master of Moulins.' See Delft and Moulins. 'Master of the Life of the Virgin,' P., 434.
 'Master Christophorus' (Cologne and England), P., 434. 'Master of the Lippberg Passion,' P., 435. Master Peter of Spain, P., 162
 Matabei, founder of Japanese Ukiyoe school, 535
 Matielli, Pietro, S., 408
 Matsys, Quentin, P., 330, 332. *Veronica*, 332, *Virgin and Child*, 242, *Legend of St Anne* (?), *Nativity and Magi* (?), 332 n., *Entombment*, 241, *Banker and Wife*, 243, 333 and n.
 Maximilian I, Kaiser. Cenotaph at Innsbruck, 401-2, 403 n.
 Ma Yuan, Chinese landscape-painter, 521
 Mazo, del, P., 177
 Mazzola. See Parmigianino
 Mecheln (Malines). Saint-Rombaut, 228, 311. Fishmongers' Hall, 317. Grand Béguinage, 318
 Médicis, Catherine de, 208. Casket for her heart, 211
 Médicis, Marie de, 208, 221 and n., and see Rubens
 Medrano, A., 102
 Meissen. Albrechtsberg, 417
 Melozzo of Forli. Movement intimated in his *Annunciation*, 329
 Melun, Jehan de, monument of, 315
 Memling (Memlinc), P. His nationality, 327. *Marriage of St Catharine*, 239, triptych called *The Donne Madonna*, 327, 238, 329, *Reliquary of St Ursula*, 432. See also Vol. I
 Mengoni, A., 105
 Mengs, Raphael, P., 179, 292-3, 452. Frescos and altar-pieces at Madrid, *Parnassus* (Rome), *Judgment of Paris*, 332, 452
 Metz Cathedral, 377
 Metzu, P. *The Chemist*, *The Lace-makers*, *The Music Lesson*, etc., 365
 Meyer, Constance, P. (pupil of Prud'hon), 298
 Michelangelo Amerighi. See Caravaggio
 Michelangelo Buonarroti, A.S.P. (1) As architect, 6, 7-8 and n. (2) As

HISTORY OF ART

- sculptor, 8, 19 *sq.* *David*, 18 *n.*, 21, 28. *Christ*, 18 *n.*, 23 *n.* *Sleeping Cupid*, 20, *Bacchus*, 25, *Pietà* (Rome), 26, *i Tondi*, 27, 21 *and n.*, *Pietà* (Florence), 24. Tomb of Julius II and the *Moses*, 22, 29. Bronze statue of Julius II at Bologna, 22. Tombs of Medici princes at Florence, 23 *and n.*, 30. (3) As painter, 68–79. *Cartoon*, 22, 69 *n.*, 60, 155, 164 *and n.*, *Holy Family*, 22, 69 *n.*, 71, *Holy Family and Young St John, Woman of Samaria (?)*, *The Dream (?)*, *Christ on Olivet (?)*, 72, *The Three Fates (?)*, 72 *n.*, *Deposition*, 22, 72. Sistine Chapel frescos, 72–6, 61, 62, 63, *Last Judgment*, 24, 74–6, 64. *Crucifixion of St Peter*, *Conversion of St Paul*, 77. Character of his pictorial art, 32, 68–70 *and notes*, 77–8. Influence in Spain, 164–5 *and n.*
- Mieris. *See* Van Mieris, Frans
- Mignard, Nicolas, *P.*, 274
- Mignard, Pierre, *P.*, 270 *n.* *Gloire* in church of Val-de-Grâce, 27 *and n.* Portrait of Madame de Montespan, 274
- Miguel de Tobar, *P.*, 178
- Mihiel, S. *Sepulture*, 209, 163
- Milan. S. Maria delle Grazie, 1 (*see Vol. I*, 284). S. Carlo Borromeo, 103 (*cf.* 423, 310). Ospedale Maggiore, 99. Palazzo di Giustizia, 99. Palazzo di Brera, 99. Scala Theatre, 100, 103. Palazzo Reale (Visconti), 103, 143. Porta Nuova, 103. Arco della Pace, 103. Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, 105. Villa Reale (Belgioiosa), 143
- Milanese painters of Early Renaissance, 34
- Millan, Pedro, S., 153
- Ming Period of Chinese painting, 527
- Miniature-painting (illumination and other). French and Flemish, 192 *and n.*, 193, 305, 324, 325, 246. German, 371 *and n.* English, 468, 469. *For Miniatures see also Vol. I*
- Mitsunaga, Japanese painter. His famous scroll, 523
- Mocchi, S. Equestrian bronzes, 111
- Mona Lisa*. *See* Leonardo da Vinci
- Montacute House, 458
- Montañes, S., 156. *Christ on the Cross*, 120, *St Dominic, The Baptist*, 121
- Montorsoli, Giov., S., 27
- Monumental sculpture. Italian: *see Michelangelo, Torrigiani, Algardi, Bernini, Canova*. Old French, 189. Transitional and Renaissance tombs, 210–11. Monarchical busts, 212 *and n.* Monuments to cities, women, and men of action of France, 247. Napoleon's tomb, 247 *n.* Flemish monuments, 315, 321–2, 323. German: *see Cologne, 385, Würzburg, 392, Frankfurt, 392 n., Augsburg, 395 and n., Innsbruck, 402, Vischer's monuments, 403, Munich, 407*. English monuments: *see Vere tomb and Gibbons. See also Vol. I for Cosmati tombs, Scaliger tombs, etc.*
- Monza. Castello (Villa) Reale, 103, 143
- Moosbrugger, Kaspar, A., 424
- Mor, Antonis (Antonio Moro, Anthony More), *P.*, 168, 339–40, 349 *n.* Queen Mary, 168, 123, 339, portrait of himself, 253, *Duke of Alva (?)*, 340. Power of revealing character, 340 *n.*
- Morales, Luis de, *P.*, 122, 165
- More, Sir Thomas. *See* Holbein
- Moreau, engraver, 283
- Morelli, A., 103 *n.*
- Moreton Old Hall, 458
- Moretto di Brescia (Bonvicino), *P.*, 57. *St Justina*, 58
- Mori Sosen. *See* Sosen
- Morland, Henry Robert, *P.* *Laundry Maid*, 481
- Morland, George, *P.* *Stable Interior*, 481, 364
- Morlanes, S. (early Spanish). Work at Saragossa, 154 *n.*
- Moronobu, Japanese painter. His dainty Watteau-like pictures, his woodcuts, 535
- Moser, Lucas, *P.*, 395, 432
- Motonobu (Kano), son of founder of Kano school, 530. Character of work, 530–1. *Shoriken*, 390, 531
- Moulins, as art centre, 191. Monument to Duc de Montmorency, 212 *n.*

INDEX

- 'Master of Moulins' and his supposed works, 195; triptych in Cathedral, 149; other works in Louvre, 195; *Nativity* (at Autun), 150
- Moya, Pedro de, *P.*, 178 *n.*
- Mu Chi, Chinese painter of Sung Period, 388, 526-7
- Much, Professor. His *Norddeutsche gotische Plastik*, 381
- Mudo, El. See Navarette, Fernandez Müller, Lucas. See Cranach, Lucas
- Multscher, Hans, *S.P.*, 394-5
- Munich. Becomes centre of bronze-casting and sculpture, 406. Frauenkirche and monument to Ludwig the Bavarian, 407. Mariensäule, Michaeliskirche, 407. Theatinerkirche, 423. Nepomuk church, 424. Nymphenburg, Amalienburg, Residenztheater, 424
- Münster. Rathaus, 378, 422. Schloss, 424, 425, 314. *Peace of Münster*, 280
- Murillo, Bart. Estéban, *P.* Biographical, and his three styles, 174-6. *Betrothal of St Catharine*, 175, *La Vierge Immaculée*, 175, 176, *St Anthony and Infant Christ*, 175, 176 *n.*, *Scenes from Life of St Francis*, 176, *The Charity of St James*, 130, *Archangel Raphael and Infant Christ*, *St Felix and Infant Christ*, *Conception*, *Adoration*, *Birth of Virgin*, 176, *Madonna of the Rosary*, 176, 135, *Moses striking the Rock*, 176, 131, *Miracle of the Loaves*, 176, 132, *Patrician's Dream*, 177, 133, *Telling of Dream*, 177, 134, *St Elisabeth and Lepers*, 177, *Holy Family* (National Gallery), *Flower Girl*, *Jacob and Rachel*, *Prodigal Son*, 177, *The Children Jesus and John*, 136
- Mytens, Daniel, *P.*, 470
- NAILS, the heresy of the three, 161
- Nain. See Le Nain
- Nancy. New town built, 235
- Nantes. Tomb of Francis II of Brittany, 210, 166, 230
- Naples. S. Chiara, S. Martino, S. Gerolomini, 96. L'Annunziata, 102. Theatre of S. Carlo, 102
- Napoleon. Statues, busts, and portraits: see Canova, Houdon (192, 193), Chaudet, Vendôme Column (244 *n.*, 245), David, Gros. His tomb, with *Victories*, by Pradier, 247 *n.*
- Nara, ancient capital of Japan. Temple of Chugushi, 509, and Yakushiji, 510, and To-dai-ji, 511. Bronzes, wooden *Nio* (temple-guardians), and colossal bronze Buddha, 511
- Nattier, P. Portraits of royalty and celebrities at court of Louis XV, 284; of Peter the Great, 284; of Graf Moritz, 285
- Nature. The attitude of artists and poets toward wild nature, 367-8
- Naumburg. Cathedral and statues, 382
- Navarette, Fernandez (El Mudo), *P.*, 168 and *n.*
- 'Nazarenes,' followers of Overbeck, the German 'Revivalist,' who taught the return of art to the 'Christian Ideal' of religious pre-Raphaelite painters, 453
- Nepomuk, Bohemian saint and martyr. Statue at Prag, 409. Church at Munich, 424
- Netherlands. Historical sketch, 304-309. Revolt against Spain, 307-8
- Neumann, Joh. Balthazar, *A.*, 424
- Nibelungenlied*, 371 *n.*, 373 *n.*
- Nicholas V (Pope). His 'Studio,' 83 and *n.*
- No, dancers of medieval Japan. Their masks, 512
- Noami, Japanese painter and poet at court of Yoshimasa, 528
- Nobuzane, master of Tosa school. Portrait of young Kobo Daishi, 523
- Nollekens, Joseph, *S.*, 466
- Nonesuch Palace, 456. Statues and reliefs by Italian sculptor, 463-4
- Nördlingen. Herlin's *Altäre*, 395-6
- Norman pirates, 387 *n.*
- Norwich school of painting, 489
- Nürnberg (Nuremberg). Home of *Meistersinger* and famous artists, 396. St Sebald, 376, 396. Liebfrauenkirche, 378, 295. S. Lorenz, 378, 396. Egidienkirche, 408. Der Schöne Brunnen, 396 and *n.*, 295. St Sebald's shrine, 401-2, 292

HISTORY OF ART

- OLIVER, Isaac and Peter, *P.*, 469
 Olivet. *La Vierge du Château d'Olivet*, 210, 165, 230
 Oppenheim. Gothic church, 378
 Orange, Princes of, 307 and *n.* Tomb of the first Prince William of Orange, 322
 'Orientation,' 8 *n.*
 Orléans Cathedral, 204 *n.*
 Orval Abbey, 313 and *n.*
 Ostade. See Van Ostade
 Overbeck, *P.*, 453. See 'Nazarenes'
 Oxford. Magdalen Tower, 456. Sheldonian Theatre, 460, 471. Radcliffe Library, 462. Reredoses in the chapels of New College, Magdalen, and All Souls, 463. Porch of St Mary's, 465
- PACHECO, painter and writer, 160, 166, 168 *n.*, 171
 Pacher, Michael, painter and wood-carver. Reredos at St Wolfgang (Tirol), 399. *St Wolfgang heals a Sick Man*, 318, 436
 Paderborn. Rathaus, 420
 Padovanino, *P.* *Rape of Proserpine*, 138
 Pajou, *S.*, 243, 244
 Palermo. Teatro Massimo, 104
 Palladio, *A.*, 11-12. Palladian style in France, 204-5
 Palma (Vecchio), *P.*, 48, 49. *St Peter Enthroned*, 49. *St Barbara*, 44. *Jacob and Rachel* (?), 69
 Palma (Giovane), *P.*, 48. Paintings at Venice, 138
 Paolo Veronese (Caliari, or Cagliari), *P.*, 58, 59-60. *Marriage at Cana*, 60, *Supper at the House of Levi*, 47, 60, *Trionfi di Venezia*, 60
 Paris. La Sainte-Chapelle, 187. Saint-Étienne du Mont, 204. Church of the Sorbonne, 207, 235. Saint-Louis des Invalides, 207 and *n.*, 161, 234, 267. Le Val-de-Grâce, 160, 207 and *n.*, 235. Church of Collège des Quatre-Nations (L'Institut), 207, 235. Sainte-Clothilde, 248 *n.* La Madeleine, 182, 237-8. Louvre, original, 187. 'Lescot's Louvre,' 155, 203. Perrault's Louvre Colonnade, 177, 232, 233. Hôtel de Cluny and Hôtel de Sens, 188. Tuilleries, 203, 208. Place Royale (des Vosges), 206 *n.* Luxembourg Palace, 208 and *n.* Observatory, 235. Porte Saint-Denis, 179, 235. Place de la Concorde, 236, 257. École Militaire, 236. Hôtel Grillon, 236. Hôtel de la Monnaie, 236. Palais Bourbon, Odéon, 236, Vendôme Column, 244 *n.*, Bourse, 181, Panthéon, 180, Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, 183, Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, 184, 238-9, 246, 196. Panthéon pediment, 246-7. Opera House, 198, 249
 Parma. S. Giovanni, Madonna della Steccata, 9. Duomo (cupola), 47. Theatre, 100
 Parmigianino (Mazzola), *P.*, 125
 Parthenon, 233 *n.*
 Passau Cathedral, 422
 Pastellists, 283 *n.*
 Pater, *P.*, 279
 Pater, Walter, 52, 525
 Pathari. Relief of Krishna, 504
 Patinir, *P.*, 333 and *n.* *Pilgrims of Emmaus*, *The Baptism*, *Rest on Flight to Egypt*, 244, 334
 Pennacchio. See Girolamo da Treviso
 Penni, Gian Francesco, *P.*, 88
 Percier, *A.*, 228
 Périgueux. Church of Saint-Front, 310 *n.*
 Perino del Vaga, *P.*, 88
 Perpendicular style in England, 455-6
 Perrault, *A.*, 232. Louvre Colonnade, 177
 Perréal, *S.P.*, 195, 210 *n.*. See 149, 166
 Perseusbrunnen, Munich, 296
 Perso-Greek sculpture in India, 500-1
 Peter, Master, of Spain. See Master Peter of Spain
 Petitot, *P.*, 274 and *n.*
 Philippe de Champaigne, *P.*, 222, 350. *Richelieu*, *Dead Christ*, paintings in church of the Sorbonne, 222. Other works, 266 *n.*, 274
 Piacenza. S. Sepolcro, S. Sisto, 9
 Piermarini, *A.*, 103
 Pierrefonds, Castle of, 187, 140
 Pietersz, Aert, *P.*, 355
 Pietro Aretino, writer, 75-6
 Pigalle, *S.* *Mercury fastening his Sandals*, 190, 242. Monument at

INDEX

- Strasbourg, monument to Louis XV, nude statue of Voltaire, 243
- Pilon, S. *Three Graces* (or *Virtues*), 211, 212, 213, 170, 230. *Chancellor de Biragues*, 213
- Pine, Robert Edge, P., 481
- Pinturicchio, P., 166 n.
- Pippi. See Giulio Romano
- Piranesi, engraver, 293 n.
- Pistoia. Palazzo Rospigliosi, 92
- Pitati. See Bonifazio of Verona
- Plateresque*, 145, 148 and n.
- Pleyben. A *Calvary*, 208
- Pleydenwurff, Hans, painter and wood-carver, 435–6
- Plimer, Andrew and Nathaniel, miniaturists, 482
- Plougastel. A *Calvary*, 209
- Poitiers. Palais de Justice, 188
- Polaert, A., 319
- Pontormo, P. *Visitation*, 41, 42
- Popes of later Cinquecento, 14–16
- Poppelmann, A., 426
- Pordenone, P., 56
- Portraits in sacred pictures under guise of saintly persons, 358. *For other portraits see under the names of persons portrayed*
- Pot, Philippe, tomb of, 191, 145, 305 n.
- Potsdam. Residenzschloss and Sanssouci, 428. New Palace, 429. The 'Communs,' 315, 429
- Potter, Paul, P., 369
- Pourbus, Frans, portrait-painter at court of Marie de Médicis, 339 n.
- Poussin, Nicolas, P., 220, 250, 252–63. Early works, 252–3. Works on first return to Paris from Rome, 253. Later Roman period: *Shepherds of Arcadia*, 201, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, *Diogenes*, 202, *Burial of Phocion*, *Deluge*, *Blind Men of Jericho*, 203, *Childhood of Bacchus*, *Nursing of Jupiter*, 252–5, 262. Ruskin on Poussin, 255 sq.
- Pozzo, Andrea, A.P., 95 and n., 136 and n. Frescos in S. Ignazio, 136–7, 112. Altar of S. Ignazio in Il Gesù, 83
- Pradella, P., 182
- Pradier, S. *Victories of Napoleon's tomb*, *Lille* and *Strasbourg* in the Place de la Concorde, 247 n.
- Prag. Early school of painting, 385 n., 405. Statues, 409. Hradschin and S. Georgsbrunnen, 405. Churches and monasteries, 423. Nicolaikirche, 423
- Prandauer, Jacob, A., 423
- Préault, S., 248
- Predis, Cristoforo de, P., 34
- Predis, Ambrogio de, P., 34 and n.; see 33
- Pre-Raphaelites and *cinquecentisti*. Characteristic differences in their pictorial art, 29 sq.
- Previtali, P., 57
- Prieur, Barthélemy, S., 214
- Primaticcio, P., 185, 217
- Prospero Bresciano, 16
- Prud'hon, P., 297. *Psyche borne to Heaven*, 223, *Justice and Vengeance*, 222, *Venus and Adonis*, *Sleep of Psyche*, 297–8, *Empress Josephine*, 297, *Andromache* (drawing), 298, *Le Christ en Croix*, 298
- Puget, Pierre, S. *Atlantes*, *Milo*, 188, *Perseus and Andromeda*, 187, *Diogenes and Alexander*, 189, *Plague at Milan*, 241
- Pulpits (Flemish, of carved wood), 315–316, 235
- QUEIROLO, Francesco, S., *Il Disincarnato*, 112, 91
- Quellin, Artus, S. (and son and nephew of same name), 323
- RAEBURN, P., 276. Biographical, 483. *Dr Nathaniel Spens*, 366, *Lord Newton*, *Dr Adam, John Wauchope, Mrs Scott Moncrieff, Mrs James Campbell*, 483
- Raffaello da Colle, P., 88
- Rinaldi (two architects), 94
- Ramsay, Allan, P. Portrait of his wife, 474
- Raphael (Raffaello Santi), A.P. As architect, 7, 8, 85. As writer, 85. As painter, 32–3 and n., 79–87. *Vision of a Knight* (early), 79, *St Michael* (early), 79. *Three Graces* (early), 79, 80 n., *Crucifixion* (early), *Coronation of Virgin* (early), 79, 80. Sketch of S. Nicola di Tolentino, 80. *Lo Sposalizio*, 65, 80 and n., *Madonna*

HISTORY OF ART

- del Gran Duca*, 66, 82, *Casa Tempi Madonna*, 67, 82, *Ansidei Madonna*, 82, *Madonna del Baldacchino*, 82, *Madonna del Cardellino*, 69, 82, *La Belle Jardinière*, 68, 82, *St George and Dragon*, 82 and n., *Entombment*, 82, *St Catharine*, 82. The following later *Madonnas* (86) : *del Pesce*, *della Rosa*, *La Perla*, 77, *au Diadème*, *di Casa Alba*, *della Sedia*, *Bridge-water*, *di Foligno*, *di San Sisto*, 79. Then *St Cecilia*, 86, 78, *Lo Spasimo*, 86, 76, *La Donna Velata*, 86, 80, *The Transfiguration*, 86-7 and n. **PORTRAITS** : Doni and his wife, 81, Julius II, 1, 86, Leo X and Cardinals, Inghirami, Cardinal Bibbiena, Castiglione (?), *La Fornarina* (?), 81. **FRESCOS** (*Stanze of the Vatican*), 82-5. '*Disputa*', 70, 71, 83, '*School of Athens*', 72, *Parnassus*, 84, *Expulsion of Heliodorus*, 84, *Mass of Bolsena*, 84. The frescos in which Leo X figures, 85. *Incendio del Borgo*, 73. The later *Stanze* frescos, 85, 87. The *Loggie* decorations, 85. The *Cartoons* for the *Tapestries*, 85 and n., 74, 75. The *Cupid and Psyche* and *Galatea* frescos in *Villa Farnesina*, 85-6 and n. The *Sibyls* in *S. Maria delle Pace*, 86 n., and see 79 n.
- Rathäuser*, 378, 419-20, 302-307, 425. See Lübeck, Brunswick, Rothenburg, Cologne, Bremen, Münster, Emden
- Ratisbon. See Regensburg
- Ravenna, battle of, 5, 85 n.
- Ravesteyn, Jan, P., *Civic Guard leaving Doelen*, *Banquet of Town Council*, *Officers of Civic Guard*, 357, *Portrait of a Lady*, 272
- Récamier, Madame. Her portraits, 296 and n., 221, 224
- Regensburg Cathedral, 378
- Rembrandt, P., 359-61. Biographical facts, 359. Portrait of self and wife, 359. Early and late style shown in two portraits of old ladies, 360, 278, 279. *Lesson in Anatomy*, 274. The '*Night Watch*', 275, *Descent from the Cross*, *Christ and the Magdalene*, *Christ and the Adulteress*, *Tobit and Angel*, *Sainte Famille*, *Good Samaritan*, *Pilgrims of Emmaus*, 276, Offer-
- ing o *Manoah*, 277, *Ganymede*, 361. Portraits and incomparably fine etchings, 361. Landscapes, 361 n. Renaissance additions more common in civic than in church architecture, 391 n.
- Renaissance influences reach England, 455, 463
- René, le bon roi, art patron and (?) artist, 194 and n.
- Reni, Guido, P., 45, 127-8. *Aurora*, 102, 127. *Madonna della Pietà*, 101, *Victorious Samson*, 104, *Massacre of Innocents*, *Martyrdom of St Peter*, *Life of St Andrew*, *Choir of Angels*, *St Michael*, 128
- Renier, S. See Huy
- Reredoses (carved). Spanish : see Retablos. Flemish, 315. German : see Altäre. English, 463. See also Wood
- Retablos (Spanish), 152 and n., 393, et al.
- Retchford Hall, 338
- Reynolds, Joshua, P., 276, 475-8. Biographical, 475-7. *Commodore* (later Admiral) *Keppel* (early portrait), *Garrick*, *Mrs Siddons*, *Nelly O'Brien*, 357, 476, *Laurence Sterne*, *Dr Johnson*, *Admiral Keppel*, *Duchess of Devonshire*, *Lady Crosbie*, *The Montgomery Sisters*, 477, *Lord Heathfield*, 359, 477. Children's portraits : *Angel Heads*, *Age of Innocence*, 478, 358
- Ribalta, Francisco and Juan, P., 166-167 n.
- Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto), 44, 126 and n., 132, 166, 169, 172. *Deposizione* (or *Pietà*), 100, 133
- Ricchini, Francesco, A., 99
- Ricci, Stefano, S., 116
- Richard II (England). Portrait in Westminster Abbey, 349, and in Wilton House, 468
- Richelieu. Portrait by Philippe de Champaigne, 223, 350
- Richier, Ligier, S. *Mise au Tombeau*, 209, 163
- Riemenschneider, Til, S. *Madonna and Child*, *Adam and Eve* (Würzburg), *Last Supper* (Rothenburg), *Heinrich II and Queen Kunigunde* (Bamberg), 399, *St Elisabeth*, 293

INDEX

- Rigaud, P. His portraits, 275, 211
- Robert, Hubert, P. South European scenes, *Pont du Gard, Colosseum, etc.*, 290-1
- Robusti, Jacopo. *See* Tintoretto
- Rococo. French, 231 n., 236, 412, 424. German *Rokoko*, 412, 413, 414, 421-422, 426
- Rodin, S., 249
- Roelas, Juan de las, P., 166, 169
- Roeskilde (Denmark). Tomb of King Christian, 321
- Roman school of painting after Raphael's death, 33
- Romanesque architecture. Origin and transmission to Northern countries : *see* Vol. I. *See also* Vol. II, 375 and n., 376 and n.
- Rome. Il Tempietto, 3, 4, 6. S. Maria degli Angeli, 6, 9, 8 ; its cloisters, 7. S. Maria della Pace, 7. Chigi Chapel, 5, 7. S. Pietro in Montorio, 7. S. Pietro in Vincoli, 8, 22. St Peter's, 2, 7-9, 16 ; sacristy, 99. Obelisk in Piazza of St Peter's, 16. Il Gesù, 13, 10, 15, 89, 91, 95, 83, 317. Sistine Chapel, 72 sq. S. Andrea (Quirinal), 93. S. Andrea delle Fratte, 193. S. Agnese (Piazza Navona), 93. S. Carlino, 93. S. Ivo della Sapienza, 93. Colonnade of St Peter's, 93. S. Maria in Campitelli, 94. S. Ignazio, 95, 136-7, 112. S. Giovanni in Laterano, 95. S. Maria Maggiore (façade), 103. Cancelleria, 2 n., 6, 6. Cortile Belvedere, 7. Porta Pia, 8 n. Villa and Palazzo Madama, 11. Villa Giulia, 14. Villa Chigi (Farnesina), 7, 85-6 and n. Via Sistina, 16. Collegio Romano, 28. Scala Regia (Vatican), 93. Palazzi : Farnese, 7, Mattei, Barberini, Monte Citorio, 92, Torlonia, 94, della Consulta, Braschi, 103. Fountain in Piazza Navona, 93, 86, 108. Fontana di Trevi, 82, 95, 109. Fontana delle Tartarughe, 106. Fontana del Tritone, 108. Fontana Barcaccia (Piazza di Spagna), 108. Acqua Felice, 16, Acqua Paola, 94 n.
- Romney, P., 275, 480. Early work and travels, 480. *Mother and Child*,
- Mr and Mrs Lindow, The Beaumont Family*, 363, *Gower Children, Lady Hamilton*, 480
- Rosa, Salvator, P., 133 and n., 134. *Catiline Conspirators*, 133, landscapes and sea-pieces, 133-4, 111. His attitude toward wild nature, 367 n.
- Rosselli, Cosimo, P., 65
- Rosselli, Matteo, P. *Triumph of David*, 131
- Rosso, A., 98
- Rosso, II, P. *See* Giovanbattista of Florence
- Rothenburg. Walls and towers, 379. S. Georgsbrunnen, 405. Rathaus, 419-20, 305
- Rottenhammer, P., 450
- Rotterdam. Groote Kerk, 312 n.
- Rottweil. Gothic tower and sculptures, 394
- Rouen. Cathedral (tombs), 211. Tour de Beurre, 198. Saint-Ouen, 187 n., 248 n. (Vol. I, 217). Saint-Maclou, 198 (Vol. I, 221). Palais de Justice, 188, 143, 199
- Rubens, Peter Paul, P., 156 n. At Paris, 221 and n., 251. Life and works, 340-6. Remarks by Goethe and Ruskin on Rubens, 256-7, 344 ; *Ritorno dai Campi*, 344 n. Paintings in the (former) Jesuits' Church at Antwerp, 318 and n., 343. His house at Antwerp, 318, 342. Immense number of works, 341. Influenced by Giulio Romano and Mantegna, 341 n. List of a few of his most important works, 342-4. *Elevation of the Cross and Descent from the Cross*, 312, 342, 258, 259. *Romulus and Remus*, 256, 342, 345. *Marriage of Marie de Médicis*, 254, and *Coronation*, 255. *Entry of Henry IV into Paris*, 221 n., 342, 264. *Minerva defending Peace, Chapeau de Paille (Poil?)*, 342. Designs for ceiling-decorations in Whitehall, 343, 471. Portraits, 343 ; of himself and first wife, 260, 344 ; *Hélène Fourment* (his second wife), 261, 344. His women and children, 345. *Seven Children bearing Fruit*, 257, 345. *Judgment of Paris*, 262,

HISTORY OF ART

345. Landscapes, 343, 263. *Miracle of S. Ildefonso*, 344. *Holy Family* (last work), 342, 343, 345
 Rude, S. *Chant du Départ ('Marseillaise')*, 246, 196. *Neapolitan Fisher-boy*, 246 n., 199
 Ruskin, II, 33, 53. On Poussin and landscape-painting, 255-60; on Claude, 264; on Rubens, 256-7, 344. His curious remarks about Shakespeare and flowers, 258 n.
 Ruysdael, Jacob van, P. Gives glimpses of Scandinavian scenery, 368. *Coup de Soleil*, 284, 369. *Jewish Cemetery, Stag Hunt*, 369
 Ryckaert, P., 352
- SABATELLI, Luigi, P. *Council of Olympian Gods*, 143
 Sabatini, Andrea, P., 36
 Sacchetti, Giov. Battista, A., 151
 Sacchi, Andrea, P., 132
 St Alban's. Mural decorations, 468
 Saint-Aubin, engraver, 283
 S. Gallen. Klosterkirche, 424
 Saint-Germain. Palace, 202 n.
 Saint-Malo. Fortress, 186
 St Paul's Cathedral. See Wren, Stone, Cibber, Bird, Gibbons, Stevens
 Sakyamuni, name of Buddha, 506, 515
 Salamanca. Catedral Nueva, 147
 Salvi, A.S. Builder of the Fontana di Trevi, 82, 109
 Salvi, Giov. Battista. See Sassoferato
 Salzburg. Cathedral, 422-3. Schloss Mirabell, 423
 Sambin, Hugues, A., 205
 Sanchi stupa, 501-3, 375, 376
 Sandby, topographical artist, 485
 Sandrart, Von, P., 450
 Sangallo, Giul., A., 5, 8
 Sangallo, Ant., A., 7, 8
 Sangallo, Fr., A., 10
 Sanmicheli, A., 10
 Sansovino, Andrea (Contucci), A.S., 11, 18, 24, 19. *Christ's Baptism* (Florentine Baptistery) and works at Loreto, 19
 Sansovino (Jacopo Tatti), A.S., 11, 32, 18
 Santi, Giovanni, painter and poet. *Boëthius*, 79 n.
 Santi, Raffaello. See Raphael
- Saragossa. Retablos and statues of kings, 154 n.
 Sardi, A., 98
 Sarnath (Benares). Capitals of columns, 500. Buddha figure, 504
 Sarrazin, S., 214
 Sarto. See Andrea del Sarto
 Sassoferato (Salvi), P. *Madonna del Rosario*, 132, 110
 Saxony. Its dukes and kings, 426
 Scamozzi, Vincenzo, A., 13
 Scandinavia. Romanesque churches, 310 n.
 Schidoni, Bart., P., 136
 Schlaun, Conrad, A., 425
 Schlettstadt. Gothic church, 378
 Schlösser and Burgen. Gothic and pre-Gothic strongholds, 379, 416. Schloss Eltz, 378, 416, 299. Gothic and transition Rhine castles and other: Stolzenfels, Rheinfels, Rheinstein, Limburger Schloss, Schloss Lahneck, Marienberg, Aschaffenburg, et al., 416-17. Renaissance and barock: Heidelberger Schloss, 301, 418. Dresdner Schloss, 418-19. Münchner, 419. Belvedere and Palais Schwarzenberg (Vienna), 308, 309, 423. Residenz at Würzburg, other palaces and castles in and near Munich, Schlösser at Vienna, Münster, 314, Cassel, Meissen, 423-5, and at Berlin, 313, Charlottenburg, Potsdam, 427-9, 315. For other German castles see under their names and consult lists on pp. 379, 416-17, 422-9
 Schlüter, Andreas, A.S. His buildings, 427-8. Equestrian statue of Great Elector, 297, 428
 Schmid, A., 427
 Schönbrunn, near Vienna. Fountain-statues, 408
 Schongauer, Martin, P. *Die Madonna im Rosenhag*, 433 and n., 319. Engravings, 432
 Schülin, painter and carver, 395, 435 n.
 Schwabach. Reredos by Stoss and Wohlgemut, 397
 Schwetzingen. Schlossgarten, 424
 Scott, Samuel, P. (follower of Canaletto), 474

INDEX

- Sculptures, Greek, coloured, 293
 Sculpturesque painting (Davidian), 288, 293
 Sebaldsgrab. *See* Nürnberg and 292
 Sebastiano del Piombo (Luciani), P. *Portrait of Lady* (now attributed to him), 54, 81. *Raising of Lazarus* (partly by Michelangelo), 54, 71. *Clement VII*, 54. *Flagellation, Ascension, Christ in Limbo, Christ on the Way to Calvary*, 54 n.
 Segovia. Alcazar, Cathedral, 'Devil's Bridge,' 147
 Seigneur, Jehan de, S., 248
 Selvatico, Pietro, writer on art, 107
 Semper, A., 426
 Sens. Cathedral, 198. Tomb of Dauphin, 242
 Sesshu, greatest master of (Japanese) Ashikaga Period. Masterpiece a scroll 50 feet long. Paintings in British Museum, 529, 391
 Sesto, Cesare da, P., 35, 36
 Seville. Cathedral, 146–7, 118. Giralda (Campanile), 146, and Vol. I, 275
 Shijo school of Japanese painting, 534
 Shingon, Buddhist sect. *See* Buddha
 Shiubun, Japanese painter of Ashikaga Period, 528
 Shogun, Japanese Prime Minister, 533. *See* Tokugawa
Sho-sho Hakkei, the series of the 'Eight Subjects' in landscape-painting. *See* Sung
 Shotoku Daishi, A.S. (Japanese), 509. Figure of Kwannon, 382. Builds temple at Horiuji, 519
 Shute, John, A., 457
 Siberechts, P., 351
 Sigiri (Ceylon). Cave-paintings like those at Ajanta, 516
Sillerías, carved wooden stalls in Spanish churches, 153, *et al.*
 Simon of Châlons, P. Biblical scenes, glass paintings (*Last Judgment*), 220
 Sirani, Elisabetta, P., 131
 Siva, figure of, at Elephanta, 504
 Sixtus V (Pope), 16
 Sluyter, Nicholas (Klaus), S., 190, 303, 305 n., 313
 Smart, John, miniaturist, 481
 Smithson, Robert, A., 457
 Snyders, P., 346
 Soami (son of Noami), Japanese painter. His *Daruma*, 528–9
 Sodoma (Bazzi), P., 37, 83, 84. *Ecstasy of St Catharine [of Siena], Christ bound to the Pillar, St Sebastian, 36, Marriage of Alexander and Darius before Alexander* (Farnesina), 38
 Sohier, Hector, A., 204 and n.
 Soignies. Saint-Vincent, 310
 Solari, Andrea, P., 36. *Ecce Homo*, 36, 34, 37
 Solesmes. *Sepulture*, 209, 230, 162
 Somerset House (London), 462, 345
 Sosen, Mori, Japanese animal-painter, 394, 533
 Soufflet, A., 237
 Spagnoletto, Lo. *See* Ribera
 Spanish-Neapolitan painters, 132 sq.
 Speke Hall (Lancashire), 458
 Spirazzi, S. Tomb of Machiavelli, 111, 112
Spuk in German art, 436, 438 n., *et al.*
Staffel-Giebel, 413 n.
 Stannard, Joseph, P., 491
 Stark, James, P., 491
 Starke, A., 426
 Starnina, P., 163
 'Stations of the Cross,' 392, 398, 399
 Steen, Jan, P. Higher Dutch genre, 365–6. *Grace before Meat*, 283. Portraits of self and family. *Oyster Feast, Marriage at Cana, Laban searching for his Images*, 366
 Stein, Sir Aurel, 506, 517
 Stendal. Das Üngelingertor, 379, 289
 Sterzing. Great carved Altar, 394
 Stevens, Alfred, S. Biographical, 466–7. *Duke of Wellington's Monument* (St Paul's), 467. Sculptures at Dorchester House, 348, 467
Stifter, Stiftskirchen, 423, 424
 Stirling Castle and Palace, 339
 Stone, Nicholas, A.S. Tombs of Sir George Holles and of Francis Holles, 464. Tomb of Sir Francis Vere (?), 464. Statue of Dr Donne, porch of St Mary's, Oxford (?), 465
 Stoss, Veit, S. Great wooden reredos (Cracow), stone-carvings at Nürnberg and elsewhere, 397 and n.
 Stralsund. Rathaus, 420
 Strassburg (Strasbourg). Cathedral, originally Romanesque, receives first

HISTORY OF ART

- Gothic additions, 377; sculptures, 376 n., 384 and n.; *Ecclesia* and *Synagoge*, 290, 291, 385; the spire, 385 n.; the architect's daughter, 384 n. Haus Kammerzell, 300, 419
- Streater, Robert, P., 471
- Strozzi, Bernardo, P. *The Piper*, 136
- Stuart, Gilbert, P., 481
- Stubbs, George, P., 481
- Stüler, A., 428
- Stupas*. Indian shrines, 501-2, 375, 376
- Stuttgart. Neues Schloss, 424
- Sueur. See Le Sueur
- Sumiyoshi Keion, Japanese painter. His *makimonos*, 523
- Sung Period (China). A wood and stucco figure of Bodhisattva of this period in British Museum, 508. *Birds and Lotus*, 387. The 'Eight Subjects' for landscape-painting, 525. Some masters of the Sung Period, 526-7
- Sustermans, P., 131, 346, 349 n. Portraits at Florence, *Florentine Nobles taking Oath before Ferdinand I*, 346-7
- Suzuki Harunobu, Japanese artist in colour-printing, 536
- Synagoge* (sculpture), 383-4, 291
- TACCA, S., 155 n.
- Tadolini, S., 115, 116
- Takayoshi, founder of the school of fantastic painting at the Fugiwara court, 523
- Tang Period (China). Pottery and sculpture, 508. Painting, 517, et al. See Sung and Ming
- Tangermünde. Rathaus, 420
- Tanyu (Kano), Japanese painter, 521. *Kwannon*, 393. Tanyu screens, etc., 532. Tanyu style becomes stereotyped, 532
- Tapestries, 338 n. See also Raphael and Gobelins
- Tarragona. Sculptures in Cathedral, 152
- Ta-tong-fu (China). Caves with sculptures, 507
- Tatti, Jacopo. See Sansovino
- Taverner, topographical draughtsman, 485
- Tawaraya Sotatsu, Japanese flower-painter, 533
- Tempesti, Antonio, P. Frescos illustrating Petrarcha's *Trionfi*, 135
- Tenebrosi, school of, 138-9. See Caravaggio (Michelangelo Amerighi)
- Teniers, David, the Elder, P., 352
- Teniers, David, the Younger, P., 352. Scenes of village life (*Vogelwiese*, *Kirmes*, etc.), *Village Wedding*, 352, 270. *Temptation of St Anthony*, 269
- Ter Borch (Terburg), P., 364. *Peace Congress at Münster*, 280
- Teunissen, P., 356
- Thann. Gothic church, 378
- Theotokopoulos, Domenico (El Greco), P. *Burial of Count Orgaz*, *The Agony in the Garden*, 168-9
- Thorn. Rathaus, 420
- Thornhill, James, P., 471
- Thorwaldsen, S., 166, 467. Monument to Pius VII, *Lion of Luzern*, works at Copenhagen, 200, and in Villa Carlotta, 116¹
- Thumb, Peter, A., 424
- Tiarini, P., 129-30. *Pietà*, 129
- Tiefenbronn. Reredos, 395, 432
- Tiepolo, Giov. Battista, 139-40. Decorative frescos: *Cleopatra's Banquet*, 114, *Madonna Enthroned*, *Finding of the Cross*, 139 and n. Oils and frescos at Padua, Milan, Vicenza, in Germany, Spain, France, London, 139-40. *Crucifixion Scene* (National Gallery), 115
- Tinted drawings for engraver precede more elaborate English watercolours, 458
- Tintoretto (Jac. Robusti), P., 58-9. *Paradiso*, *Bacchus*, *Ariadne*, and *Venus*, 58, 55, *Crucifixion*, *Last Judgment*, *Miracle of St Mark*, 59
- Tisi, Benvenuto, P., 45
- Titian (Tiziano Vecelli da Cadore), P., 49-54. *Sacred and Profane Love*, 48, *The Tribute Money*, 50 and n., *Assumption* (now in Frari), 48, *Noli me tangere*, *Bacchus and Ariadne* (National Gallery), 49, *Flora*, *Descent from the Cross*, *La Vergine del Pesaro*, *Presentation*, *Peter Martyr*, *St Lawrence*, 52 and n., *Ippolito de' Medici*, *La Bella*, 45, *Recumbent*

¹ Whence all works of art are being removed.

INDEX

- Venus, Danae, 50, Isabella of Portugal, 51, Flagellation, 54.* Titian at Bologna and Madrid, 167. His paintings at Madrid, 167-8. Portrait of Francis I of France, 218 and n.
- Toba Sojo, Japanese religious and satirical painter, 523
- Tokugawa, family in which the Shogunate of Japan became hereditary, 533-4
- Toledo. Cathedral, 147; huge retablo, 152 n., 153; choir-stalls, 154, 155; *Trasparente*, 157
- Toqué, P. Portrait of Marie Leczinska (Queen of Louis XV), 284
- Tor* (Gate). *For German 'Tore' see list pp. 379-80, and under Speyer and Stendal*
- Tori Busshi, S. (Japanese), 510
- Torrigiani, Pietro, S., 19 n., 24, 154, 455, 456, 463
- Tosa, Japanese school of painting, originally Kosé, founded by Kanaoka. Its curious devices, 522. Superseded by Kano school, 529
- Toul Cathedral, 198
- Touraine, or Loire, school of art. *See Loire*
- Tours Cathedral, 157, 204
- Tramello, Alessio, A., 9
- Treppenhäuser*, 421
- Trèves (Trier). Relics of ancient basilica and Roman - Lombard church, on site of which stands Romanesque cathedral, 374, 376 n. The so-called 'Basilica' (Roman law court?), 375. Liebfrauenkirche, 377, 412 n. Sculptures, 385
- Trianon (Versailles), 234. Le Petit Trianon, 234
- Triptych, 195 n.
- Troy, François de, P. *Hunt Breakfast.* Designs for tapestry, 282 n.
- Tsunenobu, artist of the Kano family, 530, 532
- Tun-huang (China). Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 517
- Turenne. Portrait by Le Brun, 274
- Turin. Cathedral, Cappella della Sindone, 98 and n. Cathedral of Carignano, near Turin, 99. Palazzo Carignano, 98. Stupinigi (castle), Teatro Regio, Teatro Carignano, 99. Mole Antonelliana, 104
- Turkestan (Chinese). Indo - Hellenic influences, 506, 517
- Turner, Joseph Mallord William, P. Biographical, 486. Compared with Claude, 265. Long after early Flemish landscape-painters, 388. His versatile genius. Attracted both by wild and by subjugated nature, 367. His watercolours: fine series in Tate Gallery, 487; *Interior of Durham Cathedral*, Petworth sketches, Swiss and Venetian watercolours, 487. Oil-paintings, 493. Vast extension of subjects, 494. *Thames at Millbank*, *Calais Pier*, *The Shipwreck*, *Vessel on the Bar of the Meuse*, 495, *Garden of the Hesperides*, *Dido building Carthage*, 372 (and see 265), *Crossing the Brook*, 370, 495. Studies of English subjects: *Windsor*, *Greenwich Hospital*, *Chichester Canal*, the *Liber Studiorum* (cf. Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, 265), 495-6. *Bay of Baiae*, *Ulysses and Polyphemus*, 374, *The Fighting Temeraire*, *Wilkie's Burial at Sea*, *Snowstorm*, *Spithead*, 373, *Rain, Steam, and Speed*, 497. Wondrous beauty of his pictures of Venice in oil and in watercolour, 497
- UDEN, P., 351
- Ukiyo ('pictures of the passing world'), genre paintings of a school of Japanese artists, 535
- Ulm. Cathedral, 378. Sculpture (*Man of Sorrows*), 394. Rathaus, 422
- Üngelingertor (Stendal), 379, 289
- Ussé, Castle of, 200
- Utamaro, Japanese artist in colour-printing, 536
- Utrecht. University, 320
- VALENTIN, P., 266 and n.
- Valladolid. *Plateresque façades* of S. Gregorio and S. Pablo, 149, 153
- Van Baurscheit, A., 319
- Vanburgh, John, A. Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard, 461
- Van Campen, A., 320
- Van Ceulen, P. *See* Johnson
- Van Cleef, P., 332 n., 339 n.

HISTORY OF ART

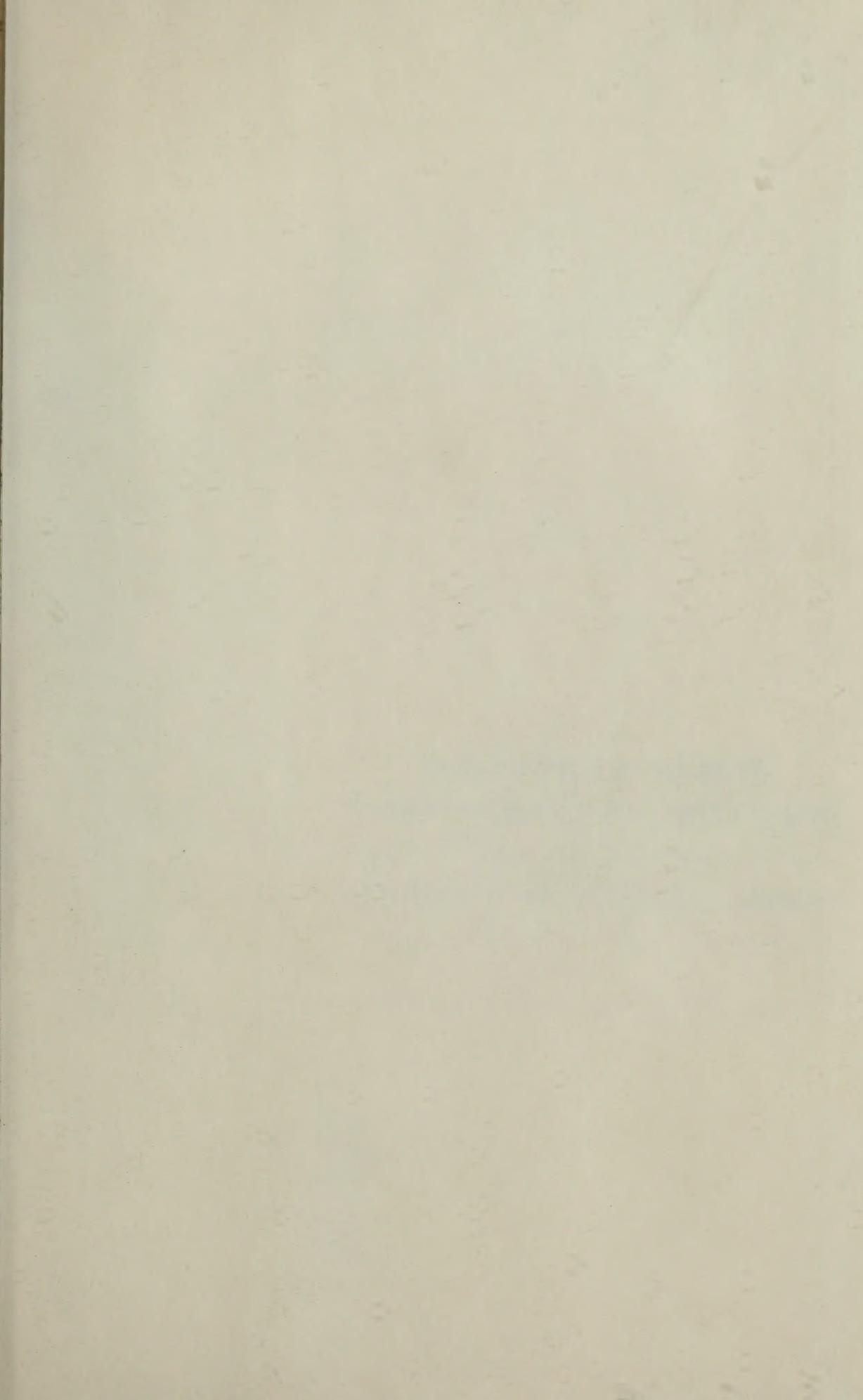
- Van de Cappelle, P. Compared with Hobbema as sky-painter, 370
- Van de Velde, Willem, the Elder, draughtsman of sea and of sea-shipping. Long in England under Charles II and James II, 370
- Van de Velde, Adriaen, P. Winter and sea-coast scenes, 369-70
- Van de Velde, Willem, the Younger, P. Probably best Dutch marine artist. Co-operates with his father in painting naval battles. His large painting called *Coup de Canon*, 285, 370
- Van der Goes, P. *Adoration of Shepherds*, 328 (Vol. I, 250), *Adam and Eve*, *Death of the Virgin*, 329
- Van der Helst, P. *Banquet of Amsterdam Bowmen*, 364
- Van der Meulen, P., assistant of Le Brun, 271
- Van der Weyden, Roger, P., 325 and n., 433-4. At Dijon, 193. *Descent from the Cross*, 163 n., 164 n., 326. *Nativity*, *Magi*, *Last Judgment*, etc., 326
- Van Dyck, Antoine, P. In Antwerp, Venice, Rome, Genoa, London, 347. Portraits of Charles I and his family, 347-8. *Le Roi à la Chasse*, 266. Portraits of Van der Geest, 347, and François de Moncada, 267, 349 n. *La Vierge aux Donateurs*, 268
- Van Eyck, Jan, P. In Spain, 163. At Dijon, 193 and n. His use of oil medium, 324 and n., 326, 236. Portraits, 327-8 and n.
- Van Goyen, Jan, P., 369
- Van Mierevelt, Michael, P., 357
- Van Mieris, Frans, P. *Lady fainting*, *Doctor feeling Lady's Pulse*, *Tinker and Saucepan*, etc., 365
- Van Orley, 330, 337. *Last Judgment*, *Job*, 337
- Van Ostade (Adriaen Janz), P. *Rural Concert*, *Alchemist*, *Itinerant Fiddler*, 364, 231
- Van Ostade, Isaac, P. Landscapes and winter scenes, *Seashore of Scheveningen*, 364
- Van Ruysdael. See Ruysdael, Jacob van
- Van Somer, Paul, P., 470
- Vanvitelli, A.S., 102, 87
- Vargas, Luis de, P., 164 n., 165. 'La Gamba,' 165
- Varotari. See Padovanino
- Vasari, A.P., 14, 15, 20 n., 30 n., 31. *Gli Uffizi*, 22. Portraits of Lorenzo il Magnifico, Charles Quint and Clement VII, 42
- Vaux-le-Vicomte, Castle of, 206
- Vecelli, Tiziano. See Titian
- Vela, Vincenzo, S. *Spartacus*, *Dying Napoleon*, 95, 119
- Velasquez de Silva, Diego, P., 164 n., 170-5. *Adoration of Magi*, 171, portrait of Philip IV, 172, *The Drinkers*, 125, 172 and n., *Expulsion of the Moriscos*, *Forge of Vulcan*, 172, *Joseph's Coat brought to his Father*, 126, 172, 175, equestrian portrait of Philip IV, 173. Other portraits and hunting scenes, 173. *The Rokeby Venus*, 173 n., 129, *Hermits*, *Surrender of Breda (Les Lances)*, 127, 174, *The Spinners*, 128, 174, 'Meninas,' 174
- Vendôme Column, 244 n.
- Venice. Il Redentore, 13, 17. S. Maria della Salute, 97, 84. Scalzi, 98, 85. Gesuiti, 98. Libreria Vecchia, 3, 11, 15. Loggetta, 14, 11. Zecca, 11. Procuratie Nuove, 3, 13, 20. Palazzi: Corner della Cà Grande, 11, Grimani, 10, Contarini, 13, Pesaro, 97, 98, Rezzonico, 98. Rialto Bridge, 12. Fenice Theatre, 100. Decorations in Doges' Palace, 267 n.
- Verbruggen, wood carver, 316
- Vere, Sir Francis. His tomb in Westminster Abbey, 322, 346, 464
- Verhaeren, wood-carver, 316
- Vermeer, Jan, P. Subjects mostly interiors and domestic occupations, 366
- Vernet, Antoine, P., 285
- Vernet, Carle, P., 286
- Vernet, Claude-Joseph, P. Sea-pieces and *Harbours of France*, 285. Italian landscapes, 285
- Vernet, Horace, P. *Napoleon's Campaigns*, 286
- Verona. Porta del Palio, Porta Nuova, 10. Palazzo Bevilacqua, Palazzo Pompei, 10

INDEX

- Versailles, 178, 230 and n., 233-4. *See also* Mansard (Jules) and 269-70 and n.
 Park and sculptures : *see* Girardon, Coysevox, Puget, the Coustous. *See* Le Brun for decorations, 262, 268 n., 206, 207. Galerie des Glaces, 269. Frescos by Le Moine, 282 n.
- Vicenza. Basilica Palladiana, 12, 16. Casa del Diavolo, 12, 21. La Rotonda, 12, 18. Palazzo Chiericata, 12. Teatro Olimpico, 12, 19, 100. Palazzo Porto (Trissino), 13
- Vidisha (India), centre of Buddhist learning. The Sanchi stupa, 501, 375, 376
- Vienna. Karlskirche, 103, 423, 310. St Stephen (Dom), 378. Palais Schwarzenberg, 309, 423. Schönbrunn, 423. Belvedere, 308, 423. Palais Daun-Kinsky, 423. Winter Riding School (Hofburg), 429
- Vigée Lebrun, Madame. *See* Lebrun
- Vignarna, S., 154
- Vignola (Barozzi), A., 7, 10, 14, 317
- Vignon, A. Designer of the Madeleine, 238
- Villavicencio, P., 178
- Villeneuve : opposite Avignon. Pietà, 147, and Coronation of the Virgin, 194
- Vincent, George, P., 491
- Vinci (Italy, near Empoli). *See* Leonardo da Vinci
- Vischer, Peter, S., 400-4. In Italy (?) and influenced by Italian bronze statuary, 401. St Sebald's shrine, 292. This and King Arthur, 294, and Theoderic (statues made for the Maximilian monument at Innsbruck) the firstfruits of German Renaissance sculpture, 401, 402-3 and n. Tombs of Archbishop Ernst and Cardinal Friedrich and others, 403. Pietà at Nürnberg, 403
- Vischer, Peter, the Younger, S., 400, 404
- Vischer, Hans, S., 400, 404. Apollo-brunnen, 404
- Viti, Timoteo, P., 79 and n.
- Voltaire (statue). *See* Pigalle and Houdon
- Volterra, Daniele da, P., 75
- Voss. His Luise illustrated by Chodowiecki, 451
- Vouet, Simon, P. In Rome and Paris, Faith, Wealth, 222. The Entombment, 222, 175, 251
- WANG-WEI, Chinese landscape-painter. Copy of his works by Chao Meng-fu, 518-19
- Ward, James, P. Harlech Castle, 481
- Warin, S. Richelieu (medal), 213
- Watercolour painting. The English school and before, 484
- Watteau, Antoine, P., 276 and n., 277-9. Character of his work, 276-7. L'Indifférent, Gille, 277, Embarkation for Cythera, 277 and n., 210. Military pieces, 278. In London, 278 n. Rendez-vous de Chasse, Gamme d'Amour, Concert, L'Enseigne de Gersaint, replica of the Embarkation, 278-9
- Webb, John, A., 459
- Werve. *See* De Werve
- Wesel. Rathaus, 420
- West, Benjamin, P., 481
- Westminster Abbey. Henry VII's Chapel and tomb, 24, 456, 463. Tomb of Margaret Beaufort, 463. Tomb of Sir Francis Vere, 322, 346, 464. Tomb of Sir George Holles, 464. Monuments to Dr Busby and Lord Mansfield, 466. Portrait of Richard II, 349, 468
- Weyden, Van der. *See* Van der Weyden
- Whistler, borrows ideas from Hiroshige, 537
- Whitehall. Old palace burnt and new Banqueting hall begun (1619) by Inigo Jones, 340, 458. Rubens designs its ceiling-decorations, 343, 471. The Horse Guards, near Whitehall, 462
- Wildens, P., 351
- Wilhelm of Cologne, P., 386, 431. *See also* Vol. I
- Wilhelm of Herle, P., 431. *See also* Vol. I
- Wilkie, David, P. Biographical, 483. Village Politicians, Blind Fiddler, John Knox Preaching, 483. Blind Man's Buff, 365
- Willemsens, wood-carver, 316
- Wilson, Richard, P., 474-5, 490. Landscape with Bathers, 355

HISTORY OF ART

- Wilton House. Portrait of Richard II, 468
- Winckelmann, 229 n., 292
- Windsor. Statue with a pedestal by Gibbons, 465
- Witte, Peter ('Candido'), S., 407
- Witz, Conrad, P., 432. *Visit of the Magi*, 317, *Crucifixion, Holy Family, The Magdalene and St Catharine, La Pêche Miraculeuse*, 432
- Wohlgemut, P., master of Albrecht Dürer, 397, 436
- Wollaton House, 458
- Wood, John (father and son), A., 462
- Wood as material for statues, 155–6.
Wood-carving in Spain, Flanders, Germany, England : see Retablos, *Sillerías, Altäre, Pulpits, Reredoses, and* 152, 153, 315, 235, 380 sq., 392–3, 436 sq., 463, 347, 465–6. Half-timber (*Fachwerk*) houses, sometimes with carvings, 415, 300, 419, 458, 338. Japanese wood-sculpture, 509, 511, 512, et al.
- Wordsworth. His attitude toward wild nature, 367. Quoted in reference to Ruysdael, 369
- Worlidge, Thomas, P., 473
- Worms Cathedral, 373 n., 376, 387
- Wouverman, Philip, P., 369
- Wren, Christopher, architect and astronomer. Biographical, 459–60. Chapel of Pembroke (Cambridge) and the Sheldonian Theatre (Oxford), 460. Scheme for rebuilding London after the Great Fire, builds fifty-four London churches, 460, 342, 343. St Paul's, 461, 341. Parts of Hampton Court, 344, and Greenwich Hospital, 461
- Wright, Joseph, P., 481
- Wu Tao-tzu, old Chinese painter. Possible specimens of his work, 517–518. A copy of his *Death of Buddha* in the British Museum, 518. A copy of his *Kwanyin*, 386
- Würzburg. Becomes a centre for sculpture, 399. Marienberg, 417. Residenz, 424–5
- XANTEN. Gothic church, 378
- YAKUSHIJI (Japan). Great bronze Buddhist trinity, 510
- Yeitoku, Japanese artist of the Kano family, court-painter to the military usurper after overthrow of Ashikaga dynasty. New and vigorous style, 531
- Yeshin Sodzu, Japanese painter. His Ascending and Descending Buddha, 521
- Yogi* : Buddha in contemplation, 503
- Yoshimasa (Shogun), S. His wooden statue of himself, 512. Renounces his Shogunate, 528
- Ypres. Great Cloth Hall (destroyed in the late war), 312
- ZANOIA, A., 103
- Zeitblom, painter and carver, 435 n.
- Zen, Buddhist sect, 524
- Zenale, P., 36 and n.
- Zorzi. See Giorgione
- Zuccali, A., 423–4
- Zurbaran, Francisco, P., 169. *Apostheosis of St Thomas Aquinas*, 124. His various styles and his works, 170



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